









# THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

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## EGYPT, EUROPE, AND MR. GLADSTONE.

SOME considerable change of opinion has taken place within the last two years as to what should be the proper aim and end of our presence in Egypt. We went there, in redemption of pledges given, perhaps in no propitious hour, to the Khedive, to put down Arabi and restore order. This is the account we were asked to accept of the Alexandria expedition. It was no doubt an honest account, covering all that the Government had in view, and it was held to be sufficient. Among the Liberal party there were many who doubted the expediency of a military intervention. Their scruples were silenced by the assurance that its sole object was to deal with a temporary though pressing emergency, and that the moment order was re-established we should make haste to leave the Egyptians to themselves. No protest was raised in any quarter against the insufficiency of this assurance. It was received with general satisfaction.

Very different expectations have sprung up since then. We know, of course, that order is not yet re-established in Egypt. We know on the contrary that a plentiful disorder prevails, and that in some respects things are even worse than they were. Hence the time fixed for the evacuation of Egypt cannot be held to have arrived. On that point there is but one opinion. But many are looking further ahead. They are asking what is to be done when present difficulties have been overcome, and the reply they are inclined to give is that we must not leave Egypt at all. There we are and there we must remain. The words which alone would appropriately describe our future relations to Egypt were this plan carried out are uttered with some shyness. Annexation or a protectorate meets with few avowed defenders. The boldest critics of the Government stop half-way. They blame them for not doing more, but they do not venture to say

what that "more" should be. They content themselves for the most part with vague commonplaces. The Government are told that it is high time for them to see the facts as they are, that power implies responsibility, that there cannot be two supreme authorities at Cairo, and that it is their duty either to leave Egypt at once, which it is alleged they cannot do, or to take things into their own hands. The conclusion involved in these criticisms is that the native Ministers should be got rid of and Englishmen put into their place. The Khedive might go or stay, it would matter but little. What is certain is that he would never be able to resume his old position as the ruler of Egypt. Nor could he ever set up again the fabric we had thrown down. By the consequences of our own acts we should be obliged to remain. In this way Egypt would become ours. The train is nicely laid. All the proprieties are consulted. No violence is done to our international obligations of *malice prepense*. On this point it is expected that the most sensitive of consciences will be able to enjoy repose. Egypt will have fallen to us by the operations of those laws which, though contrived by politicians, are held to express the will of the Supreme.

In some of the organs of the press we find these extreme results already discounted. Egypt, we are told, is as much ours as India. Cairo is to us as Calcutta, and Alexandria as Bombay. The future is anticipated, and everything seems to be in the best working order. The Khedive is on the throne; we have not had the heart to turn him adrift, and he has every wish to stay. The native Ministers are all amiable, all submissive. They have unlearned the arts of intrigue and changed their eastern natures. They are devoted to England, and hang on the lips of the Resident who dictates orders in her name. Or perhaps—for the imagination is never shut up to one picture—every trace of native rule has vanished from Cairo. The Khedive is living on a pension in Kent, and figures at Court receptions along with the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. The Pashas have been packed off to Constantinople or been sent to share in Arabi's exile at Ceylon. The English flag waves at Alexandria and Port Said, and an English Viceroy holds Court at Cairo. In either case Egypt is ours just as much as India. It is part of the blissful vision that France is reconciled to this transfer of territory to her rival, and that Europe rejoices to see a respectable Power established in solid supremacy on the Nile.

There is something extremely fascinating in these dreams of a brilliant destiny peacefully fulfilled. The love of empire is in our bones. Hence we are hardly to be trusted with such temptations; our patriotism is apt to take fire at once. If a regard for principles or consistency prevents our yielding to the spell, if some sense of shame keeps us from avowing our secret wishes, we nevertheless roll

them under our tongue as a sweet morsel, and trust that what we long for will happen all the same. Perhaps it would be wrong to say that with a large number of Liberal politicians some degree of double-mindedness prevails on the Egyptian question. They assume that we shall leave Egypt, they think on the whole that it is right we should leave, but they would like to stay; they would shrink from endangering peace, they would not counsel Ministers to strain a point of honour unduly, and yet if the thing were done they would be glad. It may be said of them as of the thane of Cawdor:—

“What thou wouldst highly,  
That wouldst thou holily; wouldst not play false,  
And yet wouldst wrongly win.”

They would rejoice if the Government read aright what they take to be the secret wish of the nation, without insisting upon too many broad hints. Ask no questions, but do it for us; give us Egypt, give us the Nile, make us masters of the Suez Canal; and the nation, now so quiet and patiently waiting, will hail your decision with acclamation.

Some such change as this has, if I mistake not, come over the public mind and brought us to a point which is in some respects critical. How has it been produced? This is a question of more than speculative interest, and for the sake of practical issues still pending it deserves our serious attention. It is desirable that we should understand our own case, but it is absolutely essential that we should do justice to that of France.

Our present position in Egypt is the latest aspect of a rivalry between the two countries which has lasted for almost a century. It dates from the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte. We need not discuss the motives which led to that celebrated exploit. Enough that it was regarded as an act of hostility to England, and was supposed to menace our Indian possessions. The sentimental interest which France takes in Egypt had its origin in the victories and the supposed intentions of Napoleon. The former are still surrounded with a halo of romance which subsequent disasters failed to dissipate. Frenchmen cannot forget that their legions conquered Egypt; that from the Mediterranean to the Nubian desert their authority was once for a time supreme. The words addressed by Napoleon to his soldiers at the battle of the Pyramids are among the commonplaces of French history, and are still recited in schoolbooks as a stimulant to patriotism. Thousands of French soldiers found their graves on the banks of the Nile. Their ashes have mingled with the sands of Egypt. Whether for making a fresh attack upon the British empire in India, or for attracting to French ports a part of the commerce of the East, Egypt was the shortest route. Hence, whether for peace or war, Egypt was regarded as “the most valuable colony on the face of the globe.”\* In the negotiations for

\* Thiers, “Hist. du Consulat,” liv. x.



peace, begun in 1801, the British diplomatist, Lord Hawkesbury, did nothing to weaken this impression. The evacuation of Egypt was one of the chief points on which he insisted. The question was left to the arbitrament of arms, and the French were driven out. The capitulation of Cairo ended a splendid dream, but it has never ceased to visit Frenchmen in their waking hours.

Such was the Egyptian question at the beginning, and it has never lost the character it then acquired. Egypt was conceived both by English and French statesmen to have an importance altogether distinct from commercial considerations. It was regarded as a possible base of operations for hostile enterprises in the East. The nation which managed to get possession of it would be half-way on the road to India. Transports or ships of war starting from the ports of the Red Sea would be able to reach Bombay before the fleet sent to encounter them had doubled the Cape. Circumstances have so changed that these ideas seem ridiculous, but it should be remembered that France once fought with us in India on equal terms, and that at one time it seemed doubtful on which side the balance would incline. When Napoleon landed in Egypt, only a few years had passed since the appearance of a French emissary in India had given the signal for a war which raged from Rohilcund to the Carnatic. The intelligence that war was declared between France and England, on the strength of which Warren Hastings determined to forestall his adversary, reached him from the British Consul at Cairo. The importance of Egypt as affording a means of quicker communication with India first dawned upon us with the establishment of the overland route. The construction of a railway to Suez, and the project of cutting a canal through the isthmus, brought commercial interests still more prominently into the foreground. There need have been no international rivalry in the canal; but the rivalry already existed, and was at once associated with the new enterprise. Thenceforth the political question and the commercial question became one, and a higher premium than ever was put upon the acquisition of a preponderating influence in Egypt.

The bad effects of this conjunction might have been prevented if the British Government had taken kindly to the project of M. de Lesseps, whereas it is well known that they opposed it by all the means in their power. Lord Palmerston honestly believed that the canal would not be advantageous to this country. Perhaps he foresaw that it would divert some of the Eastern trade to the Mediterranean ports, and diminish the importance of London as an *entrepôt* for the Continent. But he also regarded the project with some apprehension on political grounds, and he allowed this to be seen. M. de Lesseps had, in the first instance, appealed to England for help. The moneyed world, taking their cue from the Govern-

ment, refused it, and he was driven to rely upon his own countrymen. He took back with him from his English tour an argument which could not but have great weight with them. The English, he said, are frightened at this canal. They believe it will inflict a heavy blow upon their naval power. They do not like to see the Mediterranean States brought nearer to India. The suggestion chimed in with traditional impressions. It brought back old dreams. A Joint Stock Company in the hands of M. de Lesseps was about to attempt over again the enterprise in which Napoleon failed. Certainly he should have the money. There was the assurance of M. de Lesseps that the investment would be profitable, and if it frightened or even injured England, so much the better.

So the canal was finished, despite of English prophecies. It had been backed from the beginning by the influence of France. The Emperor Napoleon lent M. de Lesseps a helping hand in every difficulty, and on the day of opening the Empress was present as tutelary goddess. France and Egypt were the sole partners in the enterprise. The Khedive had granted the charter, given the land, and taken up nearly one-half the shares. The undertaking united the two countries as they never had been before. Thousands of French shareholders were co-proprietors with the Khedive in Egyptian soil, and, as it seemed, they were bound together by the strongest of financial ties. It appeared as if henceforth France and Egypt must be inseparable. In such a state of things we can imagine the shock given to the French by the announcement that the Khedive's shares had been quietly bought up by the English Government, and that an English commissioner was about to be sent out to investigate the finances of Egypt. It was an Abercrombie invasion over again. Once more the French were to be dislodged and driven out from their legitimate conquests by those scheming islanders, who had waited till all difficulties had been overcome, and had then surreptitiously rushed in to share the booty. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares was a signal of war—to be conducted with the proper amenities, and with the usual friendly protestations, but nevertheless war—to both countries. English merchants hailed the purchase as a stroke of surpassing cleverness. English politicians of the new school of Imperialism saw in it a skilful move in advance, a conquest in the guise of a Stock Exchange transaction.

Now began a quiet tussle for influence at Cairo. France could not allow that she was less concerned than England in the finances of Egypt. If she had not the interest on four million worth of shares to look after, her moneyed men held the greater part of the Egyptian bonds, and were jealously watching their securities. Since oversight and inspection were held to be necessary, what could be more

natural or more friendly than that the two Powers should conduct the process together. Accordingly, English and French commissioners were sent out, and were accepted by the Khedive as his Ministers, acting nominally on his authority. The bondholders meanwhile had been stirring in their own behalf. They had employed agents to inquire into the state of the Egyptian revenue. They did so with the co-operation of their respective Governments. Heretofore it had been an accepted rule that persons who speculated in foreign loans did so at their own risk. After they had lent money at usurer's interest in consideration of the low credit of the borrowing Power, it was thought inexpedient, if not wrong, for the State to protect them from losses which were anticipated and allowed for when the original contract was made. This just rule was set aside in the case of Egypt. The Governments backed the bondholders, seduced from the straight path by the political influence for which their interference in financial questions served as a pretext. By prodigal expenditure and ruinous loans, Egypt had become bankrupt. Left to herself, she would have "taken the benefit of the Act," as the phrase used to run, like Honduras, Spain, Mexico, and her own suzerain, Turkey. But Egypt was in the hands of the Governments who did all they could for their clients. By the Law of Liquidation, thrust upon the Khedive by his English and French Ministers, and accepted by the Powers, the revenues of Egypt were divided, so much being assigned to the payment of interest and the gradual extinction of the debt, and so much to the cost of administration. The scheme promised well, but it laid too many restraints upon the Khedive. It beggared him and left him without power. Ismail was a strong man. Theoretically he was master in his own house. So one day, without asking leave, he sent his French and English Ministers about their business and took affairs into his own hands.

Perhaps this rough-and-ready solution of the Egyptian question would have been the best for all parties, and the Western Powers, confounded by Ismail's impudence, seemed disposed to let him alone. But Prince Bismarck, in virtue of the Law of Liquidation, served a protest on the Khedive. His intervention has always been regarded as a mystery. There were but few German bondholders, and in Egyptian politics he had not professed any great concern. Is it that he was determined to keep France and England tethered together at their task, and did he foresee the consequences? At any rate, France and England took the hint and returned to the field of action. An application was made to the Sultan to issue a firman dethroning Ismail, and instituting his son, Tewfik Pasha, as his successor. With a young and pliable ruler on the throne, the two Powers adopted a bolder policy. They resolved to take the administration of Egypt

into their own hands, and to share it between them. The new English and French representatives were to have seats at the council, not on the nomination of the Khedive, but by the authority of their respective Governments, and they were to have an absolute veto upon every proposal of the other Ministers. Henceforth the Khedive was to be a mere "tulchan" ruler, and his native Ministry a mere machine for executing the will of the foreigner. Such was the Dual Control, established on the part of England by Lord Salisbury.

The question of supremacy in Egypt had now undergone an enormous simplification. All the external bulwarks of a native Government had been cleared away. All competing claims had been ignored. Egypt was in the hands of two foreign officials, and all that had to be done to conduct the process to its final term was for one of them to supplant the other. Both Governments and both countries comprehended the narrowness of the issue. It is needless to refer to the Arabi outbreak and its resultant entanglements; they are well within memory and it is easy to identify the points at which they touched the policy of the protecting Powers. Of that policy it is enough to say that there was a want of confidence between London and Paris; neither of the Governments could entirely trust the other. Lord Granville, as is shown by his despatch of November 1, 1881, was inclined to rely upon the co-operation of the other Powers, while M. Gambetta urged that the guidance of affairs should be kept in their own hands. The consequences of a rupture seemed so much to be dreaded that Lord Granville conceded a good deal to his imperious colleague. And yet when the time of action came it was France that drew back, leaving England to go to Egypt alone.

Let us be candid with ourselves. This is a special duty since we are now under the influence of the feelings which were aroused in us by the decision of the French Government two years ago. We did not resent that decision. On the contrary, we were much pleased with it. Our path seemed all at once to be lighted up with an unexpected ray. The news that the French Government had refused to join in the Alexandria expedition seemed too good to be true. A murmur of congratulation ran through the land. At last we were to be left alone in Egypt. It was assumed that the long struggle for ascendancy had been practically decided in our favour; and it had been so decided, not, as we once feared it might have to be, by force of arms, but by the voluntary retirement of our rival. If any one ten or twenty years before had ventured to hint the possibility of such an event, he would have been laughed at for his simplicity. This one thing, at any rate, France would never do, and yet this one thing it turned out that France had done. In the excitement of the moment, too large an inference was drawn from the refusal of France to go with us to Alexandria, and we are insisting upon too large an

inference now. It is too much to assume that all the interests of France in Egypt, all her acquired and recognized rights, were to be concluded, surrendered, and finally disposed of, because her Government declined to co-operate with ours in one particular act, however momentous and pregnant the occasion. We are at liberty to base upon our sole action in Egypt such claims as we may think it decent to assert, or believe ourselves able to enforce; but France may think herself justified in maintaining that her rights remain what they were until they have been surrendered. This is the position which France is now known to be assuming. She makes allowance for accomplished facts. She does not renew her claims in their former breadth. But France maintains that Egypt is not to be allowed to fall into our exclusive possession for all time just because, in the exercise of our discretion, we chose to interfere in its civil broils.

The suddenly awakened desire to retain an exclusive hold on Egypt may lead to serious consequences. The will of the nation is of sovereign authority within the range of our domestic affairs, but it is not omnipotent beyond our frontiers. There are many national wills in Europe besides ours. Egypt is one of the historical countries of the world. It is regarded as a great strategic position whether for peace or war. Its transfer to England would upset the balance of power in the Mediterranean, and intermeddle with the external development of every Mediterranean State. We cannot quietly assume the right to deal with Egypt as we would with the electoral arrangements of an English county. Any mere decision of ours is, strictly speaking, irrelevant to the question at issue. There are other considerations which bear more directly upon it. We have to ask whether the policy proposed is a just policy; whether it is in harmony with our international obligations; whether it is likely in the long run to promote our national interests. For the Liberal party there is another question which may well be laid to heart. Is the desire to annex Egypt in harmony with its past professions? Is it one the gratification of which the party is entitled to exact from its present leaders? Does it not involve a reversal of the policy which the nation sanctioned four years ago, and on the strength of which Mr. Gladstone was raised to power? When these questions have been decided, there remains one which it would at least be prudent to consider. Are we prepared at once, or in a near future, to go to war with France? That is a contingency which a determination to appropriate Egypt to ourselves would at once bring on the cards. The mere prospect of it would be almost as bad as actual war. It is not a question of "pluck," but of political wisdom, a quality in which we are supposed to surpass other nations.

At the back of all there is the question of the adequacy of our resources for the successful waging of a conflict, the final propor-

tions of which it would not be easy to fix beforehand. We are a great nation, and we pay the penalty in having but few friends. Our power, moreover, is of a kind which easily becomes irritating. Germany, the arbiter of the Continent, with a military force to be counted by the million, can march an army a few hundred miles beyond her frontier, and there her aggressive capacity ends. The same is true of the other Powers, with the exception of France, whose naval force comes next to ours. As a naval Power we dominate every sea and threaten every shore. There is no port where we may not pay an unexpected visit with an ironclad squadron equivalent to a couple of army corps. The modest attempts of Germany to establish colonies and coaling stations in distant parts of the world at once attract the attention of the ubiquitous British cruiser. The surveillance is not unfriendly, perhaps, but it is annoying, especially when it is considered that, if we chose to interfere, our interference could only be repelled by a naval war in which we should be sure to get the best of it. Nations with a much larger population and ten times our military strength, are disposed to fret under a domination which implies at best a benignant forbearance. It is possible that Europe might be sensible of a relief from some galling restraints if in an angry collision of nations our maritime supremacy for a time went down.

In a war for the annexation of Egypt we could not count upon being left to cope with a single antagonist. The Prince-President of Europe keeps his war-dogs well in leash, but he thinks too tenderly of the rights of nations to bring himself under an obligation never to let them slip. If Austria, Italy, and Russia felt it their duty to take sides in a struggle which had perhaps exhausted one of the combatants, he might well take too modest a view of his functions to regard it as any business of his to stand in their way. It would be a fearful spectacle to see England and France engaged in the work of mutual destruction, carrying havoc round half the globe; but it might not be without its compensations to third parties, and at a certain stage of the conflict ample materials might be furnished for honest brokerage. The war of revenge might be got rid of for ever out of gratitude for a signal act of rescue. Two rivals might be disposed of at once, the League of Central Europe would have more elbow-room for its nascent ambitions, while Egypt, the bone of contention, might be gnawed at leisure, but not by those who began the fight. There is no conscience, no sense of justice, no compassion in war. These are the blessed angels of peace; they vanish when the sword is drawn. In the fierce crush of the material interests of nations there is no room for morality, and there is none. When the bonds of international amity are once unloosed, the most cynical prognostications are those which events are likeliest to fulfil.

Perhaps it does not often occur to us to weigh with the seriousness it deserves the enormous change which has taken place within the last thirty years in the European balance of power. Europe is not the same that it was at the beginning of that period. Two great nations have been born into it. They exist now for the first time as really as if they had been created by a special fiat of heaven. Down to 1859 Italy was what Metternich described it, a geographical expression. So far as the politics of the world were concerned, Italy had no existence, and the belief that she was about to emerge from the tomb where her glory had slumbered for ages, when uttered by an enthusiast like Mazzini, was laughed to scorn. But the impossible has come to pass. Under the House of Savoy Italy has been consolidated from the Alps to the sea, and now takes rank among the Great Powers. The length of her coast-line, the enterprise of her population, and the splendid position she occupies in the heart of the Mediterranean, are enough to predict for her a great place among the naval States of the future. The transformation which Germany has undergone is even more amazing. Torn into fragments by the selfishness of her princes, it was her lot for centuries to afford plenty of building materials for encroaching neighbours without being able to rear any solid fabric of her own. The process of consolidation is complete, or nearly so. Germany speaks with one voice and acts with one will. The headship of the Continent has passed over to her. She has to be acknowledged as the greatest Power in Europe. It is impossible for such changes to have taken place without producing a corresponding change in the relative weight of other States. We can no longer pretend to the freedom of action which we possessed and gaily used in the days of Lord Palmerston. Other powerful arbiters are in the field. It is impossible that we should undertake to decide by ourselves alone any question in which Europe at large happens to be deeply interested. We are bound in matters affecting other Powers as well as ourselves to act in accordance with the general sense of our compeers, unless we are prepared to face and defy them all.

It is pertinent to ask how far the Government are able to comply with the demands which have been made upon them as regards Egypt, if they are to act in harmony with the principles they professed on assuming power. To give simplicity to our inquiry we need only speak of Mr. Gladstone, whose influence over the foreign policy of the Cabinet must be regarded as supreme. In nominating Mr. Gladstone to the Premiership in 1880 the country was not dealing with an unknown man. He had taken extraordinary pains to make us acquainted with his opinions. They were canvassed by the press day after day for weeks together, and the nation showed its approval of them by the course it took at the polls. The Government are now

asked to adopt a policy in Egypt which, so far as it admits of any definite construction, can only mean that we are to maintain a permanent and exclusive hold upon that country, either by a protectorate or by annexation. The Government are warned that they must adopt this policy as in the exercise of a right, and are not to admit of any intermeddling on the part of foreign Powers. Mr. Gladstone may yield to these peremptory injunctions or he may not, but he can hardly yield to them without violating the principles he has persistently maintained, and the nation can hardly accept of such a surrender without proclaiming its own abandonment of the policy for which it achieved so signal a triumph four years ago. We are asked to adopt a new "Jingo" in place of the much derided idol which tumbled to pieces with the late Administration. Their features are a little different, but they are made of the same stuff, they embody the same superstitions, and if the new worship is to be accepted it was hardly worth while to make the change. Mr. Gladstone has never been in favour of "Jingoism" of any sort, and it is rather late in the day to expect him to become converted.

I ask permission to put in a few proofs. This can hardly be refused as unnecessary after much that we have lately heard. First, let us recall what Mr Gladstone told us as to the policy of extending the territories or increasing the responsibilities of the empire. This is what he said in November, 1879, three years and a half ago :—

"There is no precedent in human history for a formation like the British Empire. A small island at one extremity of the globe peoples the whole earth with its colonies. Not satisfied with that, it goes among the ancient races of Asia and subjugates two hundred and forty millions to its rule. Along with this it disseminates over the world a commerce such as no imagination conceived in former times, and such as no poet ever painted. All this it has to do with the strength that lies within the narrow limits of these shores. . . . We have undertaken to settle the affairs of about a fourth of the entire human race scattered all over the world. Is not that enough for the ambition of Lord Beaconsfield? It satisfied the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning, Lord Grey and Sir Robert Peel; it satisfied Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, ay, and the late Lord Derby. . . . I speak after the experience of a lifetime, of which a fair portion has been spent in office, and I say that, strive as you will in Parliament and in office, human strength and human thought are not equal to the ordinary discharge of the calls and duties appertaining to Government in this great, wonderful and world-wide empire."

This was said in reference to the acquisition of Cyprus, the protectorate of Asia Minor and the annexation of the Transvaal, but it is every whit as true of the proposed acquisition of Egypt. Were it possible to be completed, we might rest assured that none of our dependencies would cause us more embarrassment or throw more work upon our hands. In an article written three years before the Mid-

\* "Political Speeches in Scotland," First Series, pp. 46, 47.



lothian campaign, and now reprinted, Mr. Gladstone expressed similar views, with especial reference to our policy in Egypt:—

"It is my firm conviction, derived from my political 'pastors and masters,' and confirmed by the facts of much experience, that, as a general rule, enlargements of the empire are for us an evil fraught with serious though possibly not with immediate danger. I do not affirm that they are always to be avoided, but that they should never be accepted except under circumstances of a strict and jealously examined necessity. I object to them because they are rarely effected except by means which are more or less questionable, and that tend to compromise British character in the eyes of an impartial world; a judgment which I hope will grow more and more operative in imposing restraint on the action of each particular State. I object to them because we already have our hands full. . . . It fills me with surprise that the disproportion between our population and our probable duties in war is so little felt, especially (so far as I know) by professional men, as a prudent restraint on the thirst for more territory." \*

In one of his Midlothian speeches Mr. Gladstone explained the principles of his foreign policy. I confess that it is melancholy reading now. But here, at any rate, we have the chart by which he undertook to steer. It has been his misfortune that he took over unfinished work. He found the Dual Control in operation, and felt bound to respect the obligations incurred by his predecessor. He has done his best to restrain the action of disturbing forces, and to give effect to his own principles. That he has done so with but partial effect is due to uncontrollable circumstances. It is another thing when he is called upon to abandon the task and throw his principles overboard.

Mr. Gladstone enumerates six principles which should form the basis of our foreign policy. We need not exhaust the schedule. One of them is that we should avoid needless and entangling engagements; another, that we should acknowledge the equal rights of all nations; and a third, that the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by a love of freedom. This last will perhaps serve to explain certain utterances of his which have been considered ill-timed respecting the rights of the people of the Soudan. The principle which is most pertinent to our present inquiry shall be set forth in his own words:—

"In my opinion the third sound principle is this—to strive to cultivate and maintain, ay, to the very uttermost, what is called the concert of Europe, to keep the Powers of Europe in union together. And why? Because by keeping all in union you neutralize and fetter and bind up the selfish claims of each. I am not here to flatter either England or any of them. They have selfish aims, as, unfortunately, we in late years have too sadly shown that we too have had selfish aims. But their common action is fatal to selfish aims. Common action means common objects, and the only objects for which you can unite together the Powers of Europe are objects connected with the common good of them all."†

\* *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1877.

† "Political Speeches in Scotland," p. 115.

The concert of Europe has been a great point with Mr. Gladstone. He proclaimed the doctrine at a time when there was clearly no such concert at all; when one or two Powers were doing their own sweet will and dragging the rest after them. Doubtless the doctrine has its illusions. He assumes an equality among the Powers which as a matter of fact does not exist. Hence the concert of Europe may at times be only another name for the predominance of one Power which has the means, or knows the art, of making a majority of the rest subservient to its aims. Nevertheless, it is a fruitful idea. Arguments based on justice, or drawn from considerations of common interest, cannot be urged wholly in vain. They must in decency be either admitted or refuted, and the most cynical statesman may in the end be shamed into doing what is right. Mr. Gladstone employed this method to secure the carrying out of the unfulfilled conditions of the Treaty of Berlin, and it succeeded. Montenegro received the territory assigned to her by the treaty, and an engagement, more plausible than definite, was made good in favour of Greece. No single Power could have done this, yet it was done, though the majority were unwilling. The concert of Europe made it practicable. Mr. Gladstone's chief indictment against Lord Salisbury was, that he had broken the concert of Europe by his underhanded Convention with Turkey, and set a mischievous example of isolated action. On no point has he insisted with greater force than that, by the Treaty of Paris, no political change affecting any part of the Turkish Empire can be made without the consent of the Powers. The existence of Egypt as a separate State depends upon the firmans of the Sultan. It is part and parcel of his dominions, and any attempt to convey it away, either by annexation or a protectorate, to some other Power stands barred, in Mr. Gladstone's opinion, by the public law of Europe.

But suppose all international difficulties out of the way, and the door left open to us for adding Egypt to the British Empire, what is to be said of the expediency of such a procedure? Is it an opportunity we ought to seize? Is it desirable that we should make this fresh advance? Without discussing the question, let us hear Mr. Gladstone's opinions. We find them fully expressed in the article already quoted, written in 1877, in reply to Mr. Dicey. That, it may be said, is a long time ago, but the article is not older than the Egyptian question. The problems which now confront us were then before the public, and Mr. Gladstone's observations could not be more applicable if they had been written last week. Referring to the plea that the drift of English opinion was in favour of annexation or occupation, Mr. Gladstone said:—

"I, nevertheless, venture to believe that every scheme for the acquisition of territorial power in Egypt, even in the refined form with which it has been

here invested, is but a new snare in the path of our policy. We may seize an Aden or a Perim, where there is not an already formed community of inhabitants, and circumscribe a tract at will. But our first site in Egypt, be it by larceny, or be it by emption, will be the almost certain egg of a North African Empire."

It was said then, as it has been said since, that some of the Powers were not really averse to our occupation of Egypt, and that encouraging hints had reached us from the most influential regions of European diplomacy. Mr. Gladstone's comment is this:—

"For one, I should attach more weight to this encouragement could I find that each and all of the Powers of Europe are bent on consolidating the peace of Europe. But a suspicion has gone abroad that in some minds a disposition prevails to seek for safety, or to secure pre-eminence, in setting their neighbours by the ears. Nor can I entirely dismiss this feeling with all the promptitude, nay, all the indignation, which might be desired."\*

To the suggestion made by Mr. Dicey, which sounds strangely improbable to-day, that the statesmen of France were ready to acquiesce in any policy which might strengthen England's interest in the Isthmus of Suez, Mr. Gladstone says:—

"Without entering into details that could not be profitable, I must record my own emphatic dissent. My belief is that the day which witnesses our occupation of Egypt will bid a long farewell to all cordiality of political relations between France and England. There might be no immediate quarrel, but a silent rankling grudge there would be, like the now extinguished grudge of America during the civil war, which awaited the opportunity of some embarrassment on our side, and on hers of returning peace and leisure from weightier matters. Nations have good memories."†

Mr. Gladstone saw another objection to our occupation of Egypt. He regarded it as "a dangerous experiment on the common susceptibilities of Islam." Repudiating the idea that our Mahomedan fellow-subjects in India might prove disloyal, he nevertheless regarded the susceptibilities we might wound in Egypt as natural and just. Mr. Gladstone observed that Mahomedan sympathies appeared to be operating in Egypt with great force, an observation which is still more applicable now. In the conduct of the late Khedive towards the Sultan there were some things which could only have been done "for the dear sake of his religion." "Viewing all these facts," said Mr. Gladstone, "I for one am inclined to say, on prudential grounds, 'Hands off.'"

Let us return for a moment to the Suez Canal, the true kernel of the Egyptian question. For the revival of political apprehension in connection with it we have to thank Lord Beaconsfield. His purchase of the Khedive's shares reinstated the political character of the canal. Great reliance was placed in his sagacity. It was assumed that he looked ahead and saw more than was apparent to outsiders. The magnitude of the outlay, the surreptitious character

\* *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1877.

† *Ibid.*

of the purchase, and the quickened interest which the Government forthwith began to take in Egypt, helped to strengthen this impression. It was soon settled that we must hold the canal and everything necessary to the holding of it, even if we should have to occupy Egypt. The views then adopted at the cue of Downing Street are the source of our present embarrassments.

But the misconceptions and the blunders of statesmen do not alter facts. The Suez Canal was, and remains, a purely commercial enterprise. The shareholders look out for dividends, and prize their investment. They are not bloated financiers, but for the most part people of small means, who have turned their frugal savings into shares. Hence in time of peace our interests are secure. We need no guarantee for the maintenance of unimpeded communication beyond that which is afforded by the self-interest of the proprietors. As England owns four-fifths of the ships passing through the canal, it can only pay through our custom, and if anything happened that compelled us to send our ships round by the Cape, the canal would be ruined as an investment. Hence the interests of the company are enlisted beforehand against the policy of any Power, or of any combination of the Powers, which would cost them the loss of this invaluable traffic. They are thus a powerful agency on the side of peace, but even in the event of a war with France it cannot be doubted that they would make every effort to maintain the neutrality of the canal. Our ships would be welcome at Port Said, even if English and French ironclads were sending each other to the bottom elsewhere. *A fortiori*, while peace continues we have nothing to fear. It is said, indeed, that some external force will be necessary from time to time to prevent the company from imposing extortionate charges. It is not necessary to occupy Egypt in order to guard against this contingency, as M. de Lesseps learned when he sought to alter the rules of freight measurement in his favour. He took high ground, and even threatened, as a temporary means of coercion, to close the canal. At the instance of England, the Powers took action through the Turkish and Egyptian Governments, and under the threat of a military occupation of the canal, M. de Lesseps lowered his flag. The interests of Europe are on the side of commercial equity. We need not occupy Egypt to keep a joint-stock company within bounds.

Such are our prospects in time of peace; what are they for a time of war? There is one general and obvious reply to be given to this question. Our ability to use the canal in time of war will depend upon our naval supremacy. If a belligerent attempts to blockade the mouth of the canal, we shall have to beat him and keep the channel open. No position which we might, as a matter of precaution, have secured in Egypt would save us from this necessity. The possession

of Alexandria or Cairo would avail us nothing at Port Said if we were unable to hold our own in the Mediterranean. We might line the banks of the canal with British grenadiers, but it would be useless if we failed to vanquish the enemy at sea. It may be urged that if some other Power were in possession of Egypt the canal might easily be closed against us, even though we were masters of the Mediterranean. But an enemy would have no difficulty in making the canal impassable, whether he were in possession of Egypt or not. It is natural to discuss the chances of our being able to use the canal in time of war, but the probability is that, if the other belligerent were one of the Mediterranean Powers, neither commercial ships nor military transports would be sent through the Mediterranean. As Mr. Rathbone has pointed out,\* they would run such risks in passing through those narrow seas, "they would be so much harassed by gunboats and torpedoes issuing from the enemy's ports," that the longer and safer route would be preferred. Against these inevitable dangers the occupation of Egypt would supply no safeguard whatever.

In the republished article from which some extracts have already been quoted, Mr. Gladstone gives us his views on this subject :—

"It seems doubtful whether confident reliance can be placed upon the canal for our military communications with India under the varied and shifting contingencies of war. I make no doubt that we shall secure and firmly hold whatever can be attained by maritime supremacy at both extremities of the canal. But neither maritime supremacy nor the promised forts on the Syrian side will secure unbroken freedom of passage along a water-way where there is only a depth of twenty-four and twenty-eight feet, with a general width sufficient for one vessel, to be obstructed. Even if it were possible to hold the line, approaching a hundred miles, as a continuous fortification, it does not at first appear how the canal could be secured against the furtive scuttling of ships. If it cannot, what becomes of all the costly care for the military custody of its banks? And in what position would England be placed before the world, if, for the sake of convenience on our military road to India, we insist on bringing about dangers to the canal from which, as the commercial and pacific highway of the world, it might but for us be free? Upon the whole, it would not surprise me to learn that the authorities of the War Department, aware of all the difficulties of the case, had already discounted them by laying their account with a return to the old route by the Cape for times of war."†

In discussing the supposition that Russia, or, we may now say, France, might, by seizing the canal and sending her ships through it, get the start of us in India, Mr. Gladstone observes that the difference in time between the passage by the canal and the passage by the Cape is only three weeks for Bombay, and that, "this will hardly make the difference between life and death in the maintenance of our Indian Empire." It strengthens Mr. Gladstone's argument to find that the difference in time need not be nearly so great as three

\* *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1882.

† *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1877.

weeks. Mr. Rathbone tells us that there would be "no difficulty in building transports capable of performing the journey to Bombay by way of the Cape in about thirty-one days, only four days more than the time occupied by the steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company in reaching the same destination by way of the canal."\* Our present transports take thirty-one days by the same route.

I offer no excuse for making these citations from Mr. Gladstone. It seems necessary once more to familiarize ourselves with his opinions. We were well acquainted with them four years ago. He had propagated them with the ardour of a missionary and uttered them in clarion tones. We knew that he was opposed to everything clandestine or one-sided in foreign policy; that he held it a duty to maintain the concert of Europe, and to attempt no solution of questions of common interest without the consent of the other Powers. We knew that he carried morality into politics; that he sought to take a broad and just view of our international obligations, and was not the man to snap at opportunities. These were the characteristics which distinguished him from Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. The country had both examples before its eyes, and when the time came for choosing between them, its mind was made up without hesitation. The principles which Mr. Gladstone had been expounding and upholding for years received the sober approval of a large majority of the nation. He is now blamed by some of his supporters for not setting those principles aside. It is alleged against him that he has missed a great opportunity in Egypt,† an opportunity which, if seized at the moment and pushed home, might have made us sole masters of the land. He is required to insist that France, by an omission which was never meant to involve any surrender of her right, had sacrificed all her interests in Egypt, much as a hedge-lawyer might insist that a technical flaw voided the deed. He is expected to inform the other Powers that, while we invite their help in matters of finance, they will not be allowed to discuss any of the political questions arising out of our occupation of Egypt, and that in this instance the concert of Europe must mean acquiescence in whatever we may resolve to do. As regards Egypt itself, he is to decline to fix a date for the withdrawal of our troops except one which, since it is to be determined by difficult, if not unattainable, conditions, is hardly expected to arrive. Mr. Gladstone is not wholly destitute of the suppleness required in a practical statesman. He is not distinguished for a pedantic adherence to rule. He is aware that principles sometimes need to be interpreted by a large regard for qualifying circumstances. But those of his supporters who are beseeching him to do all this are

\* *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1882.

† *Spectator*, June 7, 1884.

asking too much. If we really want to have this programme carried out we must send for Lord Salisbury.

The Government have been charged with pursuing a vacillating policy in Egypt. It must be admitted that if there has not been vacillation there has been much that looked like it, and the inquiry into which we have been led supplies an explanation. The truth is that they have had two policies in Egypt, the policy of their predecessors and their own. If Mr. Gladstone had not been driven from power in 1874 there would have been no purchase of the Suez Canal shares, no dabbling in Egyptian finance in the interest of the bondholders, no political interference with the Khedive and no Dual Control. If any Egyptian Question had arisen, Mr. Gladstone would have acted on the lines of his own policy, and there would have been no vacillation. But on taking office in 1880 he found an Egyptian policy in possession of the field. It was widely different from his own, but he deemed it his duty to accept it so far as it involved engagements with other Powers, and so far as it placed us in definite relations with France. "We have no power," he said in his first political speech after the dissolution, "to relieve you through a summary process from engagements of honour and good faith entered into with the present Government. However we may disapprove them, however we may deplore them . . . the country must take the consequences. Prudence, care, diligence, may do much in the course of time; but whatever good faith requires must be accepted and fulfilled." They have used this "prudence, care, diligence" in coping with the disastrous consequences of the policy to which they stood committed. This has given the appearance of vacillation. If the author of that policy had been still in power he might have carried it out consistently. He might perhaps have seized the opportunity which Mr. Gladstone is said to have neglected. Egypt might perhaps have been annexed and France preparing for war. Under Mr. Gladstone's guidance there has been inconsistency, because, instead of allowing our intervention in Egypt to run out to its logical results, he has sought to modify it by bringing it under the controlling influence of his own policy. He has abstained from every step which might seem to commit us to a permanent occupation of Egypt. He has done everything in his power to maintain the authority of the Khedive. He has resolutely refused to take the Government of Egypt into our own hands. He has sought to create a native army which should be able to maintain order when our troops were withdrawn. He has aspired, the aspiration was perhaps too sanguine, to give to the Egyptians representative institutions of a character suited to their capacity, with the view of training them in the practice and duties of self-government. His aim has been to make Egypt strong enough to stand alone, and to give her the means of rising to a

higher level of political civilization. Even in its partial failure it is worthy of admiration. Lord Salisbury would not have failed, for he would not have made the experiment. He would have scorned to use such a "blunted sword."

After the sacrifices we have made in Egypt, it is easy to understand the indisposition which prevails to admit the other Powers to a voice in determining its future destinies. This feeling is natural to a powerful nation, confident, perhaps unduly confident, in its own resources, which has dared great things in its time and been accustomed to have its own way. But if we were ten times stronger than we are, there are certain restraints which we should be bound in honour to impose upon ourselves. As a member of the European commonwealth of nations, England cannot close her ears to considerations of public right. Upon questions on which other nations have a right to be heard it is our duty to listen. How stands the case as regards Egypt? As a portion of the Ottoman Empire it falls under the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, which stipulated that no changes should be made in its territorial arrangements without the consent of the Powers. These provisions are not obsolete. They were appealed to at the Berlin Conference, and were the basis on which it met. When the outbreak of disorder in Egypt made it probable that a necessity for intervention would arise, France and England did not presume to act on their own authority. At their instance the representatives of the Powers met in conference at Constantinople; the facts were laid before them, and their sanction asked to the recommendations which it had been agreed to make. The proposal which found most favour was that Turkey should be invited to send troops to Egypt. Events moved fast. Turkey hesitated, and England acted alone. But this step was justified on the ground of necessity, and the right of the Powers to decide hereafter upon the political questions arising out of our intervention was expressly reserved. The right of the other Powers to a voice in all that concerns Egypt has been constantly asserted by them and admitted by ourselves. The negotiations which preceded the Constantinople Conference proceed on this assumption, and in the Egyptian papers presented to Parliament references to the concert of Europe are found on almost every page. At the Conference itself the Plenipotentiaries signed a self-denying ordinance debarring the States they represented from deriving any separate advantage from what might be done in Egypt. By what right can we now turn round and declare that the other Powers shall not be heard in Egyptian politics? We may say that the time for referring the question to them has not yet come, but we can hardly deny them the right of asking when it is likely to arrive, and of making such inquiries as may satisfy them of the necessity of delay.



But it may be said, have the battles of Tel-el-Kebir, Teb and Tamasi raised no barrier to the exercise of these rights? After paying the cost of the Egyptian expedition in treasure and blood, are we under any moral obligation to invite other nations to determine how much we shall enjoy of the fruits of our victories, and how much shall be taken from us? It should be remembered that the sacrifices have not been all our own. Our bombardment either caused or occasioned the destruction of a large part of Alexandria. Compensation to the amount of five millions has been adjudged; but it will fall upon the bankrupt finances of Egypt. The cost of our army of occupation is defrayed from the same source. But, passing by these smaller matters, it will be admitted that our intervention was voluntary, and that it left all pre-existing rights untouched. How have we ourselves acted in similar circumstances? The recent case of Russia furnishes an almost exact parallel. After the failure of the Constantinople Conference, which was summoned to adjudicate between Turkey and the Slav provinces, Russia took the matter into her own hands and invaded Turkey. The sacrifices she made were enormous. The blood of her people was poured out like water. Plevna was stormed at last, the Balkans were crossed, and the Russian army paused before Constantinople, which the British fleet alone prevented them from entering. Peace was then made between the Czar and the Sultan, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed, and, so far as the belligerents were concerned, the whole business was at an end. But England was not satisfied. In a famous despatch, Lord Salisbury insisted that the Treaty of San Stefano should be laid before a Congress of the Powers for sanction or revision. Russia submitted. The Congress set the Treaty of San Stefano aside and framed another treaty. Then came the question of the withdrawal of the forces of Russia from the provinces in occupation. She was allowed but short shrift. Six, nine, and twelve months were the periods fixed, according as the provinces were near or remote, and at their expiration, or soon after, the Russians had cleared out. Native governments had to be set up; but the Russians were not permitted to stay to superintend their growth. That duty was remitted to representatives of the Powers. This we did to Russia, to this Russia submitted, and yet in our own case we presume to tell the Powers that we shall not permit them even to discuss our political arrangements in Egypt.

To sum up the foregoing observations, it would appear that we have less to gain by an exclusive possession of Egypt than is commonly supposed, even if there would be any balance of advantage, however small. All that we want is a right of way through it, and a reasonable certitude that this right will not be interfered with. During peace there can be no possible ground for apprehension. A com-

mercial undertaking, and the canal is nothing else, lives on its profits, and those who own it will never seek to get rid of four-fifths of their customers. They would also do their best to keep it open for us in time of war; but it is admitted that they might not have the power. Should that happen, our being able to use the canal would be a question of maritime superiority. That is, and must be, in any case, the final upshot, and our having, or not having, a territorial hold on Egypt could make no difference whatever. A difference there no doubt would be if Egypt were in the possession of another Power, since the canal might then be obstructed at some point of its course beyond our reach. But if we were supreme at sea Egypt would not long remain in hostile hands, did we think it worth while to wrest it from them. It may be admitted, as Lord Salisbury argued at Plymouth, that the possession of Egypt by any other Power might tend to lower our influence in the East. But the contingency is in the highest degree improbable, and we are well able to take the most effectual means to prevent its occurrence. The rest of Europe, however unwilling to allow Egypt to pass exclusively into our hands, would be still more unwilling to see it pass into the hands of France. A Convention of the Powers, guaranteeing the neutrality of Egypt, would provide against the only risk as to which any solicitude need be felt.

While we should derive no benefit from the exclusive possession of Egypt, it would largely augment our responsibilities and involve us in growing complications. The spectacle of England in military occupation of the Delta and the Isthmus would be a standing provocation to the rivalries and jealousies of the Mediterranean Powers. We should thereby furnish them with ground on which they could all meet to plot to our disadvantage, even though they might quarrel among themselves as soon as the end was won. The change which has taken place in the European balance of power largely affects the Mediterranean. Not very long ago, save in the Gulf of Lyons, not a sign of political life could be discerned along its shores. There was no Italy, no Greece; the activities of Austria were absorbed in another direction; the Slav provinces of Turkey still slumbered, and the influence of Russia was hardly felt south of the Danube. A great revolution has taken place, and it is extending year by year. Austria's march to the *Ægean* is already mapped out, and the fate of Constantinople trembles in the balance. All the nations are pressing south, and with the exception, of Germany, we can hardly say Russia, all the great Powers of the Continent abut upon the Mediterranean. Germany is scarcely an exception, for she has southern interests, and is eager to find through Austria new outlets for trade. Some of the border States are in the first flush of youth, and all alike have their ambitious dreams. England already in

possession of Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, has only to acquire Egypt to win supremacy in the Mediterranean. If we seize Egypt we shall have to make a large addition to our military and naval forces. It is known on how narrow a foundation of military power our Imperial fortunes are built, and the belief is widely spread that the imposing fabric would collapse at the first united and resolute assault. It is a mistaken belief, and those who know us best are most persuaded that it is. But there is no humiliation in asking ourselves how far we are prepared to face a European war, a war in which we should have no allies, and should be without the moral support afforded to those who know they are struggling in a righteous cause. For we should be unable to conceal from ourselves the damning fact that the contest was provoked by a violation of our international engagements amounting almost to perfidy.

Why should we run such risks? Why should we incur such prospective sacrifices? The only object of any importance to us as regards Egypt is that it shall not fall into the hands of a rival Power. We have no imaginable interest in demanding anything more, and this can be easily secured. The moment our exclusive claims are set aside, the jealousies of the other Powers would afford a sufficient guarantee that none of them would be allowed to seize the prize which we had renounced. Egypt would pass by some device into the hands of Europe. There would be a Protectorate in which we could not but play an important part. The canal would probably be neutralized and set apart both in peace and war as a highway for the commerce of all nations. No arrangement could be more advantageous for our interests. In time of war our commerce would be exposed to the usual risks, but once within a certain radius of the Mediterranean entrance to the canal it would be safe from capture. The pretence is set up that we are bound to do great things for the Egyptians before we take our departure; above all, that it is our mission to save the fellâheen from the bondholder and the "courbash." We are under no obligation to the people of Egypt which the people of Egypt are not eager to repel. The Khedive was on the point of being overthrown when we intervened, and he could not be in a worse plight if we left to-morrow. We probably flatter ourselves in thinking that we have any monopoly of the sense of justice. The great Powers have already shown that they are willing to interpose between Egypt and the bondholder. They have already assented to more lenient terms, and they are more likely to pursue the same course if Egypt is to be placed before long under their joint protection, than if any concession they might make would be used by us in strengthening our own ascendancy. As for the "courbash," we may pair it off with the cat-o'-nine-tails, an implement of torture not unknown to British backs. The assumption that every change

in Egyptian procedure which brings it nearer to our own must necessarily be an improvement is a mere provincialism, none the less so for its being of a well-known metropolitan type. The Egyptians would not be Englishmen for all the world, any more than we would be Egyptians.

The present crisis is too much regarded as one in which only England, France, and Egypt are concerned. But it is a European crisis, and involves the widest issues. It is a crisis which has been long foreseen, though not in the form which it has actually assumed; it is the climax of the intrigues and international by-play of half a century. It occurs in a form particularly advantageous to England, should she have the strength to resist the temptations it offers; for France is willing to merge the rivalry of the two Powers in a European agreement which will give us all we want. There is, of course, the chance, the opportunity, which Mr. Gladstone is charged with having neglected, of our becoming sole masters of Egypt. It has not yet disappeared. We are still free to seize it if we choose to incur the dishonour and take the risk. But national morality, and that discerning prudence which has always been the saving gift of the greatest Powers while they remained the greatest, unite in saying, No! The first result of yielding to the temptation would be the estrangement of England and France. We might not come to blows to-day, but we certainly should to-morrow. If there is in us a tithe of that instinctive prescience which has saved us at critical periods in the past and reserved us for greater things, we shall decline to face that certainty. There is a talk of alliances, and a discussion as to which is preferable, an alliance with a Power with which we have little in common or with one with which we have much. In the former case we might well ask what would our ally do for us at a pinch? Would it place at our disposal the bones of a single Pomeranian ploughman? We may easily delude ourselves on that point. But an alliance with a Power with which we have little in common is dearly purchased if it puts us in antagonism with a Power which confronts us everywhere. A good understanding with the one Power might secure us much, an arrangement with the other nothing. I am not for peace-at-any-price, if there be an Englishman who is. I am ready to fight, and to urge my countrymen to fight, if the challenge finds us with a good cause and a sound conscience. But the cause must not be one involving a breach of solemn obligations and leading to sterile results.

HENRY DUNCKLEY.

## THE GREAT POLITICAL SUPERSTITION.

THE great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments. The oil of anointing seems unawares to have dripped from the head of the one on to the heads of the many, and given sacredness to them also and to their decrees.

However irrational we may think the earlier of these beliefs, we must admit that it was more consistent than is the later. Whether we go back to times when the king was a god, or to times when he was a descendant of a god, or to times when he was god-appointed, we see good reason for passive obedience to his will. When, as under Louis XIV., theologians like Bossuet taught that kings "are gods, and share in a manner the Divine independence," or when it was thought, as by our own Tory party in old days, that "the monarch was the delegate of heaven," it is clear that, given the premise, the inevitable conclusion was that no bounds could be set to governmental commands. But for the modern belief such a warrant does not exist. Making no pretension to divine descent or divine appointment, a legislative body can show no supernatural justification for its claim to unlimited authority; and no natural justification has ever been attempted. Hence, belief in its unlimited authority is without that consistency which of old characterized belief in a king's unlimited authority.

It is curious how commonly men continue to hold in fact, doctrines which they have rejected in name—retaining the substance after they have abandoned the form. In Theology an illustration is supplied by Carlyle, who, in his student days, giving up, as he thought, the creed of his fathers, rejected its shell only, keeping the contents,

and was proved by his conceptions of the world, and man, and conduct, to be still among the sternest of Scotch Calvinists. Similarly, Science furnishes an instance in one who united naturalism in Geology with supernaturalism in Biology—Sir Charles Lyell. While, as the leading expositor of the uniformitarian theory in Geology, he ignored wholly the Mosaic cosmogony, he long defended that belief in special creations of organic types, for which no other source than the Mosaic cosmogony could be assigned; and only in the latter part of his life surrendered to the arguments of Mr. Darwin. In Politics, as above implied, we have an analogous case. The tacitly-asserted doctrine, common to Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, that governmental authority is unlimited, dates back to times when the law-giver was supposed to have a warrant from God; and it survives still, though the belief that the law-giver has God's warrant has died out. "Oh, an Act of Parliament can do anything," is the reply made to a citizen who questions the legitimacy of some arbitrary State-interference; and the citizen stands paralyzed. It does not occur to him to ask the how, and the when, and the whence, of this asserted omnipotence bounded only by physical impossibilities.

Here we will take leave to question it. In default of the justification, once logically valid, that the ruler on Earth being a deputy of the ruler in Heaven, submission to him in all things is a duty, let us ask what reason there is for asserting the duty of submission in all things to a ruling power, constitutional or republican, which has no Heaven-derived supremacy. Evidently this inquiry commits us to a criticism of past and present theories concerning political authority. To revive questions supposed to be long since settled, may be thought to need some apology; but there is a sufficient apology in the implication above made clear, that the theory commonly accepted is ill-based or unbiased.

The notion of sovereignty is that which first presents itself; and a critical examination of this notion, as entertained by those who do not postulate the supernatural origin of sovereignty, carries us back to the arguments of Hobbes.

Let us grant Hobbes's postulate that, "during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war . . . of every man against every man;"\* though this is not true, since there are some small uncivilized societies in which, without any "common power to keep them all in awe," men maintain peace and harmony better than it is maintained in societies where such a power exists. Let us suppose him to be right, too, in assuming that the rise of a ruling power, over

\* Hobbes, "Collected Works," vol. iii. pp. 112-13.

associated men results from their desires to preserve order among themselves; though, in fact, it habitually arises from the need for subordination to a leader in war, defensive or offensive, and has originally no necessary, and often no actual, relation to the preservation of order among the combined individuals. Once more, let us admit the indefensible assumption that to escape the evils of chronic warfare, which must otherwise continue among them, the members of a community enter into a "pact or covenant," by which they all bind themselves to surrender their primitive freedom of action, and subordinate themselves to the will of a ruling power agreed upon:\* accepting, also, the implication that their descendants for ever are bound by the covenant which remote ancestors made for them. Let us, I say, not object to these data, but pass to the conclusions Hobbes draws. He says:—

"For where no covenant hath preceded, there hath no right been transferred, and every man has right to every thing; and consequently, no action can be unjust. But when a covenant is made, then to break it is *unjust*: and the definition of INJUSTICE, is no other than *the not performance of covenant*. . . . Therefore before the names of just and unjust can have place, there must be some coercive power, to compel men equally to the performance of their covenants, by the terror of some punishment, greater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their covenant."\*

Were people's characters in Hobbes's day really so bad as to warrant his assumption that none would perform their covenants in the absence of a coercive power and threatened penalties? In our day "the names of just and unjust can have place" quite apart from recognition of any coercive power. Among my friends I could name half a dozen whom I would implicitly trust to perform their covenants without any "terror of some punishment;" and over whom the requirements of justice would be as imperative in the absence of a coercive power as in its presence. Merely noting, however, that this unwarranted assumption vitiates Hobbes's argument for State-authority, and accepting both his premises and conclusion, we have to observe two significant implications. One is that State-authority as thus derived, is a means to an end, and has no validity save as subserving that end: if the end is not subserved, the authority, by the hypothesis, does not exist. The other is that the end for which the authority exists, as thus specified, is the enforcement of justice—the maintenance of equitable relations. The reasoning yields no warrant for other coercion over citizens than that which is required for preventing direct aggressions, and those indirect aggressions constituted by breaches of contract; to which, if we add protection against external enemies, the entire function implied by Hobbes's derivation of sovereign authority is compre-

\* Hobbes, "Collected Works," vol. iii. p. 159.

† *Ibid.* pp. 130-1.

Hobbes argued in the interests of absolute monarchy. His modern admirer, Austin, had for his aim to derive the authority of law from the unlimited sovereignty of one man, or of a number of men, small or large compared with the whole community. Austin was originally in the army; and it has been truly remarked that "the permanent traces left" may be seen in his "Province of Jurisprudence." When, undeterred by the exasperating pedantries—the endless distinctions and definitions and repetitions—which serve but to hide his essential doctrines, we ascertain what these are, it becomes manifest that he assimilates civil authority to military authority: taking for granted that the one, as the other, is above question in respect of both origin and range. To get justification for positive law, he takes us back to the absolute sovereignty of the power imposing it—a monarch, an aristocracy, or that larger body of men who have votes in a democracy; for such a body also, he styles the sovereign, in contrast with the remaining portion of the community which, from incapacity or other cause, remains subject. And having affirmed, or, rather, taken for granted, the unlimited authority of the body, simple or compound, small or large, which he styles sovereign, he, of course, has no difficulty in deducing the legal validity of its edicts, which he calls positive law. But the problem is simply moved a step further back and there left unsolved. The true question is—Whence the sovereignty? What is the assignable warrant for this unqualified supremacy assumed by one, or by a small number, or by a large number, over the rest? A critic might fitly say—"We will dispense with your process of deriving positive law from unlimited sovereignty: the sequence is obvious enough. But first prove your unlimited sovereignty."

To this demand there is no response. Analyze his assumption, and the doctrine of Austin proves to have no better basis than that of Hobbes. In the absence of admitted divine descent or appointment, neither single-headed ruler nor many-headed ruler can produce such credentials as the claim to unlimited sovereignty implies.

"But surely," will come in deafening chorus the reply, "there is the unquestionable right of the majority, which gives unquestionable right to the parliament it elects."

Yes, now we are coming down to the root of the matter. The divine right of parliaments means the divine right of majorities. The fundamental assumption made by legislators and people alike is that a majority of a nation has powers to which no limits can be put. This is the current theory which all accept without proof as a self-evident truth. Nevertheless, criticism will, I think, show that this current theory requires a radical modification.

In an essay on "Railway Morals and Railway Policy," published



in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1854, I had occasion to deal with the question of a majority's powers as exemplified in the conduct of public companies; and I cannot better prepare the way for conclusions presently to be drawn, than by quoting a passage from it:—

"Under whatever circumstances, or for whatever ends, a number of men co-operate, it is held that if difference of opinion arises among them, justice requires that the will of the greater number shall be executed rather than that of the smaller number; and this rule is supposed to be uniformly applicable, be the question at issue what it may. So confirmed is this conviction, and so little have the ethics of the matter been considered, that to most this mere suggestion of a doubt will cause some astonishment. Yet it needs but a brief analysis to show that the opinion is little better than a political superstition. Instances may readily be selected, which prove, by *reductio ad absurdum*, that the right of a majority is a purely conditional right, valid only within specific limits. Let us take a few. Suppose that at the general meeting of some philanthropic association, it was resolved that in addition to relieving distress the association should employ home-missionaries to preach down popery. Might the subscriptions of Catholics, who had joined the body with charitable views, be rightfully used for this end? Suppose that of the members of a book-club, the greater number, thinking that under existing circumstances rifle-practice was more important than reading, should decide to change the purpose of their union, and to apply the funds in hand for the purchase of powder, ball, and targets. Would the rest be bound by this decision? Suppose that under the excitement of news from Australia, the majority of a Freehold Land Society should determine, not simply to start in a body for the gold diggings, but to use their accumulated capital to provide outfits. Would this appropriation of property be just to the minority? and must these join the expedition? Scarcely anyone would venture an affirmative answer even to the first of these questions; much less to the others. And why? Because everyone must perceive that by uniting himself with others, no man can equitably be betrayed into acts utterly foreign to the purpose for which he joined them. Each of these supposed minorities would properly reply to those seeking to coerce them:—'We combined with you for a defined object; we gave money and time for the furtherance of that object; on all questions thence arising we tacitly agreed to conform to the will of the greater number; but we did not agree to conform on any other questions. If you induce us to join you by professing a certain end, and then undertake some other end of which we were not apprised, you obtain our support under false pretences; you exceed the expressed or understood compact to which we committed ourselves; and we are no longer bound by your decisions.' Clearly this is the only rational interpretation of the matter. The general principle underlying the right government of every incorporated body, is, that its members contract with each other severally to submit to the will of the majority in all matters concerning the fulfilment of the objects for which they are incorporated; but in no others. To this extent only can the contract hold. For as it is implied in the very nature of a contract, that those entering into it must know what they contract to do; and as those who unite with others for a specified object, cannot contemplate all the unspecified objects which it is hypothetically possible for the union to undertake; it follows that the contract entered into cannot extend to such unspecified objects: and if there exists no expressed or understood contract between the union and its members respecting unspecified objects, then for the majority to coerce the minority into undertaking them, is nothing less than gross tyranny."

Naturally, if such a confusion of ideas exists in respect of the powers of a majority where the deed of incorporation tacitly limits those powers, still more must there exist such a confusion where there has been no deed of incorporation. Nevertheless the same principle holds. I again emphasize the proposition that the members of an incorporated body are bound "severally to submit to the will of the majority *in all matters concerning the fulfilment of the objects for which they are incorporated; but in no others.*" And I contend that this holds of an incorporated nation as much as of an incorporated company.

"Yes, but," comes the obvious rejoinder, "as there is no deed by which the members of a nation are incorporated—as there neither is, nor ever was, a specification of purposes for which the union was formed, there exist no limits; and, consequently, the power of the majority is unlimited."

Evidently it must be admitted that the hypothesis of a social contract, either under the shape assumed by Hobbes or under the shape assumed by Rousseau, is baseless. Nay more, it must be admitted that even had such a contract once been formed, it could not be binding on the posterity of those who formed it. Moreover, if any say that in the absence of those limitations to its powers which a deed of incorporation might imply, there is nothing to prevent a majority from imposing its will on a minority by force, assent must be given—an assent, however, joined with the comment that if the superior force of the majority is its justification, then the superior force of a despot backed by an adequate army, is also justified: the problem lapses. What we here seek is some higher warrant for the subordination of minority to majority than that arising from inability to resist physical coercion. Even Austin, anxious as he is to establish the unquestionable authority of positive law, and assuming, as he does, an absolute sovereignty of some kind, monarchic, aristocratic, constitutional, or popular, as the source of its unquestionable authority, is obliged, in the last resort, to admit a moral limit to its action over the community. While insisting, in pursuance of his rigid theory of sovereignty, that a sovereign body originating from the people "is *legally* free to abridge their political liberty, at its own pleasure or discretion," he allows that "a government may be hindered by *positive morality* from abridging the political liberty which it leaves or grants to its subjects."\* Hence, we have to find, not a physical justification, but a moral justification, for the supposed absolute power of the majority.

This will at once draw forth the rejoinder—"Of course, in the absence of any agreement, with its implied limitations, the rule of the majority is unlimited; because it is more just that the majority should

\* "The Province of Jurisprudence Determined" (second edition), p. 241.

have its way than that the minority should have its way." A very reasonable rejoinder this seems until there comes the re-rejoinder. We may oppose to it the equally tenable proposition that, in the absence of an agreement, the supremacy of a majority over a minority does not exist at all. It is co-operation of some kind, from which there arise these powers and obligations of majority and minority; and in the absence of any agreement to co-operate, such powers and obligations are also absent.

Here the argument apparently ends in a dead lock. Under the existing condition of things, no moral origin seems assignable either for the sovereignty of the majority or for the limitation of its sovereignty. But further consideration reveals a solution of the difficulty. For if, dismissing all thought of any hypothetical agreement to co-operate heretofore made, we ask what would be the agreement into which citizens would now enter with practical unanimity, we get a sufficiently clear answer; and with it a sufficiently clear justification for the rule of the majority inside a certain sphere, but not outside that sphere. Let us first observe a few of the limitations which at once become apparent.

Were all Englishmen now asked if they would agree to co-operate for the teaching of religion, and would give the majority power to fix the creed and the forms of worship, there would come a very emphatic "No" from a large part of them. If, in pursuance of a proposal to revive sumptuary laws, the inquiry were made whether they would bind themselves to abide by the will of the majority in respect of the fashions and qualities of their clothes, nearly all of them would refuse. In like manner if (to take an actual question of the day) people were polled to ascertain whether, in respect of the beverages they drank, they would accept the decision of the greater number, certainly half, and probably more than half, would decidedly decline. Similarly with respect to many other actions which most men now-a-days regard as of purely private concern. Whatever desire there might be to co-operate for carrying on, or regulating, such actions, would be far from a unanimous desire. Manifestly, then, had social co-operation to be commenced by ourselves, and had its purposes to be specified before consent to co-operate could be obtained, there would be large parts of human conduct in respect of which co-operation would be declined; and in respect of which, consequently, no authority by the majority over the minority could be rightfully exercised.

Turn now to the converse question—For what ends would all men agree to co-operate? None will deny that for resisting invasion the agreement would be practically unanimous. Excepting only the Quakers, who, having done highly useful work in their time, are now dying out, all would unite for defensive war (not, however, for offensive

war); and they would, by so doing, tacitly bind themselves to conform to the will of the majority in respect of measures directed to that end. There would be practical unanimity, also, in the agreement to co-operate for defence against internal enemies as against external enemies. Omitting criminals, all must wish to have person and property adequately protected. In short, each citizen desires to preserve his life, to preserve those material things which conduce to maintenance of his life, and to preserve intact his liberties both of using these material things and getting further such. It is obvious to him that he cannot do these things if he acts alone. Against foreign invaders he is powerless unless he combines with his fellows; and the business of protecting himself against domestic invaders, if he did not similarly combine, would be alike onerous, dangerous, and inefficient. In one other co-operation all are interested—use of the territory they inhabit. Did the primitive communal ownership survive, there would survive the primitive communal control of the uses to be made of land by individuals or by groups of them; and decisions of the majority would rightly prevail respecting the terms on which portions of it might be employed for raising food, for making means of communication, and for other purposes. Even at present, though the matter has been complicated by the growth of private landownership, yet, since the State is still supreme owner (every landowner being in law a tenant of the Crown) able to resume possession, or authorize compulsory purchase, at a fair price; the implication is that the will of the majority is valid respecting the modes in which, and conditions under which, parts of the surface or sub-surface, may be utilized: involving certain agreements made on behalf of the public with private persons and companies.

Details are not needful here; nor is it needful to discuss that border region lying between these classes of cases, and to say how much is included in the last and how much is excluded with the first. For present purposes, it is sufficient to recognize the undeniable truth that there are numerous kinds of actions in respect of which men would not, if they were asked, agree with anything like unanimity to be bound by the will of the majority; while there are some kinds of actions in respect of which they would almost unanimously agree to be thus bound. Here, then, we find a definite warrant for enforcing the will of the majority within certain limits, and a definite warrant for denying the authority of its will beyond those limits.

But evidently, when analyzed, the question resolves itself into the further question—What are the relative claims of the aggregate and of its units? Are the rights of the community universally valid against the individual? or has the individual some rights which are valid against the community? The judgment given on this point underlies the entire fabric of political convictions formed, and more

especially those convictions which concern the proper sphere of government. Here, then, I propose to revive a dormant controversy, with the expectation of reaching a different conclusion from that which is fashionable. \*

Says Professor Jevons, in his work, "The State in Relation to Labour,"—"The first step must be to rid our minds of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract rights." Of like character is the belief expressed by Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his article on copyright:—"An author has no natural right to a property in his production. But then neither has he a natural right to anything whatever which he may produce or acquire."\* So, too, I recently read in 'a weekly journal of high repute, that "to explain once more that there is no such thing as 'natural right' would be a waste of philosophy." And the view expressed in these extracts is commonly uttered by statesmen and lawyers in a way implying that only the unthinking masses hold any other.

One might have expected that utterances to this effect would have been rendered less dogmatic by the knowledge that a whole school of legists on the Continent, maintains a belief diametrically opposed to that maintained by the English school. The idea of *Natur-recht* is the root-idea of German jurisprudence. Now whatever may be the opinion held respecting German philosophy at large, it cannot be characterized as shallow. A doctrine current among a people distinguished above all others as laborious inquirers, and certainly not to be classed with superficial thinkers, should not be dismissed as though it were nothing more than a popular delusion. This, however, by the way. Along with the proposition denied in the above quotations, there goes a counter-proposition affirmed. Let us see what it is, and what results when we go behind it and seek its warrant.

On reverting to Bentham, we find this counter-proposition overtly expressed. He tells us that government fulfils its office "by creating rights which it confers upon individuals: rights of personal security; rights of protection for honour; rights of property;" &c.† Were this doctrine asserted as following from the divine right of kings, there would be nothing in it manifestly incongruous. Did it come to us from ancient Peru, where the Ynca "was the source from which everything flowed;"‡ or from Shoa (Abyssinia), where "of their persons and worldly substance he [the king] is absolute master;"§ or from Dahome, where "all men are slaves to the king;"|| it would

\* *Fortnightly Review* in 1880, vol. xxvii. p. 322.

† Bentham's Works (Bowring's edition), vol. i. p. 301.

‡ Prescott, "Conquest of Peru," bk. i. ch. 2.

§ Harris, "Highlands of Æthiopia," ii. 94.

|| Burton, "Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomie," i. p. 226.

be consistent enough. But Bentham, far from being an absolutist like Hobbes, wrote in the interests of popular rule. In his "Constitutional Code"\* he fixes the sovereignty in the whole people: arguing that it is best to "give the sovereign power to the largest possible portion of those whose greatest happiness is the proper and chosen object," because "this proportion is more apt than any other that can be proposed" for achievement of that object.

Mark, now, what happens when we put these two doctrines together. The sovereign people jointly appoint representatives, and so create a government; the government thus created, creates rights; and then, having created rights, it confers them on the separate members of the sovereign people by which it was itself created. Here is a marvellous piece of political legerdemain! Mr. Matthew Arnold, contending, in the article above quoted, that "property is the creation of law," tells us to beware of the "metaphysical phantom of property in itself." Surely, among metaphysical phantoms the most shadowy is this which supposes a thing to be obtained by creating an agent, which creates the thing, and then confers the thing on its own creator!

From whatever point of view we consider it, Bentham's proposition proves to be unthinkable. Government, he says, fulfils its office "by creating rights." Two meanings may be given to the word "creating." It may be supposed to mean the production of something out of nothing; or it may be supposed to mean the giving form and structure to something which already exists. There are many who think that the production of something out of nothing cannot be conceived as effected even by omnipotence; and probably none will assert that the production of something out of nothing is within the competence of a human government. The alternative conception is that a human government creates only in the sense that it shapes something pre-existing. In that case, the question arises—"What is the something pre-existing which it shapes?" Clearly the word "creating" begs the whole question—passes off an illusion on the unwary reader. Bentham was a stickler for definiteness of expression, and in his "Book of Fallacies" has a chapter on "Impostor-terms." It is curious that he should have furnished so striking an illustration of the perverted belief which an impostor-term may generate.

But now let us overlook these various impossibilities of thought, and seek the most defensible interpretation of Bentham's view.

It may be said that the totality of all powers and rights, originally existed as an undivided whole in the sovereign people; and that this undivided whole is given in trust (as Austin would say) to a ruling power, appointed by the sovereign people, for the purpose

\* Bentham's Works, vol. ix. p. 37.

of distribution. If, as we have seen, the proposition that rights are created is simply a figure of speech; then the only intelligible construction of Bentham's view is that a multitude of individuals, who severally wish to satisfy their desires, and have, as an aggregate, possession of all the sources of satisfaction, as well as power over all individual actions, appoint a government, which declares the ways in which, and the conditions under which, individual actions may be carried on and the satisfactions obtained. Let us observe what are the implications. Each man exists in two capacities. In his private capacity he is subject to the government. In his public capacity he is one of the sovereign people who appoint the government. That is to say, in his private capacity he is one of those to whom rights are given; and in his public capacity he is one of those who, through their agency, give the rights. Turn this abstract statement into a concrete statement, and see what it means. Let the community consist of a million men, who, by the hypothesis, are not only joint possessors of the inhabited region, but joint possessors of all liberties of action and appropriation: the only right recognized being that of the aggregate to everything. What follows? Each person, while not owning any product of his own labour, has, as a unit in the sovereign body, a millionth part of the ownership of the products of all others' labour. This is an unavoidable implication. As the government, in Bentham's view, is but an agent; the rights it confers are rights given to it in trust by the sovereign people. If so, such rights must be possessed *en bloc* by the sovereign people before the government, in fulfilment of its trust, confers them on individuals; and, if so, each individual has a millionth portion of these rights in his public capacity, while he has no rights in his private capacity. These he gets only when all the rest of the million join to endow him with them; while he joins to endow with them every other member of the million!

Thus, in whatever way we interpret it, Bentham's proposition leaves us in a plexus of absurdities.

Even though ignoring the opposite opinion of German writers on jurisprudence, and even without an analysis which proves their own opinion to be untenable, Bentham's disciples might have been led to treat less cavalierly the doctrine of natural rights. For sundry groups of social phenomena unite to prove that this doctrine is well warranted, and the doctrine they set against it unwarranted.

Tribes in various parts of the world show us that before definite government arises, conduct is regulated by customs. The Bechuanas are controlled by "long-acknowledged customs,"\* Among the Koranna Hottentots, who only "tolerate their chiefs rather than

\* Burchell, W. J., "Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa," vol. i. p. 544.

obey them,"\* "when ancient usages are not in the way, every man seems to act as is right in his own eyes."† The Araucanians are guided by "nothing more than primordial usages or tacit conventions."‡ Among the Kirghizes the judgments of the elders are based on "universally-recognized customs."§ So, too, of the Dyaks, Rajah Brooke tells us that "custom seems simply to have become the law; and breaking custom leads to a fine."|| So sacred are immemorial customs with the primitive man, that he never dreams of questioning their authority; and when government arises, its power is limited by them. In Madagascar the king's word suffices only "where there is no law, custom, or precedent."¶ Raffles tells us that in Java "the customs of the country"\*\*\* restrain the will of the ruler. In Sumatra, too, the people do not allow their chiefs to "alter their ancient usages."†† Nay, occasionally, as in Ashantee, "the attempt to change some customs" has caused a king's dethronement.‡‡ Now, among the customs which we thus find to be pro-governmental, and which subordinate governmental power when it is established, are those which recognize certain individual rights—rights to act in certain ways and possess certain things. Even where the recognition of property is least developed, there is proprietorship of weapons, tools, and personal ornaments; and, generally, the recognition goes far beyond this. Among such North-American Indians as the Snakes, who are without government, there is private ownership of horses. By the Chippewayans, "who have no regular government," game taken in private traps "is considered as private property."§§ Kindred facts concerning huts, utensils, and other personal belongings, might be brought in evidence from accounts of the Ahts, the Comanches, the Esquimaux, and the Brazilian Indians. Among various uncivilized peoples, custom has established the claim to the crop grown on a cleared plot of ground, though not to the ground itself; and the Todas, who are wholly without political organization, make a like distinction between ownership of cattle and of land. Kolff's statement respecting "the peaceful Arafuras" well sums up the evidence. They "recognize the right of property, in the fullest sense of the word, without there being any [other] authority among them than the decisions of their elders, according to the customs of their forefathers."||| But even without seeking proofs among the uncivi-

\* Arrousset and Daumas, "Voyage of Exploration," p. 27.

† Thompson, G., "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa," vol. ii. p. 30.

‡ Thompson, G. A., "Alcedo's Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America," vol. i. p. 465.

§ Mitchell, Alex., "Siberian Overland Route," p. 248.

|| Brooke's, C., "Ten Years in Sarawak," vol. i. p. 129.

¶ Ellis, "History of Madagascar," vol. i. p. 377.

\*\*\* Raffles, Sir T. S., "History of Java," i. 274.

†† Maraden, W., "History of Sumatra," p. 217.

‡‡ Beesham, J., "Ashantee and the Gold Coast," p. 90.

§§ Schoolcraft, H. R., "Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River," v. 177.

||| Earl's "Kolff's Voyage of the Demag," p. 161.



lized, sufficient proofs are furnished by early stages of the civilized. Bentham and his followers seem to have forgotten that our own common law is mainly an embodiment of "the customs of the realm." It did but give definite shape to that which it found existing. Thus, the fact and the fiction are exactly opposite to what they allege. The fact is that property was well recognized before law existed; the fiction is that "property is the creation of law."

Considerations of another class might alone have led them to pause had they duly considered their meanings. Were it true, as alleged by Bentham, that Government fulfils its office "by creating rights which it confers on individuals;" then, the implication would be, that there should be nothing approaching to uniformity in the rights conferred by different governments. In the absence of a determining cause over-ruling their decisions, the probabilities would be many to one against considerable correspondence among their decisions. But there is very great correspondence. Look where we may, we find that governments interdict the same kinds of aggressions; and, by implication, recognize the same kinds of claims. They habitually forbid homicide, theft, adultery: thus asserting that citizens may not be trespassed against in certain ways. And as society advances, minor individual claims are protected by giving remedies for breach of contract, libel, false witness, &c. In a word, comparisons show that though codes of law differ in their details as they become elaborated, they agree in their fundamentals. What does this prove? It cannot be by chance that they thus agree. They agree because the alleged creating of rights was nothing else than giving formal sanction and better definition to those assertions of claims and recognitions of claims which naturally originate from the individual desires of men who have to live in presence of one another.

Comparative sociology discloses another group of facts having the same implication. Along with social progress it becomes in an increasing degree the business of the State, not only to give formal sanction to men's rights, but also to defend them against aggressors. Before permanent government exists, and in many cases after it is considerably developed, the rights of each individual are asserted and maintained by himself, or by his family. Alike among savage tribes at present, among civilized peoples in the past, and even now in unsettled parts of Europe, the punishment for murder is a matter of private concern: "the sacred duty of blood revenge" devolves on some one of a cluster of relatives. Similarly, compensations for aggressions on property and for injuries of other kinds, are in early states of society independently sought by each man or family. But as social organization advances, the central ruling power undertakes more and more, to secure to individuals their personal safety, the safety of their possessions, and, to some extent, the enforcement of their claims

established by contract. Originally concerned almost exclusively with defence of the society as a whole against other societies, or with conducting its attacks on other societies, Government has come more and more to discharge the function\* of defending individuals against one another. It needs but to recall the days when men habitually carried weapons, or to bear in mind the greater safety to person and property achieved by improved police-administration during our own time, or to note the increased facilities now given for recovering small debts, to see that the insuring to each individual the unhindered pursuit of the objects of life within limits set by others' like pursuits, is more and more recognized as a duty of the State. In other words, along with social progress, there goes not only a fuller recognition of these which we call natural rights, but also a better enforcement of them by Government : Government becomes more and more the servant to these essential pre-requisites for individual welfare.

An allied and still more significant change has accompanied this. In early stages, at the same time that the State failed to protect the individual against aggression, it was itself an aggressor in multitudinous ways. Those ancient societies which progressed enough to leave records, having all been conquering societies, show us everywhere the traits of the militant *régime*. As, for the effectual organization of fighting bodies, the soldiers, absolutely obedient, must act independently only when commanded to do it ; so, for the effectual organization of fighting societies, citizens must have their individualities subordinated. Private claims are over-ridden by public claims ; and the subject loses much of his freedom of action. One result is that the system of regimentation, pervading the society as well as the army, causes detailed regulation of conduct. The dictates of the ruler, sanctified by ascription of them to his divine ancestor, are unrestrained by any conception of individual liberty ; and they specify men's actions to an unlimited extent—down to kinds of food eaten, modes of preparing them, shaping of beards, fringing of dresses, sowing of grain, &c. This omnipresent control, which the ancient Eastern nations in general exhibited, was exhibited also in large measure by the Greeks ; and was carried to its greatest pitch in the most militant city, Sparta. Similarly during mediæval days throughout Europe, characterized by chronic warfare with its appropriate political forms and ideas, there were scarcely any bounds to Governmental interference : agriculture, manufactures, trade, were regulated in detail ; religious beliefs and observances were imposed ; and rulers said by whom only furs might be worn, silver used, books issued, pigeons kept, &c. &c. But along with increase of industrial activities, and implied substitution of the *régime* of contract for the *régime* of status, and growth of associated sentiments, there went (until the recent

reaction accompanying reversion to militant activity) a decrease of meddling with people's doings. Legislation gradually ceased to regulate the cropping of fields, or dictate the ratio of cattle to acreage, or specify modes of manufacture and materials to be used, or fix wages and prices, or interfere with dresses and games (except where there was gambling), or put bounties and penalties on imports or exports, or prescribe men's beliefs, religious or political, or prevent them from combining as they pleased, or travelling where they liked. That is to say, throughout a large range of conduct, the right of the citizen to uncontrolled action has been made good against the pretensions of the State to control him. While the ruling agency has increasingly helped him to exclude intruders from that private sphere in which he pursues the objects of life, it has itself retreated from that sphere; or, in other words—decreased its intrusions.

Not even yet have we noted all the classes of facts which tell the same story. It is told afresh in the improvements and reforms of law itself; as well as in the admissions and assertions of those who have effected them. "So early as the fifteenth century," says Professor Pollock, "we find a common-law judge declaring that, as in a case unprovided for by known rules the civilians and canonists devise a new rule according to 'the law of nature which is the ground of all laws,' the Courts of Westminster can and will do the like."\* Again, our system of Equity, introduced and developed as it was to make up for the shortcomings of Common-law, or rectify its inequities, proceeded throughout on a recognition of men's claims considered as existing apart from legal warrant. And the changes of law now from time to time made after resistance, are similarly made in pursuance of current ideas concerning the requirements of justice: ideas which, instead of being derived from the law are opposed to the law. For example, that recent Act which gives to a married woman a right of property in her own earnings, evidently originated in the consciousness that the natural connection between labour expended and benefit enjoyed, is one which should be maintained in all cases. The reformed law did not create the right, but recognition of the right created the reformed law.

Thus, historical evidences of five different kinds unite in teaching that, confused as are the popular notions concerning rights, and including, as they do, much which should be excluded, yet they shadow forth a truth.

It remains now to consider the original source of this truth. In a previous paper I have spoken of the open secret, that there can be no social phenomena but what, if we analyze them to the bottom, bring us down to the laws of life; and that there can

\* "The Methods of Jurisprudence: an Introductory Lecture at University College London," October 31, 1882.

be no true understanding of them without reference to the laws of life. Let us then transfer this question of natural rights from the court of politics to the court of science—the science of life. The reader need feel no alarm: its simplest and most obvious facts will suffice. We will contemplate first the general conditions to individual life; and then the general conditions to social life. We shall find that both yield the same verdict.

Animal life involves waste; waste must be met by repair; repair implies nutrition. Again, nutrition presupposes obtainment of food; food cannot be got without powers of prehension, and, usually, of locomotion; and that these powers may achieve their ends, there must be freedom to move about. If you shut up a mammal in a small space, or tie its limbs together, or take from it the food it has procured, you eventually, by persistence in one or other of these courses, cause its death. Passing a certain point, hindrance to the fulfilment of these requirements is fatal. And all this, which holds of the higher animals at large, of course holds of man.

If we adopt pessimism as a creed, and with it accept the implication that life in general being an evil should be put an end to, then there is no ethical warrant for these actions by which life is maintained: the whole question drops. But if we adopt either the optimist view or the meliorist view—if we say that life on the whole brings more pleasure than pain; or that it is on the way to become such that it will yield more pleasure than pain; then these actions by which life is maintained are justified, and there results a warrant for the freedom to perform them. Those who hold that life is valuable, hold, by implication, that men ought not to be prevented from carrying on life-sustaining activities. In other words, if it is said to be "right" that they should carry them on, then, by permutation, we get the assertion that they "have a right" to carry them on. Clearly the conception of "natural rights" originates in recognition of the truth that if life is justifiable, there must be a justification for the performance of acts essential to its preservation; and, therefore, a justification for those liberties and claims which make such acts possible.

But being true of other creatures as of man, this is a proposition lacking ethical character. Ethical character arises only with the distinction between what the individual *may* do in carrying on his life-sustaining activities, and what he *may not* do. This distinction obviously results from the presence of his fellows. Among those who are in close proximity, or even at some distance apart, the doings of each are apt to interfere with the doings of others; and in the absence of proof that some may do what they will without limit, while others may not, mutual limitation is necessitated. The non-

ethical form of the right to pursue ends, passes into the ethical form, when there is recognized the difference between acts which can be performed without transgressing the limits, and others which cannot be so performed.

This, which is the *à priori* conclusion, is the conclusion yielded *à posteriori*, when we study the doings of the uncivilized. In its vaguest form, mutual limitation of spheres of action, and the ideas and sentiments associated with it, are seen in the relations of groups to one another. Habitually there come to be established, certain bounds to the territories within which each tribe obtains its livelihood; and these bounds when not respected are defended. Among the Wood-Veddahs, who have no political organization, the small clans have their respective portions of forest; and "these conventional allotments are always honourably recognized."\* Of the ungoverned tribes of Tasmania, we are told that "their hunting grounds were all determined, and trespassers were liable to attack."† And, manifestly, the quarrels caused among tribes by intrusions on one another's territories, tend, in the long run, to fix bounds and to give a certain sanction to them. As with each inhabited area, so with each inhabiting group. A death in one, rightly or wrongly ascribed to somebody in another, prompts "the sacred duty of blood-revenge;" and though retaliations are thus made chronic, some restraint is put on new aggressions. Like causes and effects were seen in those early stages of civilized societies, during which families or clans, rather than individuals, were the political units; and during which each family or clan had to maintain itself and its possessions against others such. This mutual restraint, which in the nature of things arises between small communities, similarly arises between individuals in each community; and the ideas and usages appropriate to the one are more or less appropriate to the other. Though within each group there is ever a tendency for the stronger to aggress on the weaker; yet, in most cases, consciousness of the evils resulting from aggressive conduct serves to restrain. Everywhere among primitive peoples, trespasses are followed by counter-trespasses. Says Turner of the Tannese, "adultery and some other crimes are kept in check by the fear of club-law."‡ Fitzroy tells us that the Patagonian, "if he does not injure or offend his neighbour, is not interfered with by others:"§ personal vengeance being the penalty for injury. We read of the Uaupés that "they have very little law of any kind; but what they have is of strict retaliation,—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."|| And that the *lex talionis* tends to establish a distinction between what each member of the community may safely do and

\* Tennant, ii. 440.

† Bonwick, J., "Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians," 83. ‡ Polynesia, p. 96.

§ "Voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*," ii. 167.

|| Wallace, A. R., "Travels on Amazon and Rio Negro," p. 499.

what he may not safely do, and consequently to give sanctions to actions within a certain range but not beyond that range, is obvious. Though, says Schoolcraft of the Chippewayans, they "have no regular government, as every man is lord in his own family, they are influenced more or less\* by certain principles which conduce to their general benefit : " † one of the principles named being recognition of private property.

How mutual limitation of activities originates the ideas and sentiments implied by the phrase "natural rights," we are shown most distinctly by the few peaceful tribes which have either nominal governments or none at all. Beyond those facts which illustrate scrupulous regard for one another's claims among the Todas, Santals, Lepchas, Bodo, Chakmas, Jakuns, Arafuras, &c., we have the fact that the utterly uncivilized Wood-Veddahs, without any social organization at all, "think it perfectly inconceivable that any person should ever take that which does not belong to him, or strike his fellow, or say anything that is untrue." † Thus it becomes clear, alike from analysis of causes and observation of facts, that while the positive element in the right to carry on life-sustaining activities, originates from the laws of life, that negative element which gives ethical character to it, originates from the conditions produced by social aggregation.

So alien to the truth, indeed, is the alleged creation of rights by government, that, contrariwise, rights having been established more or less clearly before government arises, become obscured as government develops along with that militant activity which, both by the taking of slaves and the establishment of ranks, produces *status*; and the recognition of rights begins again to get definiteness only as fast as militancy ceases to be chronic and governmental power declines.

When we turn from the life of the individual to the life of the society, the same lesson is taught us.

Though mere love of companionship prompts primitive men to live in groups, yet the chief prompter is experience of the advantages to be derived from co-operation. On what condition only can co-operation arise? Evidently on condition that those who join their efforts severally gain by doing so. If, as in the simplest cases, they unite to achieve something which each by himself cannot achieve, or can achieve less readily, it must be on the tacit understanding, either that they shall share the benefit (as when game is caught by a party of them) or that if one reaps all the benefit now (as in building a hut

\* Schoolcraft, "Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi," v, 177.

† B. F. Hartshorne, *Fortnightly Review*, March 1876. See also H. C. Sirr, "Ceylon and the Ceylonese," ii, 219.

or clearing a plot) the others shall severally reap equivalent benefits in their turns. When instead of efforts joined in doing the same thing, different things are effected by them—when division of labour arises, with accompanying barter of products, the arrangement implies that each in return for something which he has in superfluous quantity, gets an approximate equivalent of something which he wants. If he hands over the one and does not get the other, future proposals to exchange will meet with no response. There will be a reversion to that rudest condition in which each makes everything for himself. Hence the possibility of co-operation depends on fulfilment of contract, tacit or overt.

Now this which we see must hold of the very first step towards that industrial organization by which the life of a society is maintained, must hold more or less fully throughout its development. Though the militant type of organization, with its system of *status* produced by chronic war, greatly obscures these relations of contract, yet they remain partially in force. They still hold between freemen, and between the heads of those small groups which form the units of early societies; and in a measure they still hold within these small groups themselves; since survival of them as groups, implies such recognition of the claims of their members, even when slaves, that in return for their labours they get sufficiencies of food, clothing, and protection. And when, with diminution of warfare and growth of trade, voluntary co-operation more and more replaces compulsory co-operation, and the carrying on of social life by exchange under agreement, partially suspended for a time, gradually re-establishes itself; its re-establishment brings the possibility of that vast elaborate industrial organization by which a great nation is sustained.

For in proportion as contracts are unhindered and the performance of them certain, the growth is great and the social life active. It is not now by one or other of two individuals who contract, that the evil effects of breach of contract are experienced. In an advanced society, they are experienced by entire classes of producers and distributors, which have arisen through division of labour; and, eventually; they are experienced by everybody. Ask on what condition it is that Birmingham devotes itself to manufacturing hardware, or part of Staffordshire to making pottery, or Lancashire to weaving cotton. Ask how the rural people who here grow wheat and there pasture cattle, find it possible to occupy themselves in their special businesses. These groups can severally thus act only if each gets from the others in exchange for its own surplus product, due shares of their surplus products. No longer directly effected by barter, this obtainment of their respective shares of one another's products is indirectly effected by money; and if we ask how each division of producers gets its due amount of the required money, the

answer is—by fulfilment of contract. If Leeds makes woollens and does not, by fulfilment of contract, receive the means of obtaining from agricultural districts the needful quantity of food, it must starve, and stop producing woollens. If South Wales smelts iron and there comes no equivalent agreed upon, enabling it to get fabrics for clothing, its industry must cease. And so throughout, in general and in detail. That mutual dependence of parts which we see in social organization, as in individual organization, is possible only on condition that while each part does the particular kind of work it has become adjusted to, it receives its proportion of those materials required for repair and growth, which all the other parts have joined to produce: such proportion being settled by bargaining. Moreover, it is by fulfilment of contract that there is effected a balancing of all the various products to the various needs—the large manufacture of knives and the small manufacture of lancets; the great growth of wheat and the little growth of mustard-seed. The check on undue production of each commodity, results from finding that after a certain quantity, no one will agree to take any further quantity on terms that yield an adequate money equivalent. And so there is prevented a useless expenditure of labour in producing that which society does not want.

Lastly, we have to note the still more significant fact that the condition under which only, any specialized group of workers can grow when the community needs more of its particular kind of work, is that contracts shall be free and fulfilment of them enforced. If when, from lack of material, Lancashire failed to supply the usual amount of cotton-goods, there had been such interference with contracts as prevented Yorkshire from asking a greater price for its woollens, which it was enabled to do by the greater demand for them, there would have been no temptation to put more capital into the woollen manufacture, no increase in the amount of machinery and number of artisans employed, and no increase of woollens: the consequence being that the whole community would have suffered from not having deficient cottons replaced by extra woollens. What serious injury may result to a nation if its members are hindered from contracting with one another, was well shown in the contrast between England and France in respect of railways. Here, though obstacles were at first raised by classes predominant in the legislature, the obstacles were not such as prevented capitalists from investing, engineers from furnishing directive skill, or contractors from undertaking works; and the high interest originally obtained on investments, the great profits made by contractors, and the large payments received by engineers, led to that drafting of money, energy, and ability, into railway-making, which rapidly developed our railway-system, to the enormous increase of our national prosperity. But when M. Thiers,



then Minister of Public Works, came over to inspect, and having been taken about by Mr. Vignoles, said to him when leaving:—"I do not think railways are suited to France,"\* there resulted from the consequent policy of hindering free contract, a delay of "eight or ten years" in that material progress which France experienced when railways were made.

What do all these facts mean? They mean that for the healthful activity and due proportioning of those industries, occupations, professions, which maintain and aid the life of a society, there must, in the first place, be few restrictions on men's liberties to make agreements with one another, and there must, in the second place, be an enforcement of the agreements which they do make. As we have seen, the checks naturally arising to each man's actions when men become associated, are those only which result from mutual limitation; and there consequently can be no resulting check to the contracts they voluntarily make: interference with these is interference with those rights to free action which remain to each when the rights of others are fully recognized. And then, as we have seen, enforcement of their rights implies enforcement of contracts made; since breach of contract is indirect aggression. If, when a customer on one side of the counter asks a shopkeeper on the other for a shilling's worth of his goods, and, while the shopkeeper's back is turned, walks off with the goods without leaving the shilling he tacitly contracted to give, his act differs in no essential way from robbery. In each such case the individual injured is deprived of something he possessed, without receiving the equivalent something bargained for; and is in the state of having expended his labour without getting benefit—has had an essential condition to the maintenance of life infringed.

Thus, then, it results that to recognize and enforce the rights of individuals, is at the same time to recognize and enforce the conditions to a normal social life. There is one vital requirement for both.

Before turning to those corollaries which have practical applications, let us observe how the special conclusions drawn converge to the one general conclusion originally foreshadowed—glancing at them in reversed order.

We have just found that the pre-requisite to individual life is in a double sense the pre-requisite to social life. The life of a society in whichever of two senses conceived, depends on maintenance of individual rights. If it is nothing more than the sum of the lives of citizens, this implication is obvious. If it consists of those many unlike activities which citizens carry on in mutual dependence, still this aggregate impersonal life rises or falls according as the rights of individuals are enforced or denied.

\* Address of C. B. Vignoles, Esq., F.R.S., on his Election as President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Session 1869-70, p. 53.

Study of men's politico-ethical ideas and sentiments, leads to allied conclusions. Primitive peoples of various types show us that before governments exist, immemorial customs recognize private claims and justify maintenance of them. Codes of law independently evolved by different nations, agree in forbidding certain trespasses on the persons, properties, and liberties of citizens; and their correspondences imply, not an artificial source for individual rights, but a natural source. Along with social development, the formulating in law of the rights pre-established by custom, becomes more definite and elaborate. At the same time, Government undertakes to an increasing extent the business of enforcing them. While it has been becoming a better protector, Government has been becoming less aggressive—has more and more diminished its intrusions on men's spheres of private action. And, lastly, as in past times laws were avowedly modified to fit better with current ideas of equity; so now, law-reformers are guided by ideas of equity which are not derived from law but to which law has to conform.

Here, then, we have a politico-ethical theory justified alike by analysis and by history. What have we against it? A fashionable counter-theory which proves to be unjustifiable. On the one hand, while we find that individual life and social life both imply maintenance of the natural relation between efforts and benefits; we also find that this natural relation, recognized before Government existed, has been all along asserting and re-asserting itself, and obtaining better recognition in codes of law and systems of ethics. On the other hand, those who, denying natural rights, commit themselves to the assertion that rights are artificially created by law, are not only flatly contradicted by facts, but their assertion is self-destructive: the endeavour to substantiate it, when challenged, involves them in manifold absurdities.

Nor is this all. The re-institution of a vague popular conception in a definite form on a scientific basis, leads us to a rational view of the relation between the wills of majorities and minorities. It turns out that those co-operations in which all can voluntarily unite, and in the carrying on of which the will of the majority is rightly supreme, are co-operations for maintaining the conditions requisite to individual and social life. Defence of the society as a whole against external invaders, has for its remote end to preserve each citizen in possession of such means as he has for satisfying his desires, and in possession of such liberty as he has for getting further means. And defence of each citizen against internal invaders, from murderers down to those who inflict nuisances on their neighbours, has obviously the like end—an end desired by every one save the criminal and disorderly. Hence it follows that for maintenance of this vital principle, alike of individual life and social life, subordination

of minority by majority is legitimate; as implying only such a trenching on the freedom and property of each, as is requisite for the better protecting of his freedom and property. At the same time it follows that such subordination is not legitimate beyond this; since, implying' as it does a greater aggression upon the individual than is requisite for protecting him, it involves a breach of the vital principle which is to be maintained.

Thus we come round again to the proposition that the assumed divine right of parliaments, and the implied divine right of majorities, are superstitions. While men have abandoned the old theory respecting the source of State-authority, they have retained a belief in that unlimited extent of State-authority which rightly accompanied the old theory, but does not rightly accompany the new one. Unrestricted power over subjects, rationally ascribed to the ruling man when he was held to be a deputy-god, is now ascribed to the ruling body, the deputy-godhood of which nobody asserts.

Opponents will, possibly, contend that discussions about the origin and limits of governmental authority are mere pedantries. "Government," they may perhaps say, "is bound to use all the means it has, or can get, for furthering the general happiness. Its aim must be utility; and it is warranted in employing whatever measures are needful for achieving useful ends. The welfare of the people is the supreme law; and legislators are not to be deterred from obeying that law by questions concerning the source and range of their power." Is there really an escape here? or may this opening be effectually closed?

The essential question raised is the truth of the utilitarian theory as commonly held; and the answer here to be given is that, as commonly held, it is not true. Alike by the statements of utilitarian moralists, and by the acts of politicians knowingly or unknowingly following their lead, it is implied that utility is to be directly determined by simple inspection of the immediate facts and estimation of probable results. Whereas, utilitarianism as rightly understood, implies guidance by the general conclusions which analysis of experience yields. "Good and bad results cannot be accidental, but must be necessary consequences of the constitution of things;" and it is "the business of Moral Science to deduce, from the laws of life and the conditions of existence, what kinds of action necessarily tend to produce happiness, and what kinds to produce unhappiness."\* Current utilitarian speculation, like current practical politics, shows inadequate consciousness of natural causation. The habitual thought is that, in the absence of some obvious impediment, things can be done this way or that way; and no question is put whether there is either agreement or conflict with the normal working of things.

\* "Data of Ethics," § 21. See also §§ 56-62.

The foregoing discussions have, I think, shown that the dictates of utility, and, consequently, the proper actions of governments, are not to be settled by inspection of facts on the surface, and acceptance of their *prima facie* meanings; but are to be settled by reference to, and deduction from, fundamental facts. The fundamental facts to which all rational judgments of utility must go back, are the facts that life consists in, and is maintained by, certain activities; and that among men in a society, these activities, necessarily becoming mutually limited, are to be carried on by each within the limits thence arising, and not carried on beyond those limits: the maintenance of the limits becoming, by consequence, the function of the agency which regulates society. If each, having freedom to use his powers up to the bounds fixed by the like freedom of others, obtains from his fellow-men as much for his services as they find them worth in comparison with the services of others—if contracts uniformly fulfilled bring to each the share thus determined, and he is left secure in person and possessions to satisfy his wants with the proceeds; then there is maintained the vital principle alike of individual life and of social life. Further, there is maintained the vital principle of social progress; inasmuch as, under such conditions, the individuals of most worth will prosper and multiply more than those of less worth. So that utility, not as empirically estimated but as rationally determined, enjoins this maintenance of individual rights; and, by implication, negatives any course which traverses them.

Here, then, we reach the ultimate interdict against meddling legislation. Reduced to its lowest terms, every proposal to interfere with citizens' activities further than by enforcing their mutual limitations, is a proposal to improve life by breaking through the fundamental conditions to life. When some are prevented from buying beer that others may be prevented from getting drunk, those who make the law assume that more good than evil will result from interference with the normal relation between conduct and consequences, alike in the few ill-regulated and the many well-regulated. A government which takes fractions of the incomes of multitudinous people, for the purpose of sending to the colonies some who have not prospered here, or for building better industrial dwellings, or for making public libraries and public museums, &c. &c., takes for granted that, not only proximately but ultimately, increased general happiness will result from transgressing the essential requirement to general happiness—the requirement that each shall enjoy all those means to happiness which his actions, carried on without aggression on others, have brought him. In other cases we do not thus let the immediate blind us to the remote. When asserting the sacredness of property against private aggressors, we do not ask whether the benefit to a hungry man who takes bread from a baker's shop, is or is not

greater than the injury inflicted on the baker: we consider not the special effects but the general effects which arise if property is insecure. But when the State exacts further amounts from citizens, or further restrains their liberties, we consider only the direct and proximate effects, and ignore the indirect and distant effects which are caused when these invasions of individual rights are continually multiplied. We do not see that by accumulated small infractions of them, the vital conditions to life, individual and social, come to be so little fulfilled that the life decays.

Yet the decay thus caused becomes manifest where the policy is pushed to an extreme. Any one who studies, in the writings of MM. Taine and de Tocqueville, the state of things which preceded the French Revolution, will see that that tremendous catastrophe came about from so excessive a regulation of men's actions in all their details, and such an enormous drafting away of the products of their actions to maintain the regulating organization, that life was fast becoming impracticable. The empirical utilitarianism of that day, like the empirical utilitarianism of our day, differed from rational utilitarianism in this, that in each successive case it contemplated only the effects of particular interferences on the actions of particular classes of men, and ignored the effects produced by a multiplicity of such interferences on the lives of men at large. And if we ask what then made, and what now makes, this error possible, we find it to be the political superstition that governmental power is subject to no restraints.

When that "divinity" which "doth hedge a king," and which in our day has left a glamour around the body inheriting his power, has quite died away—when it begins to be seen clearly that, in a popularly-governed nation, the government is simply a committee of management; it will also be seen that this committee of management has no intrinsic authority. The inevitable conclusion will be that its authority is given by those appointing it; and has just such bounds as they choose to impose. Along with this will go the further conclusion that the laws it passes are not in themselves sacred; but that whatever sacredness they have, is entirely due to the ethical sanction—an ethical sanction which, as we find, is derivable from the laws of human life as carried on under social conditions. And there will come the corollary that when they have not this ethical sanction they have no sacredness, and may rightly be challenged.

The function of Liberalism in the past was that of putting a limit to the powers of kings. The function of true Liberalism in the future will be that of putting a limit to the powers of Parliaments.

HERBERT SPENCER.

# THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE—IS IT A PHYSICAL OR A SPIRITUAL PRODUCTION?

A SPECULATION.

**I**N a previous number of this review (July 1882), in an article on the Conservation of Energy, I ended by discussing the theory of the past eternity of matter, and came to the following conclusion:—

“We have only a limited experience extending over 5,000 years of the constancy of the properties of material particles. And if in our scientific generalizations, it be desirable to go backwards or forwards some greater distance, we should be right in assuming that this constancy still exists, as a preliminary step, perhaps, to finding that it does not. But are we, therefore, entitled to assume that such particles have existed as they are from all eternity, and have always had this constancy of relation to one another? Unquestionably not. Even were such an hypothesis not otherwise discredited, it could be of no scientific value, for it would be one of an infinite number of conceivable hypotheses regarding the growth of the universe, all of which may be made consistent with the facts of our limited experience. The scientific probability of any particular solution representing the truth is, therefore, infinitely small.”

Continuing this line of thought I will now endeavour to show what it is that tends to discredit the theory of the past eternity of matter, using for this purpose the kind of argument which will be found in the “Unseen Universe.”

There are, it is known, two ways of regarding the things around us, and these two exist simultaneously, and are practically independent. The Theist, who looks upon everything as brought into being and sustained by the immediate operation of Divine power can see no difference in this respect between the mighty objects of Nature and the meaner productions of human hands. His ascription of authorship embraces all around him, applying at once to the living and to the dead; to the rugged and lofty mountain as well as to the finely worked fabric of the loom.

But this general statement of belief regarding the origin and

continued existence of things is by no means inconsistent with a scientific or historical investigation into their production. Who painted this picture? Who wove this tapestry? are questions which it is natural and dutiful to ask. We have received an intellect in order that we may use it, and whenever an object is placed before us the mind tries to conjure up a previous state of things which gave rise to that object by some process which it is capable of comprehending either wholly or in part. This previous state of things has in turn its own peculiar antecedent, to which we are once more driven, until at length we reach a limit beyond which our present intelligence does not permit us to proceed.

But while there is a practical boundary of this nature in our passage from antecedent to antecedent, surely no man has the right to stop us in our progress, or to say, "Beyond this limit you must not go." Nevertheless, it has been pointed out by Professor Tait and myself that there are two sets of teachers who have attempted to stop this forward progress of thought. There is, in the first place, that class of theologians who will permit the analysis of substances into molecules, and of molecules into atoms. But the atom they regard as produced by the immediate power of God in such a way as to preclude all possibility of a perceptible antecedent. The materialist, on the other hand, maintains that the atom has existed as it is from all eternity.

It is manifest that each of these schools equally imposes an arbitrary yoke upon the progress of inquiry. We are forbidden in either case to look beyond the atom or attempt to argue regarding its origin.

Now, here the materialist is even more to blame than the theologian, inasmuch as, while professing to be strictly intellectual, he does not scruple to violate one of the canons of the intellect. We are told to accept an astounding doctrine, and forbidden to exercise our legitimate faculties, for no other reason than because in the short span of time during which we have been able to study such things the relation between the force of an atom and its mass has not apparently altered.

If we consent to regard the atom as the type of the visible, it is by means of considerations such as these that we are led intellectually to an invisible or Unseen Universe, out of which the atom must have arisen, by some process of development by intelligence which we may perhaps expect hereafter partially to comprehend.

Having arrived at this conclusion, we are next forced by analogy to regard the Unseen as pervaded by intelligence of a very high order, inasmuch as it has produced not only the visible universe, but man himself, with all his possibilities of being. Here we must surely regard the cause as being at least equal to the effect which it

produces—the parent as having, at least, an equal intelligence with his offspring.

Let us now pause and think for a moment upon the nature of that Unseen to which we have thus been led. It is the abode of Intelligence of so high an order as to be capable of developing the visible universe with all its possibilities. This is the conclusion to which we are brought by adopting that hypothesis which presents us with the least amount of intellectual perplexity. The theologian will not fail to recognize in this the familiar features of the Angelic Universe presided over by the Son of God, by whom also the worlds were made. Up to this point, then, there are many who will assent to the conclusions which I have now very briefly sketched, being quite content to regard the seen as developed by an Intelligent Unseen; but here they are disposed to pause. They conceive that the mode of this origination must be entirely beyond our limited comprehensions, and in one sense this is very true. Nevertheless, these very men, or many of them, have probably arrived almost unconsciously at a decision of great practical importance regarding the genesis of the seen, the result of which has been to bring upon them much perplexity. This will be thought a very astounding statement, but it is the conviction of its strict truth which has induced me to make it.

It has been objected to the work by Professor Tait and myself, in which we advocate a development of the seen from the Unseen, that the kind of development contemplated by us is a strictly physical one. Now this is far from being the truth. We have mainly concerned ourselves with the necessity for such a development, making no assertion with regard to its nature. It may be either physical or spiritual; our statements do not preclude either hypothesis. We allow that the laws of energy are rather generalizations derived from our experience than scientific principles like that which we call the *Principle of Continuity*, and conceive that there would be no permanent confusion of thought if these laws should be found not to hold, or to hold in a different way in the Unseen Universe.

But, while in the work above mentioned we have left the mode of development an open question, a philosophical friend has strenuously maintained that the door ought altogether to be shut upon the physical, and thrown open to the spiritual hypothesis; and it is in consequence of this advice that I have made the present attempt.\*

It will naturally be thought that the very first step should be to bring forward a clear and complete definition of what is meant by a physical, and what by a spiritual, development; nevertheless, the

\* I must here be permitted to express my obligation to Professor Adamson, Professor Alfred Hopkinson, Dr. Noble, Dr. Angus Smith, and other friends who have given me the benefit of many valuable suggestions. Of course, I do not in the least attempt to bind them to what must be regarded as a first speculation.



distinction is one which can be more easily felt than expressed in words. A concrete illustration or two will better serve to render obvious the meaning of these terms than any general definition.

Let us, therefore, suppose that a great engineer has turned out an engine from his foundry. . This is unquestionably a physical production developed from the materials, and by means of the forces, of Nature, set in motion by a human intelligence ; we will suppose that it is the very best that could possibly be made.

Having completed this great work, put it together, and turned it out, the engineer need not concern himself to do anything more, unless he should take an interest in his engine being worked for a particular purpose ; in which case he will probably hand it over to a set of subordinate agents, who will undertake to work it. But, in any case the making of such an engine and the working of it are two things which must be regarded as perfectly distinct.

Let us next suppose that this engine is intended to propel a steamship plying between two ports, and that the constructor is well acquainted with the weather which the vessel will encounter in her voyage. If after one or two trips the engine breaks down and requires to be repaired, we should certainly blame the engineer.

But, if we only learned of this breakdown by hearsay, we might naturally be tempted to say :—" We cannot believe it ; having perfect confidence in the skill of the engineer, this is simply inconceivable to us. Of course we do not question the ability of the original constructor to put his engine right, but we cannot for our part believe that it ever went wrong."

In the third place it will be apparent that in such a steamship the commander must give his first attention to the engine, and only his second thoughts to the welfare of the passengers. It is well, no doubt, and expedient to satisfy the passengers, but it is absolutely necessary to satisfy the engine.

Let me now briefly recapitulate these peculiarities of a physical construction.

*In the first place*, the making of it and the working of it are two things which are perfectly distinct.

*Secondly*, any cobbling or repairing of the machinery, or addition of new material, is apparently inconsistent with the skill of the contriver.

*Thirdly*, the engine must have the first place in the regard of its worker.

To these we may add, *Fourthly*, the engine must be well adapted for the work it has to do. If, for instance, it be the engine of a steamship, whose carrying powers are limited, it ought to be of a kind that will give as much work as possible out of a small supply of coals.

It is difficult to regard these four in any other light than as perfectly general characteristics applying to all sorts of physical productions, the visible universe included, on the hypothesis that this is physically produced from the Unseen. Of course, it will be borne in mind that criticism is here perfectly allowable; for it is not the visible works of the Almighty that are being criticised, but only that hypothesis which regards them as physical productions from the Unseen.

Let us now ask the question, Is the visible universe, viewed as a physical production, apparently well adapted for the end and aim of its construction? This is a question which we may quite properly put, inasmuch as our concern is now with those who acknowledge an Unseen and believe that the visible universe is made for the service of living and intelligent beings. Is it, therefore, apparently well adapted for this service?

A very great deal has been written upon natural adaptations and the wonderful harmony of the things around us, much, if not all, of which is, no doubt, perfectly true. The harmonies of Nature's laws must be worthy of the Author of Nature. But this is not the question. I am now dealing with those who represent Nature as a huge physical production, designed for the use of living and intelligent beings, and have a right to ask if it is apparently adapted for this purpose. It forms, without doubt, a most wonderful and harmonious machine; but is it such a machine?

It has been pointed out in the "Unseen Universe" that if we regard the dissipation of Energy, which is constantly going on, we are forcibly struck with the apparently wasteful character of the arrangements of the visible universe. The sun is, beyond doubt, the storehouse of the high-class energy of our system, and it seems almost incredible that all but a paltry fraction of this vast store should be doing nothing (as far at least, as this visible world is concerned) but travelling outwards in space at the rate of 188,000 miles per second, especially when the result of it is the inevitable destruction of the present system.

If we regard the visible universe as a physical production, the creation of this enormous store of energy must have implied something of the nature of a vast exertion of physical power; but power for what purpose? In order that something less than a billionth of the sun's energy might be utilized by ourselves, while the remainder is carried off into space, and appears again no more.

But an opponent may here say, Are you perfectly sure that all this energy is really carried off; and, if so, that it does nothing more, as far, at least, as the visible universe is concerned? To this I reply, You have brought forward the hypothesis of a physical production of the visible universe; and how can it be criticized if you

will not permit me to make use of the knowledge at present possessed? If this were the only possible hypothesis, there might be justice in your remark; but, if it can be shown that there exists an alternative which is free from this objection, I for one will give my adherence to the alternative hypothesis.

I would remark, in the next place, that the upholder of a physical development must have great difficulty in allowing the possibility of certain agencies which are, nevertheless, strongly demanded by other parts of our nature.

Let me take as an instance the miracles of Christ. Does not such a one experience very great difficulty in regarding these as objective realities? He is driven, no doubt, to the conclusion that the Apostles so regarded them, and will not admit the possibility of any conscious intention to deceive on the part of these Christian pioneers; but neither will he admit the actual occurrence of any miracle, for this, to his mind, would imply an original faultiness in the physically-produced universe. When he is asked to explain how the Gospels can have arisen consistently with his reservations, he experiences a great difficulty; indeed, he will own that he has by no means got rid of confusion, or attained that mental grasp and clearness of view which characterize a true hypothesis. But yet he insists that, on the whole, the new element of confusion is less intolerable than the old, when he was compelled to regard miracles as possible occurrences.

Now, if we press upon such a one the necessity that exists for regarding man as receiving in this world the rudiments, at least, of his spiritual education, and if we then still further press upon him the consequent necessity that, in different periods of the world's history, this pupil man should be somewhat differently treated by his Divine Teacher, he will probably, as a matter of principle, admit all this. But he will not allow that the varying wants of man can ever have caused a change in the ordinary physical procedure of the Author of Nature. It is necessary from his point of view that the machinery should be satisfied, and the passengers must do their best. Something, however, he thinks has been done to meet this want. The infant race, he will tell us, has been gifted with a powerful imagination, in virtue of which they can make themselves believe that those wants for which they feel a spiritual craving have actually been supplied, when, in point of fact, it is quite otherwise. They have received something which looks extremely like a piece of bread, but it is in reality a stone.

This is the doctrine which has been called by its upholders that of teaching by illusions, and I should wish to make a few remarks regarding the theory of such teaching. If we may be permitted to substitute for illusions the words, "a partial grasp of truth," such

a theory merely expresses the well-known fact that mankind, as well as individuals, are always ascending from a lower to a higher level, whether the truth in question be physical, or moral, or spiritual.

And, moreover, this passage from the lower to the higher is very often abrupt, and so causes a temporary perturbation. We may require to climb to the higher region through the intervening cloud ; but the darkness, instead of deepening, ultimately clears away, and the extended panorama is presently revealed in all its grandeur, and freshness, and beauty.

Let us now see whether this peculiar theory of the miraculous has the prospect of producing such a revelation. I have already remarked that to the minds of its supporters it presents as yet only the substitution of a smaller amount of moral and historical for a larger amount of physical confusion. They themselves have not yet attained to the unclouded region, though they are persuaded that they are travelling in a direction which has somewhat diminished the intensity of the surrounding darkness. But in the meantime the great majority of the Christian world do not believe that the darkness has been diminished, nor will they consider that any real advance has been made by the attempted substitution.

Indeed, to very many the element of physical confusion seems to be altogether imaginary and self-imposed, while the element of historical and moral confusion introduced by the new hypothesis is very real and very dark. For my own part, I fail to perceive how a physical hypothesis so evidently wanting in elasticity could ever have been thought consistent with any theory of the Divine training of man. Under such the Governor of this universe can only be regarded as an incomprehensible captain, who with one hand is continually throwing overboard the coals in order to lighten the ship, while with the other he is burning the passengers' food in order to satisfy the engine.

Notwithstanding all this, it remains true that confusion does exist in the minds of more than a few ; and it may be asked how is this to be remedied if the new theory of the miraculous be rejected.

It seems clear that something must go overboard ; only we must be very careful not to throw away the wrong thing. What must go is not surely the belief in the miraculous, but rather the hypothesis of a physically developed universe. This bears all the marks of a partial truth. It is unquestionably a very natural conception—so much so, that it is, and will continue to be, spoken of as apparently true, just as we even yet, in ordinary language, speak of the motions of the heavenly bodies as if they were engaged in daily journeys round the earth.

I come next to remark, that on the hypothesis of a physically developed universe the production and the working of it must be

regarded as two things perfectly distinct. This, however, seems hardly reconcilable with the Catholic doctrine, that were the Deity to withdraw his upholding power the universe would disappear. Here the upholding is regarded as a continued act of Divine power of the same order as Creation itself. Those, therefore, who believe this doctrine cannot consciously adopt the hypothesis of a physical development in which production and working are two things perfectly distinct. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that these two words, Creating and Upholding, must have been unconsciously adopted to suit the primitive and natural conceptions of those who looked on the visible world as a work similar in many respects to the works of man, only vastly greater and better and more skilfully constructed.

If we now bring together the various counts of the indictment against the hypothesis of a physically produced universe, we find them to be as follows :—

In the first place, if the visible universe be regarded as a physically produced machine, it is one which does its work with an enormous and seemingly wasteful expenditure of energy.

Secondly, an upholder of this hypothesis can with difficulty believe in the objective reality of miracles, and is thus unable to obtain a clear explanation of the origin of Christianity. The hypothesis, in fact, does not satisfy history.

Thirdly, it is apparently inconsistent with any theory of the Divine education of man.

Fourthly, it is apparently inconsistent with that Catholic doctrine which regards the Divine power manifested in the continued existence of the universe as a virtual prolongation of creative agency.

Having thus brought together the various objections to the hypothesis of a physical production of the things around us, let me now proceed to that alternative which views them as spiritually produced, by the Unseen. First of all, it will be necessary to explain what is here meant by a spiritual production. We have seen that in a steamship the commander must give his first care to the engine, while the convenience of his passengers is only a point of secondary consideration. And so in a physically developed universe the mechanical necessities must always be satisfied, while such occurrences as would imply a break in the ordinary physical procedure can with difficulty be imagined as taking place, however beneficial they might otherwise seem to be. But in any spiritual hypothesis the case is very different, the relative importance of the engine and the passengers being entirely reversed, so that the wants of the passengers now precede the requirements of the engine.

The most widely known hypothesis of this nature is that of Bishop Berkeley. In this the Supreme Being is regarded as tram-

melling finite intelligences with respect to time, space, and sensation. That is to say, an operation is performed by the Deity upon finite intelligences; and this constitutes the universe.' Strong objections have, however, been raised to the excessive individualism of this hypothesis.\* According to it there cannot be a true act of creation until a finite intelligence exists. Now, what conception can this give us of those vast periods during which the man of science delights to portray a universe being prepared for the advent of life. The idealist of this school is not, it seems to me, compelled to assume any other existence than that of the absolute Deity during this period; it is thus difficult to see how he can regard this state of things as a universe at all.

Again, what idea can he entertain regarding the matter which we suppose to exist in the central regions of the sun or of the earth where there is no intelligent being to be directly impressed with its presence? In fine, the substantial reality of the universe seems entirely to disappear under a system of this nature.

On account of these and other objections, various thinkers have endeavoured to modify this hypothesis. I will select that modification proposed by the late James Hinton (see "Life and Letters of James Hinton"), who assumes that the operation is an absolute one of the Deity upon Himself, in which all finite intelligences ultimately participate, and that this constitutes the universe. It must, however, be borne in mind, while attempting to adapt this modification to our purpose, that we are here considering the origin of the visible universe—an origin which we are all agreed took its rise in time. But surely it would be without meaning to say that Absolute Deity, whose existence has no reference to time, performed upon himself an operation in time in virtue of which the visible universe came into being. And, even if this might be allowed, the antecedent of the production of the visible universe would be something absolutely incomprehensible by any finite intelligence, so that the principle of continuity would be broken.

Things will, however, assume quite a different aspect if we conceive the production of the Visible Universe to be the act of the Ruler of the Unseen Universe, whom theologians regard as the Son of God. To say that this Divine Ruler, in time, and by virtue of the laws of the Unseen Universe of which He was the Ruler, performed an operation upon Himself in which the angelic intelligences, and ultimately man, became participators, is an hypothesis which I venture to think is quite free from the objections above mentioned. For, in the first place, it does not break the principle of continuity, inasmuch as the operation was performed in conformity with the laws of the Unseen. Indeed, so far from being put to con-

\* See Adamson "On the Philosophy of Kant."

fusion, the angelic intelligences, we may believe, regarded the result with intense admiration. In the next place, we are here furnished with an abiding sense of the reality of things visible, inasmuch as after their production they have continued to be a reality to the Ruler of the Unseen—the Divine Being who produced them.

It almost appears that we may literally, and without any figure of speech, interpret the record which we have before us in the first chapter of Genesis, where we read: "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light; and God saw the light that it was good." Is not this the record of an operation performed upon Himself by the Divine Ruler of the Unseen? We have first of all the putting forth of an act of will, and then simultaneously the Divine perception of the goodness of the result thus spiritually produced.

The Unseen, like the visible universe, has an objective as well as a subjective side; and it is this objective element which the Lord of the Unseen employed and continues to employ in his orderly production and support of this great visible cosmos. In fine, the Unseen Universe may be regarded as the substantial reality which underlies the present system.

Having now explained what is meant by a Spiritual development from the Unseen, let us examine this hypothesis in order to see if it be free from those objections to which the Physical hypothesis was found to be liable. First of all, then, to take up the charge of wastefulness, which formed the first objection, it is very clear that this no longer applies. For, in order to justify its application, the process of production must have been physical, something of the nature of physical energy being expended by the Producer during the act. But it is clear from the very statement of the Spiritual hypothesis that there was no such expenditure.

As far as we are concerned, we may talk of energy as of something which it is our duty not to waste. Nevertheless, neither energy, nor anything physically allied to it, can have existed until the operation of producing the visible universe had already taken place. The fact that the sun pours out a vast amount of energy into space, only a very small fraction of which is utilized, can thus be no longer used as an instrument of criticism. Is it not rather meant to teach us that "the things which are seen are temporal" by means of a celestial handwriting in the largest possible of characters? Let us next consider the second of the objections urged against the Physical theory, namely, the difficulty under it of believing in the occurrence of any miraculous event, and we shall find that this vanishes entirely when we accept the Spiritual hypothesis. Of course, in either case it is a *sine quâ non* that the intellect should not be put to permanent confusion. The scientific worker must, therefore, in order to succeed in his researches, be presented with a

procedure, if not absolutely invariable, yet with a variability which is according to rule. If this were not so, he would be speedily brought to perplexity, and have no heart to proceed with his investigations. But surely he is not entitled to maintain that in all excursions from his present standpoint, whether into a past or a future eternity, he can possibly encounter nothing but such a physical procedure as has been recorded by his experiments. It is granted that every variation must have a rule or cause; but may not the rule be that in different stages of the growth of man there may be certain differences in the Divine procedure with regard to him? \*

Now, if threading our way backwards from the standpoint of the present according to the Physical hypothesis, we come at length to the origin of Christianity; and here the temptation to get rid of the miraculous becomes to many minds overpoweringly strong. Yet this does not satisfy the religious historian, who is put to much perplexity if the miraculous be ignored. How, it may be asked, is it possible to decide between the two? To this I would reply, is it really impossible to satisfy both? May we not substitute for the Physical hypothesis something else which will neither put to confusion the man of science in his legitimate researches, nor the religious thinker as he contemplates the life of Christ? If we can do this, we shall surely have gained a point. But this is precisely what is done by the Spiritual hypothesis.

In connection with this point I would remark that biologists insist strongly on the very intimate likeness between the life and progress of the individual and of the world; but this comparison cannot be carried out to its full extent unless we resort to the Spiritual hypothesis. Let, us, therefore, now endeavour to render this analogy complete.

It has been remarked,† that "in all living things we have two sides; there is, first of all, the descent from a parent or parents; and secondly, and subsequently, the ascent of the individual. To complete the analogy, we must, therefore, imagine that the life of our globe has somehow descended to it just as the life of the individual has in some way descended to him."

And here, as I have said already, we must regard the cause as being, at least, equal to the effect which it produces,—the parent as having at least an equal intelligence with his offspring.

Furthermore, the Bishop of Edinburgh (*Church Quarterly Review*, July 1878) has instituted a complete comparison between the life-history of the individual and that of the earth. He conceives that, just as in the generation of the higher organisms, we have two

\* See Newman's "Grammar of Assent;" also "Life of James Hinton," "Letter to Professor C. G. Robertson."

† "Paradoxical Philosophy," p. 110.



distinct stages,—one from the germ to the birth, the other from the birth to the maturity of the animal,—so likewise there may be two corresponding stages in the evolution of the life of the earth. Again, he observes that after birth the animal develops according to quite a different set of influences from those which surround it before birth, and that a study of the one of these two developments would throw little light upon the other. So it may be, he goes on to say, that a study of the laws which now regulate the development of the life of the earth may throw little light upon the nature of its earlier life history.

Finally, the Duke of Argyll, in his article on the Unity of Nature (*CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, September 1880), says :—"If the law prevailing in the infancy of our race has been at all like the law prevailing in the infancy of the individual, then Man's first beliefs were derived from authority, and not from either reasoning or observation. I do not myself believe that in the morning of the world Theism arose as the result of philosophical speculation, or as the result of imagination personifying the unity of external nature." In fine, let us boldly complete the comparison between the individual and the world, and all difficulties will vanish. But this can only be done by adopting the spiritual hypothesis.

I come now to the fourth and last objection to the physical hypothesis, namely, that of its apparent inconsistency with the theological doctrine which regards the Divine Power manifested in the continued existence of the universe as a virtual prolongation of Creative agency. This difficulty disappears at once by accepting the spiritual hypothesis. For according to it the continued existence of the visible universe results from a virtual prolongation of that Divine operation which gave it birth—that is to say, from a continued exercise of the Divine will and of the Divine perception. The upholding must, therefore, be regarded as a prolonged act of creation.

I have thus endeavoured to show that the Spiritual is free from the objections which attach themselves to the Physical hypothesis. Nevertheless, I can imagine an opponent using the following argument against these views. He may be supposed to begin by allowing that, if we assume the physical production of the world from the Unseen, we have had no repetition of the act, and are, consequently, in absolute ignorance of the exact physical agencies employed ; but he goes on to say, "We have, at any rate, ample experience of other acts also physical, and thus can grasp the meaning of a physical production. But what evidence have we in this world of the exercise of spiritual powers ? You tell me that man is a son of God. Now, in this case, I should expect to see at least the rudiments of that spiritual power which you attribute to the Son of God in His creation of the world. But I fail to perceive the slightest vestige of such."

The reply is that man has unquestionably a power of this nature. He has the divine attribute of freedom of will, and is thus capable of controlling his actions in such a way as to render him morally responsible for the result to the Deity and to his fellow-men.\*

Thus by the Materialistic hypothesis man, although practically held accountable, is theoretically deprived of self-will; while, according to the Spiritual hypothesis, there is no such inconsistency between theory and practice. There can, be, then, no doubt which of these two theories best accords with the undoubted fact of a practical freedom of will in man.

It is, however, necessary to remark, that what has now been done is to be regarded, not so much as an attempt to solve the mystery of free-will, as to transfer this mystery to the Unseen Universe. It is asserted that man has apparently and practically a power of influencing his own actions and motions, and that this is a power of the nature of that which belongs to the Unseen.

Again, it seems probable that under certain peculiar conditions one man may have the very strange power of influencing his fellow-man in such a way as to paralyze his will and perhaps to direct his thoughts.

Finally, I would put the question, whether there may not be occasional occurrences manifesting action at a distance; such, I mean, as are supposed by some to indicate the death of a dear and distant friend by means of an appearance or *simulacrum*. It may be said that the proof of such appearances is not conclusive. Certainly it is not scientific proof, if by this term be meant that proof from observation and experiment that can be repeated and accumulated at the will of the observer. Nevertheless, the evidence in favour of such occurrences appears to me to be such that we cannot decline to discuss them as possibilities.† In any case they are easily explicable under the Spiritual hypothesis, while they can hardly be explained by any other.

I have thus endeavoured to bring before the reader an hypothesis which appears to me to be more consistent with the facts of the world and with human history than that which is generally and, I may add, unconsciously held. In so doing I am aware that I lay myself open to criticism; but this is rather to be welcomed for what can only be regarded as a first speculation.

BALFOUR STEWART.

\* This argument was suggested to me by Professor Alfred Hopkinson. Dr. Carpenter holds, I believe, somewhat similar views.

† I ought rather to say as probabilities. See "Thoughts about Apparitions" by the Bishop of Carlisle (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January 1884). See also "Apparitions" by Messrs. Gurney and Myers (Nineteenth Century, May 1884.).

## THE PROTO-HELVETIANS.

THE lowering of the levels of lakes Neuchatel and Bienne by the so-called "correction" of the waters of the Jura (a work undertaken for the prevention of floods), though it has by no means added to their beauty, is proving an immense gain to archæology. It has laid bare many Lacustrine stations, and rendered easy explorations which would otherwise have been impossible. Instead of the slow and often profitless process of dredging, and picking up stray objects from between the piles at low water, the shrinkage of the lakes has permitted systematic excavations to be made in their former beds, on ground which Swiss antiquaries call the *couche archéologique*. The results are surprising beyond measure; besides throwing a flood of light on the history, the habits, and the civilization of the race of men who, thousands of years before the Christian era, made their homes on the lakes of Central Europe, and to whom has been given the apt name of Proto-Helvetians, they serve to correct old theories and suggest new conclusions. An idea of the richness of the finds made during the last ten years may be formed from the fact that the number of relics brought to light on the lakes of Bienne and Neuchatel since 1873, amounts to 19,599, of which, 13,678 have been acquired by various Swiss museums. Nearly 6,000 have been added to the collection of Dr. Goss, of Neuveville, on the lake of Neuchatel, who has undertaken many explorations at his own cost, and in whose presence some of the most valuable discoveries have been made. He now owns the richest private collection of Lacustrine relics in existence, and at the request of many brother antiquaries, he has published thirty-three phototype plates, reproduced from photographs taken by himself, of his more important finds. The number of the objects depicted is nearly 1,000, and being fac-

similes of the originals, and half, in some instances three-fifths, of the natural size, the illustrations, elucidated by the doctor's suggestive comments, are almost as interesting and instructive as a visit to the collection at Neuveville, according to Professor Morel, of Morges, a high authority, the most valuable, if not the largest, known to archæology.

Notwithstanding the doubts that have been expressed to the contrary, Dr. Goss holds to the theory of three ages, an age of stone, an age of bronze, and an age of iron, a theory to which every new discovery lends additional confirmation. There are Swiss lake dwellings where not a vestige of metal has been met with. There are others in which a few tools or arms of pure copper, and, exceptionally, of bronze are found. It is therefore a safe inference, as it is antecedently probable, that the use of copper preceded the use of bronze. In other stations, again, bronze preponderates and stone disappears. Last of all comes iron, first as a precious metal, ornamenting and encrusting the bronze, which in the end it was destined to replace. A noteworthy fact is the comparative rareness of ruined villages of the age of bronze. On the lake of Bienne there have been found the vestiges of thirteen stations of the Stone Age, and two only of the age of bronze; but the latter are far the more extensive.

The Stone Age is marked by three distinct periods. A first period, primitive and poor, characterized by the rudeness of its implements, the coarseness of its pottery, and an entire absence of stones of exotic origin. Of this period, the best type is the station of Chavannes, near Neuveville, on lake Neuchatel. In the second period, the art of working in stone has reached almost perfection. Implements and weapons are well designed and deftly executed; exotic stones are abundant, the pottery is well made and richly ornamented. The types of this age are the stations of Locras and Latrigen, on the lake of Bienne. The third period is characterized by the appearance of metals. It is a period of transition. There is still the same plenty of stone tools and arms, the general character of Lacustrine civilization remains unaltered, yet implements of copper, though few and far between, and rudely made, foreshadow an approaching change. This period is represented by the village of Fenil, on the lake of Bienne, and the station of Roseaux, near Morges, on lake Lemán. Next comes *le bel âge du bronze*, with its great development of art, to be followed, after the lapse of untold ages, by the age of iron, and that mysterious conflagration in which perished a civilization as old as that of Egypt, and as interesting as that of Hellas.

There is a marked difference between the habitations, as well as between the implements, of the age of stone and the age of the metals. The former, if more numerous, are less extensive; they

were but from 50 to 100 yards from the shore; the piles which formed their foundations are short, and made generally of entire trunks of trees. Between the piles are found fragments of stag's horns, broken stones, pieces of rude pottery, and bones of animals. The stations of the age of bronze, on the contrary, were large villages, built at a distance of from 200 to 300 yards from the shore, on large, long, and often squared piles, between which are found remnants of fine pottery and often entire vases. It is lower down, under the mud which has accumulated about the piles, that the great finds have been made. One of the most remarkable stations is the recently discovered village of Fenil. Although the exploration is not yet completed, more than thirty articles in pure copper have already been found, and as similar relics have lately come to light at Greng, on lake Morat, at Peschiera, on lake Garda, and in other places, antiquaries may ere long deem it expedient to add to the three recognized ages, an age of copper.

The minute and systematic searches which have been made on the shores of Swiss lakes, albeit they have brought to light such a multitude of priceless relics, have not yet resulted in the discovery of a single Lacustrine habitation. A few charred planks and beams, showing that they were destroyed by fire, are all that remain. Fortunately, however, we are not without light on the subject. A short time ago there was discovered in a marsh at Schussenried, in Wurtemberg, a well-preserved hut of the age of stone. The flooring and a part of the walls were intact, and, as appeared from a careful admeasurement, had formed, when complete, a rectangle, 10 mètres long and 7 mètres wide. The hut was divided into two compartments, communicating with each other by a foot-bridge, made of three girders. The single door, looking towards the south, was a mètre wide, and opened into a room 6.50 mètres long and 4 mètres wide. In one corner lay a heap of stones which had apparently formed the fireplace. This room was the kitchen, "the living room," and probably a night refuge for the cattle in cold weather. The second room, which had no opening outside, measured 6.50 mètres long and 5 mètres wide, and was no doubt used as the family bedchamber. The floors of both rooms were formed of round logs and the walls of split logs. This, be it remembered, was a hut of the Stone Age. It may be safely presumed that the lake dwellings of the Bronze Age were larger in size and less primitive in their arrangements. At both periods the platform supporting the houses communicated with the shore by means of a bridge (probably removable at pleasure) and with the water by ladders. These ladders, as appears from an example found at Chavannes, were made of a single stang with holes for the staves, which protruded on either side.

The question has often been asked, why the Proto-Helvetians chose to live over the water rather than on the land? Some investigators have suggested that they did live on the land, and that the huts or piles were used merely as granges, shippens, and stables. But this hypothesis is disproved by the existence in the *couche archéologique* of so many weapons, domestic implements and personal ornaments, and by the fact that none of these things, nor any other vestiges of pre-historic villages, have been found on the shores of Swiss lakes. The Proto-Helvetians had several very good reasons for living where they did. They enjoyed there full immunity from the attacks of the wild beasts with which the forests of Central Europe in their time, and for many subsequent ages, abounded. They were comparatively safe, too, in their island homesteads from the hostility of the more dangerous enemies of their own species, possibly of their own race, for the lake-dwellers, being human, were doubtless at times quarrelsome, and the thought which they gave to the making of lethal weapons shows that they were warlike. Another reason why they preferred water to land may have been a desire to place themselves and their belongings beyond the reach of forest fires, which in dry summers were probably of frequent occurrence.

Most of the hatchets and chisels found in the ruins of the older stations are of serpentine, diorite, saussurite, and other indigenous stone, quarried or picked up in the neighbourhood. A few are fashioned of jade, jadeite, and chloromelanite. The origin of chloromelanite is absolutely unknown; but, as a Mahomedan pilgrim from Central Asia, who some time ago visited the tomb of Gul Baba, at Buda-Pest, brought with him an amulet of this material, the conjecture has been hazarded that it is found only in Eastern lands. Jadeite comes exclusively from Burmah, and the jade used in pre-historic times must almost certainly have been brought either from Turkestan or Siberia; the only other countries in which it is known to exist being China and New Zealand.

But how did the Proto-Helvetians come by these rare stones? Were they brought by the first immigrants, or did there exist in that remote age a regular trade between Central Europe and Central Asia? The mention in the *Times*, some two years ago, of the finding of a jade implement in the bed of the Rhône at Geneva, gave rise to a controversy as to how it had got there. Professor Max Müller, who wrote several letters on the subject, contended that the Aryan immigrants might have brought the jade with them from Asia. That they should have done so, he urged, is antecedently less improbable than that the language they brought with them from the Hindoo Kooch should survive the vicissitudes of untold ages, and become, in various forms, the exclusive language of modern civilization.

Unfortunately for the hypothesis, it has not been proved that the

Proto-Helvetians were Aryans, while the scarcity of jade hatchets in the older stations, their relative abundance in the Middle Stone Age, and their disappearance at the beginning of the age of metal, proves that the supply rose and fell with the demand, and that the Proto-Helvetians obtained their exotic stones either by purchase or barter. Hence a regular trade must have been carried on between the Helvetic lakes and the confines of China. What the lake-dwellers could have had to give in exchange for articles so costly is a mystery; but the existence of an organized commerce, and many other facts that recent researches have brought to light, show that they were in frequent communication with people of a higher civilization than their own. Another curious fact is the geographical distribution of these Asiatic stones. In Eastern Switzerland jade, in Western Switzerland jadeite, is most frequently found. Several hundred jade hatchets have lately been found in the Lacustrine stations of Lake Constance.

Finds of articles in bone and horn on the shores of lakes Neuchatel and Bienne have been numerous and interesting. The fishing tackle shows great ingenuity. A horn harpoon, found at Latrigen, has twelve barbes, and the bone fishhooks are most deftly made. Then there are arrow-heads, daggers, combs and hair-pins. Hair-pins, whether in bone or metal, are wonderfully abundant. Dr. Goss says that his men often work two or three days in the *couche archéologique* without making finds of importance; but they rarely work an hour without finding hair-pins. We may therefore regard it as certain that in Proto-Helvetia the ladies (and, probably, the gentlemen) let their hair grow long and dressed it with care. There is also reason to believe that they wore necklaces of bone beads and amulets of wolves' and bears' teeth; and from the plentifulness of the latter (nearly all of which are perforated), we may safely conclude that the forests abounded with big game, and that the men of that age were bold and successful hunters.

The lake dwellers, besides being carvers of stone, were workers in wood and skilful boat-builders. At Fenil and Chavannes have been found an ox yoke, fragments of tables, benches and doors, toy boats, hammers and spades, most of which Dr. Goss has presented to the museum of Berne. One of the best preserved canoes yet discovered was found in the Stone Age station of Vingrave (lake of Bienne) nearly three feet under the mud. The material is oak, the form of the stern square, like that of boats of the present day; the bow is pointed and spur-shaped. Its length is 31 ft. 2½ in., and in width it varies from 29½ in. to 35½ in. In order to prevent warping, the canoe was repeatedly washed with hot linseed oil, and afterwards rubbed with sand and wax to fill up the interstices, by which means it has been kept in its original shape. With smaller objects of wood the same end is served by keeping them several weeks in alcohol or

glycerine. Yew, however, is an exception; its durability exceeds that of oak; articles made from it show no signs of decay, and dry without warping.

The station of Fenil, the discovery of which revealed the existence of an age of metal intermediary between the ages of stone and bronze, is situated in a small gulf on the lake of Biemme, open to the north wind. It was accidentally discovered last year by some peasants, as they were digging a ditch in land left bare by the subsidence of the water. Fenil is proving a veritable little Pompeii, and, as I have already mentioned, is especially rich in relics of copper. They consist chiefly of daggers, chisels, and stilettoes, used probably for boring holes in wood. It is almost certain that these things were made from native copper, brought from a distance. The greater part of them are wrought, the art of founding having been invented at a later period. In the first instance copper utensils, as also utensils in bronze, were doubtless imported, but there is ample evidence to show that, in course of time, the Lacustrians became skilful smiths, and wrought and cast their implements at home.

The age of bronze shows a marked advance on preceding ages. The villages of that period were more extensive, the dwellings (as is shown by the planks and main timbers which still exist) larger. In each village there appears to have been an open place where work was undertaken that could not well be done indoors. The discovery, on the sites of the Lacustrine villages of Neuchâtel and Biemme, of moulds, crucibles, metal broken for the melting-pot, damaged and half-repaired tools and weapons, is sufficient to disprove the theory that the workshops were on the land, the more especially as no relics have been found on the land. There is reason to believe that the stations of the Bronze Age, unlike those of the Stone Age, were more or less contemporaneous. Except in unimportant details the remains of that period hitherto brought to light possess the same general features, and none of the villages appears to have outlived the others.

Some of the swords of the Bronze Age are elegantly shaped and exquisitely worked. They were probably worn by the chiefs, and served rather as badges of authority than as weapons of offence. The form of them is that of a willow leaf, and their length varies from 17 to 23 inches. The blades are generally ornamented with several parallel bands and fastened to the hilt with rivets. One of the finest specimens, found at Lorcas, in addition to the parallel bands, is ornamented with a series of punctured lines, and the hilt, which is bossed in the centre, has a short cross-guard. The total length of the blade is 23·89 inches (67 centimètres), the hilt measures only 8 centimètres. None of the hilts are much larger, and, judging by the size of their weapons, the lake-dwellers must have had remarkably small hands. The hilt of a sword found at Moerén-



gen appears to have been ornamented with ivory or amber, and its blade of cast bronze is inlaid with thin plates of iron, the metal which is now the 'commonest of all being in that age the most precious. The blades of all these swords are straight and pointed, and designed rather for thrusting than cutting.

But the gem of Dr. Goss's collection is a steel sword, found at Corcelettes. The fact that it is steel has been proved by analysis, and the specimen is unique among Lacustrine finds. The blade, which has suffered somewhat by fire, is 25.58 inches long, straight and pointed, and the waved lines with which it is embellished are evidently the work of some pre-historic engraver. Who were the forgers of this weapon is a question which Dr. Goss discusses at some length, and, having regard to the undoubted skill of the Lacustrians as metal workers and to other circumstances, he leans decidedly to the opinion that it was wrought by themselves; yet seeing that no other arm of the same material has been found elsewhere, the correctness of this conclusion is perhaps open to doubt. Among other objects brought to light by the labours of Dr. Goss are bronze daggers, highly ornamented hatchets, chisels, gouges, knives, hammers, anvils, needles, tools for net-making, fishing-tackle, buttons, chains, spoons, spear heads, arrow points, and rings, bracelets, and other ornaments in great variety. Strange to say, saws, though they seem to have abounded in the Stone Age, are rarely found among the vestiges of the age of bronze. The total finds of them in the Swiss lakes do not exceed half a dozen, of which two are in the collection of Dr. Goss. One was found at Moerigen, the other at Auvernier, and both appear to have been used as frame saws. Another interesting find was that of a distaff at Lorcas (a Stone Age station), and a bundle of linen yarn, which, if it were not slightly carbonized, might be passed off as having been spun yesterday. No remains of looms have been found, but the discovery of linen tissues in great variety proves that the Proto-Helvetians were adepts both in weaving and spinning. They were also skilled mat, net, and basket makers.

It might be going too far to affirm that the lake-dwellers wore shirts and employed laundresses; but it is a fact, that there have been found at Moerigen bronze studs, exactly like the studs which now adorn the fronts of gentlemen's shirts, and double buttons, in no way distinguishable from the *solitaires* used for fastening wristbands. Ornaments of gold are seldom met with in the ruins of Lacustrine villages; nevertheless, two plates of the precious metal, embellished with parallel lines, a double and a single spiral, and a twisted fillet, have been found at Moerigen and Auvernier. These objects appear to have been used as collars, or, possibly, as badges of princely rank. The single spiral bears a striking resemblance to a spiral found by Dr. Schliemann in the ruins of Troy.

Until the discovery, eleven years ago, of a bronze bit at Moerigen, it was not suspected that the Proto-Helveticans added horsemanship to their other accomplishments, and even for some time afterwards, the find was looked upon as the product of a later age, which had found its way into the lake by accident. But the subsequent finding at Moerigen, Corcellettes, and elsewhere, of bits, broken and entire, a chariot wheel, and bones and skeletons of horses, put an end to all doubts on the subject. Some of the bits are remarkable specimens of metallurgic art. One of them is a sample of the type still in common use, both in England and on the Continent. The mouth-piece is jointed in the middle and twisted, the cheeks are furnished with "dees" for holding bridle and curb chain; and in shape and fashion, the Proto-Helvetian bit differs hardly at all from the "snaffle" of English grooms and harness-makers. But it is much smaller (9 centimètres, 3.50 in. long) than the modern bit, a fact which, together with the smallness of all the equine bones that have come to light, points to the conclusion that the horses of the Bronze Age were little, if any, larger than Exmoor ponies.

Whence came the bronze so largely used by the lake-dwellers of Proto-Helvetia is a question more easily asked than answered. Copper exists here and there in the Alps; but it is found neither on the banks of Swiss lakes, nor on the mountains of the Jura, and the nearest deposits of tin were then, as they are now, those of Spain, Cornwall, and Saxony. It is probable that the Lacustrians procured the one metal where they procured the other, and that, in the beginning at least, they received them in the shape of bronze, albeit a few ingots both of tin and copper have been found in the ruins of their villages. Another question, long debated, was whether their arms, tools, and ornaments were home-made or imported? Some are unquestionably of foreign origin. A superb bronze vase, now in the museum of Lausanne, and a fibula found at Corcellettes, are ornamented in a style undoubtedly Scandinavian; other objects are almost identical in make and fashion with pre-historic relics found in the South of France and in Italy. It may, therefore, be inferred that the Proto-Helveticans obtained some of their bronze either by trade or plunder. On the other hand, it is beyond question that most of their weapons and implements were made at home. This is proved by the moulds, which have been found in great number, hammers, anvils, pincers, ingots of tin and half-fused metal. The moulds are of sandstone, clay, and bronze; those of sandstone being the most abundant. They consist of two parts of a perfect coincidence, the pattern being wrought in each; so that when placed together they form a complete mould. In order that they may fit thoroughly, and hold firmly together during the process of casting, one part is furnished with wooden pegs, the other with corresponding holes for

their reception. An examination of these moulds shows that the Lacustrians fabricated their own swords, rings, daggers, bracelets, together with a vast variety of other articles; and it is quite possible that the pre-historic people of Southern Europe may have acquired their knowledge of metals and the art of working in bronze from a common source. M. de Mortillet, author of "*Origine du Bronze*," draws from the presence of tin and copper in the East, the smallness of the sword hilts of the age of bronze, and their likeness to those of India, the conclusion that the alloy was invented in India, and that the Proto-Helvetians obtained their first supplies of it from that country.

This raises another interesting question: were the men of the Stone Age and the Bronze Age of the same race? Is it not at least possible that the latter were immigrants or conquerors who brought with them from the East weapons of bronze and the art of working in metals? Be that as it may, there is ample evidence that the Lacustrians of the Bronze Period had reached a high degree of civilization—that they were prosperous, industrious, and intelligent. Everywhere among the relics of this period are to be found signs of wealth and well-being; indications of poverty there are none. The people of the lake-dwellings had sufficient engineering capacity and mechanical skill to drive into the ground the thousands and tens of thousands of piles on which they built their villages. They were skilled in husbandry, grew corn, owned horses, bred cattle; and they hunted wild animals rather as a diversion than as a means of subsistence. Their taste, as displayed in the fashion of their weapons, the style of their ornaments, and the shapeliness of their pottery, was pure and elevated. As a race the lake-dwellers were gifted and intelligent. Professor Virchow, to whom Dr. Goss has submitted the skulls found by him at Auvernier, declares that the brain capacity of the lake-men was equal to that of the men of our own time. Their conformation, their cerebral volume, the peculiarities of their sutures, place them on an equality with the highest type of Aryan skulls. That people so richly gifted by Nature should have succeeded so remarkably in the struggle for existence affords no ground for surprise. There was nothing in common between the Lacustrine communities and the savage tribes whom a fatal law condemns to extinction so soon as they come under the influence of a civilization higher than their own. The lake-dwellers possessed a singular aptitude for progress, a rare capacity for adapting themselves to their environment, and making the most of their advantages.

The skulls examined by Dr. Virchow are doubtless those of individuals who fell into the water by accident, possibly at the time of the great fires in which nearly all the villages of the Bronze Age seem to have perished; for the discovery at Auvernier of a place

of sepulture, shows that the lake-dwellers disposed of their dead by laying them in the ground. This cemetery contained the bones of about twenty individuals, and the presence among them of stone and bronze articles, their position on the lake shore, opposite a range of piles, leaves no doubt that the remains are of Lacustrine origin. The appearance of the ground denotes the existence of many other tombs; but the cost of exploring them has hitherto hindered the making of further explorations.

As touching the antiquity of the lake-dwellings of Proto-Helvetia, there is very little to be said. No medals, coins, or other relics, whereby the date of their erection can even be approximately determined, have been found. It may, however, with certainty be inferred, from the absence of anything Roman, that the Lacustrians vanished from the scene before the appearance in Central Europe of the legions of the Eternal City. According to the calculations of Von Sacken, moreover, the Necropolis of Hallstadt, which is admittedly more modern than the Lacustrine stations, dates from about 500 A.C., and as there is good reason to believe that several centuries elapsed between the destruction of the lake-dwellings and the making of the Necropolis, the former event must have come to pass 800 to 1,000 years before the Christian era. The duration of the ages of stone, copper, and bronze, is a matter of pure conjecture. All that can be regarded as certain is that it was very long. In the opinion of Dr. Goss, and of other erudite Swiss antiquaries, several series of centuries—perhaps twenty or thirty—must have elapsed between the time when the first piles were driven into the beds of the Swiss lakes, and the time when Lacustrine civilization reached its highest development. We shall probably not be far out, then, if we assign to the oldest of the lake-dwellings an antiquity of not less than six thousand years.

WILLIAM WESTALL.

## OFFICIAL OPTIMISM.

### PRISON REPORTS.

**I**F the reports published by various Government officials setting forth the successful results of the work carried on by them in their respective departments could only be received as altogether reliable, the vocation of the reformer would be at an end. Those beautiful systems, so faultlessly worked out by each department, at least according to its own account, make any interference appear an impertinence, and put to silence any would-be critic. It is not until we realize that these documents, after all, emanate only from the officials themselves, and relate to their own work, that the discrepancies between the statements contained in them and the facts brought to light by other agencies can be accounted for. A notable example of this official optimism may be found in the recent statement and reports of the Prison Commissioners and their official head the Home Secretary, which record a state of excellence that apparently leaves little to be desired, especially when looked at in connection with the diminution of crime which has undoubtedly taken place.

It will perhaps seem almost absurd, in official eyes, to suggest that the reduction in the number of offences has little, if anything, to do with the present prison system, but arises from other causes, such as the increased opportunities for emigration which now exist, as compared with former times, the spread of educational and religious influences, the efforts of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, and perhaps chiefly the diminution of drunkenness, which many of the judges assert to be the greatest source of crime in this country. In addition to these causes for the diminution of crime, it must be remembered that many minor offences which formerly were punished with imprisonment are now dealt with otherwise, as, for example, is the case in regard to juvenile offences; and

this change alone is sufficient to account for an annual decrease of about 5,000 imprisonments.

But if, in spite of all these mitigating circumstances, crime is still fearfully prevalent; if robberies, assaults, and even murders, often committed by men who have quite recently, and in some instances repeatedly, undergone the discipline of our prison system, are of frequent occurrence;\* if, as has been the case during the past winter, burglaries are so frequent as to cause a sense of insecurity throughout the metropolis and its suburbs; if the number of the police has had to be augmented, and it has been even proposed to arm many of them with deadly weapons, on account of the increasing ferocity of the criminal classes—if these things are so, some excuse may be found for those persons who, in spite of official reports, are of opinion that the present prison system is not so perfect as its administrators would make the public believe, but that it must, to a very great extent, have failed in what should be its chief objects—deterrence from crime and the reformation of offenders.

Many persons who have made a special study of this subject have indeed never ceased to protest against the present method of treating prisoners as being one which, while too severe to the novice in crime, is too lenient to the habitual criminal, and as affording very inadequate opportunities for bringing religious and moral influences to bear upon the prisoners, while, by the influences it does bring to bear, it utterly contaminates them. They also complain that the selection and treatment of the warders is very defective; while the practical secrecy which pervades the whole system, and the centralization of management in a virtually irresponsible oligarchy, are fatal to improvement. It is generally understood that the government of prisons rests with the Home Secretary, which is nominally the truth; but, as will be seen hereafter, he is practically little more than a cipher, for nearly all the control is exercised by the permanent officials. As regards the practical working of the system, the words of a prisoner lately re-committed immediately after his discharge from jail, are not far off the mark: "Me a bad 'un! Not me, I'm as good as they make 'em now-a-days;" to which may be added the statement of the Medical Inspector of Her Majesty's Prisons, Dr. R. M. Gover, for many years a resident officer at Millbank convict prison, who

\* Cases of violent crime committed by previously convicted offenders are of constant occurrence. For example, in January last a notorious burglar who had previously received ten years' penal servitude and other imprisonments, was re-committed, at Hammersmith, for renewed housebreaking; in London, two thieves, one of whom had been previously convicted, attacked with an iron crowbar a policeman who attempted to arrest them; and at the Middlesex Sessions, an old offender was re-committed for a violent assault upon a woman. The previous month, in Southwark, a dangerous ruffian, who had been fifteen times previously convicted, violently kicked and wounded a policeman. In February, a woman, in Lambeth, was kicked and grievously injured by a discharged prisoner; at Liverpool, two men were re-committed for robbery with violence. Other similar combinations of violence and robbery, by previously convicted offenders, were brought before the London Courts at the same time.

states in his report for 1882 that the 21,917 habitual criminals enumerated in the prison census are known to have incurred 86,682 previous convictions, or an average of four for each individual. This extraordinary official admission is, in itself, quite sufficient to entirely confute the roseate reports of the Commissioners.

Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties in the way of reform, in any Government department, is the powerful influence of its permanent officials. No doubt their intense conservatism is most natural, but it is not the less injurious and is the more dangerous, because not evident on the surface. And this influence is especially prejudicial in the case of the department which controls the prison system, for, as has been already mentioned, whilst its nominal head is the Home Secretary (who is also the nominal head of many other important departments), he has little real power over, or even knowledge of, the prison administration. As an example of the truth of this remark, the fact may be stated that the present Home Secretary, Sir W. V. Harcourt, one of the most able and energetic who has occupied the post, was, till lately, singularly ignorant of the rules under which his prisons were managed. The occasion under which this ignorance was betrayed was a curious one.

The writer, as Chairman of the Howard Association (a Society instituted for promoting the best methods of the treatment and prevention of crime), had been urging inquiry into some grievances brought before the notice of the Committee through the medium of the prison officials. In replying to his letter, Sir W. Vernon Harcourt advised the Association, instead of listening to complaints from officials, who objected to have their names published, to personally investigate such matters, by "following out the method which the good man, from whom the Society derived its title, pursued with so much benefit to society," this method being a free and constant visitation of prisons and their inmates. The sufficient reply was that, by the rules issued in the name of the Home Secretary himself, the Committee of the Association, in common with the public generally, were shut out from adopting such a course, and that John Howard or Elizabeth Fry, if still alive, would find it impossible to carry out the great work to which they devoted their lives; for now, although the Home Secretary did not seem aware of it, his own regulations forbid any religious or moral influence to be exercised upon prisoners through *non-official* sources. Access by unofficial persons to prisons is now very rare, and permission to visit difficult to obtain. Even when such permission is granted by the Home Office, it is merely to *see the prisons*, not to converse with their inmates, as was done by Howard and Mrs. Fry.

No attack on any individual is here intended; for the writer thoroughly believes that, from the Home Secretary downwards, most

of those in authority act from the best motives ; it is the system which is bad, especially as now carried out, no doubt conscientiously, by those whose habits of life and personal interests have perverted their judgment.

To return to the particular consideration of the system of criminal treatment now adopted : the first fault to be noticed is one that does not belong to the prison authorities, but to the law—namely, the want of cumulative penalties for repeated offences. With regard to the prison treatment itself, its defects may be very briefly summarized. They consist mainly in the careless selection, the imperfect training and illiberal treatment, of the warders ; in neglect of the needful means for the moral and social welfare, and in want of discriminating treatment of prisoners ; in the exclusion of unofficial moral influences ; in an insufficient number of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies ; and most of all in the mingling together of convicts without regard to character or age. On this point it is impossible to quote more pregnant words than those used by a discharged prisoner : " Many offenders enter prison mere tyros in crime, but, by the fostering care of the Government, they leave it thoroughly qualified for the career of habitual criminals." The association of the first offenders with the old and irreclaimable convicts is fatally corruptive ; these latter are so vile and filthy that no reformatory system would seem to have a chance of inspiring their polluted natures with one pure thought or honest aspiration. Unhappily, this association extends to every period of a prison life. During the school-hour, the novice in wrongdoing sits shoulder to shoulder with old and abandoned criminals, who, while pretending to be mumbling their lessons, are engaged in disgusting chat with their neighbours. Again, in the workrooms, old thieves have the novices under their instruction, and what the apprentice learns is not merely the making of shoes or garments, but a more easy, if not more excellent, way of making money. Whilst working so closely together, conversation is practically unchecked, and the peculiarly gross immorality and obscenity universal among old thieves can hardly fail to do their evil work.

The more fully to enter into the subject, attention must be called to the fact that the prisons of this country consist of three departments, or classes—the Convict Establishments for criminals sentenced to detention for five years and upwards ; the Local (County or Borough) Jails, whose inmates are imprisoned for short terms ; and the Military Prisons. The first two will alone occupy our attention.

In regard to the Local Prisons, the Earl of Kimberley, an important authority, remarked at the Quarter Sessions for Norfolk in October last that " he regretted that the local prisons had been handed over to the Government. A worse measure, he believed,



had never been passed. Many people now regretted it ; and none more than some of the Home Office authorities." Such an opinion is the more deserving of consideration, because Lord Kimberley has had wider opportunities than most men of knowing what prisons really are, from his observation and experience while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and subsequently as Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Penal Servitude Acts.

On the other hand, about the same time there was issued the latest Annual Report of the Commissioners of the Local Prisons of England and Wales, in which these authorities express satisfaction that the very class of jails alluded to by Lord Kimberley display "much more general and uniform success than in former years," when they were under the care of the visiting justices. In reference to such official optimism, not only must some allowance be made for a natural inclination by the Commissioners to present the best appearance to the public ; but probably they themselves are often the last persons to know what really occurs in their prisons, for the sufficient reason that all the information which they receive is transmitted to them through a succession of sub-officials, who are personally interested in putting the best appearance upon what passes through their own departments.

With respect to these very prisons, the Report of the Howard Association, issued in October 1883, calls attention to their unsatisfactory management, complaining that the habitual rogues are so well fed, are associated in what they consider such pleasant companionship, and are employed in many cases at such easy work, that these prisons, instead of being deterrent, become positively attractive to them ; and it naively remarks that "offenders should quit prisons with a feeling that they are unpleasant places, not lightly to be regarded in future, but rather to be carefully avoided," whereas more than a few of the inmates at present appear to be of the same mind with a prisoner, who, on coming out from the cheerful associated labour he had enjoyed inside Coldbath-fields Prison, lately exclaimed : "Jolly miserable, out here ! I'll go in again for the winter. \*I don't mind oakum-picking, not I ; but I do hate and detest the solitary cells."

That British jails generally in the present day are free, at any rate so far as the superior officers are concerned, from those evils of deliberate cruelty and oppression which characterized the prisons of a former age, and which still distinguish many of the jails in America and on the European Continent, may be admitted, though, in the absence of independent visitation, *this* is only conjecture. That they are administered with laudable attention to cleanliness and sanitary conditions, is also tolerably evident from the returns of comparative percentages of mortality and disease. But these admissions on the credit

side of their management are quite compatible with a series of defects, some of them of the gravest character; evils, it is true, which affect the moral rather than the physical condition of their inmates, but which are not less serious on that account. The main objects of imprisonment should be, without doubt, deterrence from crime and the reformation of offenders; and the test of the efficacy, or failure, of any prison system is the extent to which these two aims are secured.

If one-half of the reported successes of the present system were genuine, crime would not be so rife as it is; nor would so much of it be found to be due to liberated convicts. This remark applies to the local as well as to the convict prisons. They neither deter from crime nor reform criminals. Take, for instance, the following. At the Marylebone Police-court, a man was lately re-committed to prison whose previous charges and committals exceeded one hundred in number. At the Warwick Assizes, last year, Mr. Justice Denman sentenced to penal servitude three lads, whose total previous convictions numbered forty-three. Another case, recently tried in the metropolis before Mr. Justice Stephen, was that of a man indicted for robbery with violence. Amongst a number of previous convictions it was shown that he had been four years in a reformatory, then twelve months in jail, then four years in a convict prison, and was then sentenced to a further term of seven years' penal servitude. After this, he had again committed a robbery, for which he had been sentenced to sixteen years' penal servitude and seven years' subsequent supervision. And now he was once more before a judge. In another instance, at the Central Criminal Court, before Mr. Edlin, a man was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude and five years' police supervision, who had already undergone two imprisonments of a year each, followed by six years in convict prisons, and by a further ten years of penal servitude. Similar instances might be adduced to weariness; but these, and such official admissions as those of Dr. Gover's Report, show that it is not merely in individual instances, however frequent, but literally in thousands and tens of thousands of cases, that the process of imprisonment, as at present administered, to a large extent fails to reform or even to deter from crime. It is a very difficult matter indeed to reform; it is much easier to deter. But even this result is shown not to be accomplished. Sir E. F. Du Cane and his brother Commissioners, as well as the Home Office authorities, may fairly be asked, in reference to the constant re-convictions of their prisoners, whether such failures are not proof of serious defects in their system.

It must be borne in mind that these failures would be far more numerous than they are, if it were not for the services rendered by some of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, which save so many, and would save more if they were more numerous. It would

be most beneficial if every British prison, without exception, had a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society established in connection with it. At present this is far from being the case. Even at Oxford, the foremost seat of light and learning in the kingdom, there is (or was very recently) no society of this kind; but the extra-official care of the discharged prisoners is left almost entirely to one lady, who, with some little assistance from a few private friends, has nevertheless during the last three years found situations for sixty of the female prisoners on their discharge from jail. This lady not only cares for them when discharged, but visits them in jail by special and exceptional permission; and the success which has attended her efforts points to the good results which might be looked for, if the visits and services of other judicious visitors were permitted and indeed generally encouraged in prisons. But unhappily Oxford is one of the very few jails where any visitor is permitted to give counsel and sympathy to the inmates. The chaplains, it may be urged, are supposed to visit the prisoners, but in fact they are brought into very little personal contact with them; nor could any great effect in the way of adequate influence be hoped for, considering the hundreds of prisoners who are wholly dependent upon one chaplain for religious guidance and sympathy. The schoolmaster also is expected to devote a portion of his time per week to each prisoner, but it stands to sense that in large prisons it can only be but a very few minutes. As to the superior officers, the prisoners see very little of them, except to get a hasty word now and again, in the way of special demand or complaint. In the case of female prisoners, the chaplains are not allowed to converse with them in private, but only in the presence of a matron or warder. Hence the greater need for permitting the access of judicious lady visitors to women in prisons.

The failure of the prison system does not arise from a deficiency of expenditure, or from a paucity of paid officials, except perhaps of warders in some of the establishments. For since the Commissioners took over the prisons from the visiting justices, they have raised the salaries of some of the governors and officers from 50 to 100 per cent. They have also appointed a great many officers of different grades, as inspectors, deputy governors, clerks, and assistants; so that notwithstanding the large reduction in the number of prisons, the total cost to the nation appears to have been little, if at all, reduced.

As regards the powers of visitation by the magistracy, these, though considerable in their nominal scope, have been so minimized by the disregard and independence of the whole official staff, that they have become as nearly as possible a virtual nullity. And the good influence which might be exerted by visitors from outside, is also, as we have shown, generally precluded. At the same time the power of the chaplains, now more needed than ever, has been materially

diminished. Thus the prisoners, in both convict and local prisons, are now dependent for the chief influences on their characters almost exclusively upon the warders and upon their fellow-offenders, and this last—the intercourse of prisoners with prisoners—is but too obviously disastrous.

There remains, then, the influence of the warders and assistant-warders, the persons upon whom mainly devolve the real control over the prisoners. And here we come to a most important part of the question. If the warders are not, as a class, suitable for their important functions, how bad must be the effect upon the prisoners! Or if, being suitable, they are systematically overworked and worried with impossible requirements, how detrimental this must be to the whole prison system!

These warders, upon whom, as a matter of fact, devolves almost exclusively actual intercourse with the prisoners, are chiefly taken from the ranks of old soldiers, sailors, and marines. Some of them are kind men and conscientiously desire to perform their arduous duties aright. Others are very much the reverse.\* A Member of Parliament, Sir Henry Holland, Bart., who is especially experienced in prison observation, recently wrote thus to the Howard Association in reference to this matter: "Upon the warders rest the real management of the prisons. It is of immense importance to get good, kind, and yet firm warders, not liable to be deceived or bought over by experienced convicts. And to secure this, we must obtain for them all the advantages we can."

Nominally, and in theory, the educational and moral requirements of the warders, on entering into the employment of the prison service, are tolerably satisfactory. But, like so much else that is theoretically good in the prison rules, the actual state of things is far otherwise; for there is no special system for training and elevating this important body of men after they have once entered upon their duties. In the best foreign prisons, great attention is paid to the training of the warders, but in Great Britain such a necessity seems to be ignored.

The governors are, as a class, gentlemen of education and good feeling. Many endeavour to infuse a spirit of humane consideration into their subordinate staff, and in some cases with much success. Such a governor was the late Mr. Henry May, of the General Prison for Scotland, at Perth. Such an one also is Captain Harvey, the accomplished and excellent governor of Wormwood Scrubs Convict Prison, near London. And, happily, these are but types of an increasing class. But unfortunately there are some other governors, who have neither their excellences nor their influence, but in some cases

\* It need hardly be said that there are sure to be some "black sheep" amongst these old soldiers and marines: men whose indulgence in drinking, swearing, and cruelty, although carefully concealed from governors and inspectors, is sure to influence the prisoners, to their great injury.

subject their warders and other subordinates to very irritating and vexatious treatment.

The Home Office authorities are probably amongst the very last persons to hear of abuses among the warders. Their inspectors can see or ascertain next to nothing of concealed evils. Even the resident governors are sometimes ignorant of what goes on within a stone's-throw of their own desks. But it stands to reason that a body of men almost wholly recruited from the ranks of the army and navy, often overworked, allowed scarcely any time available for self-improvement or needful recreation, and not at all trained in the knowledge needed for their responsible duties, but left to grow by chance into their official shape, can hardly fail to come far short of even a low standard of intelligent efficiency as custodians of the fallen and erring inmates of our prisons, and may often give way to the temptation to be guilty of cruelty and oppression to those against whom they may take a prejudice.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Howard Association, who has devoted much time to prison visitation, writes to the Secretary, under date September 20, 1883, as follows:—

"I went to ——— Convict Prison on Wednesday last. I was not at all pleased with one or two things. The 'desperate gang' seemed to me too strongly marked. I never feel sure how far the repressing system in vogue may not actually produce desperadoes. Some of these men are not of a low type of countenance, but much of their violence may be due to bad management and not to innate brutality. It is in these points, probably, that Captain Harvey, at Wornwood Scrubbs, differs favourably from many other governors. Instead of speaking a word of advice, which an intelligent man might take well, the unfortunate convict is put on bread and water for 'insolence.' Then he becomes irritated, assaults are made upon the warders, and the convict gets flogged. The next step is the 'desperate gang,' as the man has lost all self-respect and all hope in the world: he is now in the position of a wild beast, as a principal warder once remarked. A man of brutal instincts may do well even under bullying. But a man of a nervous temperament, who has been in a respectable position socially, cannot put up quietly with the coarse despotism of an average warder, and so he finally becomes mentally deranged—a mere lunatic, ready to fly at those who control him. Penal servitude implies slavery, but it is not meant to *manufacture violence*, as I am afraid it sometimes does."

The murderous outbreaks or outrages which take place at some of the convict gang prisons, as Dartmoor, Chatham, and Portsmouth, have from time to time drawn public attention to the state of the prisons, especially when a coroner's inquest is involved. But there is reason to fear that the outside public, and even the Home Office authorities, know comparatively few of the worst of such occurrences.

A warder at Chatham Prison not long since wrote a letter to the *Times* in which, after narrating four attempts at murder in that establishment, which were punished by floggings and other penalties in private, he remarks: "I have not shown the numerous cases in

which warders have been struck with the fist, or had stones, bricks, &c., thrown at them; these are of almost daily occurrence, but the authorities are very chary of allowing convicts to go before the judges, as it shows up the defects in the prison administration."

The author of a work entitled "*Her Majesty's Prisons, by One who has Tried Them*" (S. Low & Co., 1883), relating entirely to the local jails, alleges some serious instances of wilful neglect of diseased and dying men by the warders. In particular, he narrates as follows his own observations of cases under the care of a certain prison surgeon, too fond of liquor, and a cunning lazy warder, an old marine:—

"A man complained that he was subject to heart complaint, but the doctor and the warder got it into their heads that he was shamming, and the former certified him as fit for first-class labour. It was very hot summer weather: the man was placed upon the treadmill, and used to puff and blow, and exhibit signs of intense distress while at work; but this was looked upon as a dodge, no notice taken of it, and the man continued at wheel-work. A few nights later, the warder, going round to lock up the cell-doors at bedtime, heard a strange gurgling noise in the man's cell, and looking in, saw him stretched upon his bed, gasping for breath. He sent for the chief warder and drew his attention to the man's state; but the chief opined that the fellow was still shamming, and advised him to 'give it up, as it would not go down there.' As the chief warder uttered these words, the noise suddenly ceased, and the glazed eye and curious dull leaden colour that spread over the man's face, told its own tale. The chief warder would not, or could not, believe that the man was actually dead, and sent off post-haste for the doctor; but the end had come. There was the usual inquest on the body; the doctor stated that the man had died from heart complaint, and the verdict was, of course, 'Death from natural causes.' It is perhaps needless to say (continues the writer) that all the true facts of the case were carefully suppressed; but, worst of all, such a lesson even as this produced no permanent result; for not long afterwards another case of the same kind occurred."

In passing, it may be here observed that the verdicts of inquests held in prisons appear usually to be "Death from natural causes." Perhaps in many cases the words might be added "facilitated by unnatural means."

The official statistics as to deaths in prisons are very misleading, for it is part of the system to remove, or liberate, prisoners who are likely to die. In a letter to the *Dublin Freeman*, dated February 4, 1884, Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., in referring to several recent deaths of prisoners under very questionable circumstances, remarks: "The Home Secretary said in the House of Commons last Session, in reply to some observations of mine, that it was the duty of the

prison officials to have a prisoner discharged when he was in danger of death. I know that this rule has been *very frequently* acted upon, and consequently we are in no position, from the statistics of deaths in prison, to judge of the real effects which our prison system has upon the life and health of the offenders who are brought into contact with it."

Whilst an implicit reliance need not be placed on the narratives in recent works purporting to describe the writers' prison experiences, yet they obviously have a considerable basis of fact. The case of the convict Fury, *alias* Cort, executed two years ago at Durham, is very significant. Whilst undergoing a long sentence of penal servitude he voluntarily confessed to another crime, that of murder, committed by him thirteen years previously, expressly stating that he made this confession in order to be hanged, and so released from his treatment as a convict. Such a mode of action certainly carried with it a strong presumption of sincerity and of the truth of the accompanying allegations of ill-treatment made by him and published in the newspapers at the time.

But apart from specific cases of complaint, it follows, by a necessary and universal law, that wherever a body of prison officers are selected from, at best, a very imperfectly educated class, a class familiarized with barrack-life, or with the experiences of marines, and then, on their introduction to the prisons, overworked, left without any systematic training or opportunity of instruction, and removed from the restraints of any effectual public oversight—such men, under such circumstances, must *necessarily* fail to become effective in their duties. The State cannot expect it of them until their condition is changed, and the result must be grievous and cruel.

Even active and clever Home Secretaries, such as Sir Richard Cross and Sir William Harcourt, have, in the overwhelming pressure of their multifarious occupations, shown themselves quite unable to grasp or effectually deal with the subject of prisons. Sir William Harcourt, learned as he is in law, has on more than one occasion, as already indicated, betrayed extraordinary ignorance in this direction. In one instance, he seemed to be unaware of the great distinction between Convict Prisons and Local Jails. For, in reply to a complaint of some abuses in the former, he alleged a recent satisfactory statement as to the latter by some visiting justices. But, as was afterwards pointed out to him in the *Times* (of June 20, 1882), the visiting justices have nothing whatever to do with convict prisons, and exceedingly little even with the local jails.

As regards the occasional inspection by the unpaid Parliamentary visitors of convict prisons (the two or three gentlemen nominated for each of such establishments under Sir Richard Cross's regulations), it was elicited, by inquiry in the House of Commons, that those

appointed for the Irish convict prisons had only on one occasion during a period of more than a year and a half availed themselves of their privileged function. A letter from the warden of an English convict prison thus alludes to the visits of this class of official visitors: "They walk into the prison and out; and there are not ten people who know that such a visit has been made. These visits, to be of any use, should be arranged altogether differently, and there ought to be a place set apart for the visitors to hear complaints, in a private way, and not in front of the governor, deputy-governor and chief warden." Another convict officer remarks: "We are visited by a director, certainly, but he is espied before he nears the gate, and scouts are sent flying to all parts to herald his approach. Then everything is squared for his visit. He sees only the outside of the platter."

The Home Secretary, however desirous, personally, to rectify prison abuses, is a mere instrument in the hands of permanent officials. The latter, in their turn, are easily kept in ignorance of what their own subordinates do. For, under a rigid system of centralization such as the prison system, where local magistrates and Parliamentary visitors are liable to be mere ciphers and have no executive powers, it becomes, as a shrewd observer has well remarked, "the easiest thing in the world for an active official of any kind to convert the Home Secretary, or any other nominal controller, into a superfluous wheel in the machinery which goes on spinning and humming to its own intense satisfaction, but which is *practically disconnected* from the real and actual management." How great is the satisfaction of the Commissioners at the present condition of things, may be gathered from the exclamation attributed to one of them, after the passing of the Prison Act of 1877, "Our position is now practically unassailable." This is unfortunately but too true, whether actually spoken or not.

The Commissioners of the local prisons, in their last Annual Report, are indeed pleased to pay a polite, if rather sarcastic, compliment to the visiting justices, of whom they remark: "We hope that we may be allowed to point out how much the public are indebted to the magistrates who undertake the duty of supporting the governors in administering the discipline of the prisons, for the assistance they have given in carrying out the system which has been established." How very hollow this specious compliment is, is not only shown by the vigorous protest of Earl Kimberley, already quoted, but still more conclusively by the almost total impotence of the visiting justices. Almost the only executive function they now possess is to authorize a governor to flog, or otherwise punish, a very intractable prisoner in certain cases. They cannot appoint or dismiss a single clerk, storeroom-keeper, warden, or officer of any description. They cannot make or alter any rule of the prison.



They have no control over the accounts. They cannot check any extravagance or blunder. If, as has sometimes been the case, they happen to know that supplies for the prisons are purchased at prices much above the ordinary local charges, they cannot secure the needful economy. They can, indeed, formally communicate their views in writing to the Home Office, just as any one else in the locality, or elsewhere, can do. But it is entirely optional with the Home Office to take any notice of the complaints.

The expensive staff of inspectors, which, it is curious to note, has been increased in number since the prisons have been decreased, might with advantage be discontinued. Their rapid visits afford colour for a presumptive but delusive plea that prisons are properly supervised. That which is needed is a resumption of much more local supervision. And to secure this, some real power other than the mere shadowy and complimentary functions now accorded to the visiting justices must be restored. Intelligent gentlemen cannot be expected to manifest earnestness in a capacity where they are little, if anything, more than mere puppets. Therefore their powers should be materially extended. They should be put into a position to make comprehensive reports, which should not merely be posted to and permanently shelved in the Home Office, but should be regularly published in the annual Blue Books and in the local newspapers. And they should be periodically convened to meet one or more of the Prison Commissioners for mutual conference on prison affairs. In addition to this, suitable independent local visitors should be encouraged to render their services to the prisoners, especially those about to be discharged and needing advice and help in obtaining employment.

Amongst the serious offences of the Prison Commissioners, may be mentioned their ludicrous valuations of prison labour. When Sir Richard Cross was arguing in Parliament for the transfer of the local jails from the magistrates to the Commissioners, he pleaded that the cost of the prisons would thereby be greatly diminished. The number of British jails has been reduced from 169 to 99, but we look in vain for any corresponding reduction in the cost. It is true there is great difficulty in exactly comparing the costs of the jails under the two periods, as some portions of the former outlay have now been transferred to other departments of the State. But the Commissioners are evidently at their wits' end to swell up the apparent earnings of the prisoners. In order to do this they have placed an absurd value on the time occupied by the prisoners in the most trivial and even penal occupations. For instance, in the latest Report (December 1883), Stafford Jail is credited with a profit of £897 from the work of pumping water for the jail itself by the treadmill! Liverpool Jail is also said to earn £301 by pumping its own water. Wandsworth

Jail earns £1,375 by doing its own *domestic cleaning*. Coldbath-fields Prison earns £229 by its stoking, and £433 by tearing up and sorting old papers. Statistical absurdity can hardly go further. •

As the Home Secretary's attention is necessarily so much absorbed by general parliamentary and political business, a special Ministry of Justice has become a necessity, if only to exercise some real control over the Commissioners and Directors of Prisons, both convict and local. The extreme absolutism of the Convict Directors and Prison Commissioners has no parallel in the British Isles. The Commander-in-Chief of the army is not nearly so much an autocrat as the pluralist Director and Chairman of all the prisons. The former can only order a court-martial in cases of offences against military law, and the sentence is pronounced by an independent court. But the Prison Chairman can constitute his own court, in cases of complaint by subordinate officers, against himself or colleagues. No judge in the kingdom has nearly such power. No criminal or prisoner but can obtain a more impartially constituted tribunal in case of need.

Another necessary reform in connection with prisons is that of patronage. The appointment of the governors, chaplains, and warders should be vested in some independent body, and not as at present, virtually, in the Convict Directors and Local Jail Commissioners. These form a compact little family group at the Home Office, where they have gathered around them a band of compliant friends, inspectors and chief clerks, of their own selection. And, throughout the service, it is to this central group that all subordinates who wish for promotion must cultivate an humble deference. The local knowledge and observation of magistrates or others goes for nothing in the selection of the rank and file of prison officials. The Home Office group keep the patronage in "their own ring-fence," as in a very comfortable "preserve." The Home Secretary is a mere shadow in his own office, in the matter of prison patronage. He serves, however, as a useful prominent figure-head, and as a buffer and shield, in case of public complaint against the powerful bureau behind him.

A very important desideratum is a more independent and impartial preparation of the reports and statistics which constitute the annual Blue Books on prisons. They should be thoroughly unimpeachable on the ground of impartiality and honesty. They should not bear any indications, as they now do, of the suppression of matters unfavourable to the administration, or of the withholding of communications which the public have a right to possess. But such judicial impartiality can hardly be looked for whilst, as at present, there is no disinterested body to prepare and issue these annual official reports. It is known that only portions of the sub-reports, even of the governors and chaplains, are inserted;

and where subordinates venture upon criticisms, they are simply ignored.

A clean sweep should be made of all this un-English absolutism. It is surprising that the country in general appears so ignorant and apathetic in regard to this matter, from the effects of which it suffers severely.

In conclusion, there is urgent need for some systematic training and probation of the warders and assistant-warders of convict prisons, while a larger number of these officers should be employed so as to allow of less strain, less irritation, and more efficiency. Still more important is a better classification, and a total separation of first-convicted prisoners from habitual offenders. In the convict prisons some of the sentences should be much shorter, but carried out under suitable cellular separation, and without the corrupting concomitants of gang labour association. In the local jails, on the contrary, where at present 75 per cent. of the inmates are constantly entering on very short re-committals, of a few days or weeks, most unreasonably repeated, more cumulation of sentences is a pressing necessity, sentences long enough to afford opportunity for the formation of good habits, and for at least some degree of either deterrence or reformation, or both. The State now supplies and pays a large army of chaplains, schoolmasters, and warders in these local jails, but at the same time it practically prevents those officers from being of any use, by passing the prisoners so rapidly through their hands, that scarcely any time is afforded them to give any really valuable instruction, industrial training, or discipline. This is a costly waste, both financially and morally.

Reforms are made slowly in England; but the danger to life and property arising from the present manufacture of hardened villains out of reclaimable criminals may urge attention to this important subject, even if justice and mercy to fallen men and women fail to exert an influence. An essential part of any real reform must be the opening of the prisons to visits from the true Howards and Frys of our own time, visits which are not less needed by the prisoners now than of old, and which are as much in the interests of officers and warders as of the prisoners. But, first of all, we must sweep away that un-English system which centralizes the administration, leaving it practically to the control of an oligarchy, who not only manage it in their own way, but also furnish the only official reports from which the public can at present derive any information.

FRANCIS PERK.

## UNTRODDEN ITALY—THE SILA FOREST.

HOW is it that a large part of Italy is positively unknown to modern travellers? There are no doubt certain established routes, which are as crowded as any in Europe. But beyond these limits lie vast tracts of beautiful scenery, towns full of unspoiled people, and a hoard of interest in manners and costume untouched as yet by the tourist. A large number of strangers go every year to Pæstum—the received limit of southern travel in Italy, and yet in the very next bay lies the site of the famous Velia (the Greek Hyele) from which come most of the genuine antiquities now sold at Naples. The country is lovely; travelling, if rude, is very cheap, and every step is full of historic memories. Yet nobody ever ventures beyond Pæstum. Indeed this very splendid place, with its great temples, was only discovered by civilized people about a century ago! Every spring an increasing number of tourists make their way through Greece on horseback, and at very great expense. The same kind of travel, and very similar scenery, can be had in Calabria at about one-quarter the daily outlay. And yet nobody seems ever to go even along the train lines south of Pæstum. The line from Eboli passing through the mountains of the Basilicate, and then down to Metapontum, is one of the most beautiful in Europe. From each station lovely excursions are possible—nay, even to ascend from the station to the town, which it represents, is often an excursion in itself. The food procurable is not bad, and beds generally clean; the people are most kind and attentive, and yet no one seems to try the experiment. In southern Calabria, the country lies so high, that the climate is quite temperate in summer; it is easily reached by steamers, or by train; horses are always to be had, and yet, though both people and country are far more interesting than they are in most of Sicily, I never could find out that

any stranger had gone through it, except the artist, Mr. Lear, many years ago, and lately Fr. Lenormant, but only in part. The Sila district, which I am about to describe, was seen by neither of them. The writer of Baedeker's "Southern Italy" seems perfectly ignorant of anything but the railway line, and excuses or vindicates his ignorance by telling his readers that the country is disgustingly rude and dirty, unsafe, and therefore not fit for travellers. This is a new point of view from which to write a guide-book, and yet Baedeker has published a very minute guide-book to Greece, where the travelling is in every way ruder, the accommodation worse, and the expense much greater.

It cannot be said that the east coast of Italy presents equal attractions; but still how much there is well worthy of a visit! Not to speak of Ravenna, now well known, and Rimini, who visits Loretto, or the Republic of San Marino; who stays at Ancona; who goes out from Foggia to that wonderful headland, the Monte Gargano, with its monasterial fame, and its great mediæval memories; who wanders through that second Garden of Eden in richness, the lands between Trani and Bari? Who except Mr. Freeman knows the splendour and curiosities of Bari with its great churches and quaint tortuous alleys and archways? \* From the great plains of Apulia, who ascends to Venusia or Canusium, where the fugitives from Cannæ gathered; or goes, though he can do it by train from either coast, to Beneventum, the old home of Samnite wealth and independence?

The main causes are no doubt twofold. In the first place, a reputation for insecurity, once obtained, haunts a country long after it is thoroughly pacified, and people who desire to travel for pleasure very properly object to incurring risks of life or property. Even to the present day, Greece, one of the most peaceful and secure of countries, bears about her neck the crimes of 1871, and so the very phrase "Calabrian banditti" will keep travellers from venturing into this untrodden country. Crime is of course to be found in every country. Burglaries are common in England, and there are parts of London where a stranger is perhaps not really safe. Agrarian murders occur in Ireland—a country where no traveller has ever been molested in our memory. So it is desirable before entering upon an excursion to Calabria or Greece, to ask the prefect of the province or the chief of the police, whether he thinks it safe. If some miscreants have escaped from justice, or are skulking in the mountains from the pursuit of the law, he will tell you so. At most times the country is as safe as the middle of England.

In the second place, some colloquial knowledge of Italian is indispensable, for though a few officials profess to speak French, they rarely

\* The Greek spoken in some villages near Bari has been proved by Lenormant to be Dymantine Greek, introduced by colonists of the eleventh century, not, as was supposed, the relics of the old Greek colonization.

understand it even superficially, and the traveller will do better with any Italian, however bad, than any French, however good. When I say a colloquial knowledge, it must be distinctly understood that neither fluent Italian nor correct Italian is necessary. But Italian of some sort it must be. I often asked young officers quartered in Calabria, how it was that they had not learned French, and they answered me simply enough that it did not form part of their examination. This will soon be the answer, of every ignorant person in the world.

Books of travel and guide-books for Greece are so plentiful, that it seems almost incredible that information on Calabria is so hard to be found. This is my reason for saying something about the most striking part of it—the Sila Mountains, which I visited in 1882. The main attraction to any one who studies Roman history is this: that Hannibal seemed able to stay in this district as long as he chose, keeping the whole power of the Romans at bay with a small force. The last four years of the Punic war he spent in this part of Bruttia, and he only left it because he was recalled to meet the Romans in Africa, not because they were able to dislodge him. But if there had been no Hannibal, and the place had no history, it is well worth visiting for its own sake. There are, indeed, not many antiquities to be seen there. It is not likely that the Greek settlers ever made any stay in these mountains except to keep in order the wild mountaineers, who used to swoop down on the rich trading cities of the coast, and who ultimately, aided by Samnites, overcame and enslaved the Hellenic shopkeepers of the coast. At Tiriolo, one of its loveliest villages, there was found long ago one of the most important specimens of old Latin, the *Senatus-consultum de Bacchanalibus*. But apart from all this, the Sila is a very remarkable place in all natural respects. In the first place, it is a great granite island rising out of later formations, and was once, as the geologists tell us, standing alone in the sea, before Italy existed. This peculiarity makes its rivers quite clear, and hence there is excellent trout-fishing all through it—a unique thing, so far as I know, in Italy, the country of muddy rivers. Then there are still, and there always were, great natural forests, which have not yet been cut down and burnt. There is plenty of shooting also, I believe, and so far as I could judge from a visit in spring, it would be worth a tour from that view alone, if one could boast the acquaintance of the Barone Baracco, who owns most of the district, and probably preserves it in antique feudal fashion. There are not only wild boars, but wolves there, not to speak of ordinary game. This Sila forest is mentioned in Virgil's "Georgics" as the scene of the great battle of the bulls, and Polybius tells us, that when a monstrous ship had been built at Syracuse by Hiero (which he ultimately presented

to a Ptolemy, for want of a harbour to hold it), the mainmast was for a long time sought in vain, till a swineherd found an adequate tree in the Sila forest, which was conveyed to the coast under the charge of a special engineer.

There are three ways of ascending into this great stronghold, which is so high and cold that the Italians regard it as a summer resort, and will not visit it till June. We found snowstorms there in April, and the rivers so full and wintry that fishing seemed idle. But the journey from England there in summer would be intolerably hot by land, so in that season the proper route would be by sea to Naples, either all the way or at least from Marseilles. At Naples one should take a coasting steamer down to Paola, below the old Gulf of Laüs (Policastro), where the Sybarites had established their Tyrrhenian mart, and sent their merchandise across the narrow neck of land north of the Sila, thus avoiding the long round by the Straits of Messina, and ousting the southern cities of their old advantage. From Paola, a most picturesque port, a carriage road brings the traveller in about three hours to Cosenza, which is the capital of that district, surrounded by thirty-six flourishing villages up to the slopes of the Grande Sila. From Cosenza a mule takes you up at once into the heights, along the great military road, which has brought security into these once pathless wilds.

There is a railway from the opposite coast (Buffaloria) to Cosenza (Consentia), following the track of the old thoroughfare across the peninsula, up the valley of the Crati, the highway which, as I have just explained, made the fortune of Sybaris. This valley is the boundary between the northern Abruzzi, which culminate in the gigantic Monte Pollino, and the great mountain mass of which I am speaking. From Cosenza a sort of mail diligence skirts and partly crosses the Sila to Catanzaro at the south end; but the traveller will do far better to take ponies or mules, or to walk with a knapsack. He must so arrange his day as to reach at nightfall one of the towns in the mountains. There are plenty of them—the great plateau immediately over Cosenza is perhaps the largest area without a village in the whole district. When he has reached the heart of these Alps, he should make his resting-place either Cerenzia, or better, S. Giovanni in Fiore, which is the principal place, built on the slope of a great cañon, which separates it with its deep gulf from the opposite mountain. The costume of the place is curious, for while the neighbours all wear the brightest colours, the women of S. Giovanni wear black. We saw them in this gloomy garb on Good Friday, and thought it had been assumed on account of the poignant grief they showed in worshipping the image of the Saviour, lying on a catafalque in their great church. But we were assured that this was their ordinary costume. I cannot help adding a curious feature

in the scene. While men and women were contorted with religious agony around the dead Christ, the organ aloft was consoling them by playing an exceedingly vulgar and jocular waltz, full of lively hops and jerks.

The route we followed in 1882 was to come down by train to Cotrone, where there is a good inn, and good red wine, and where the officials and officers quartered were very kind to us. From thence we took ponies at five francs per day—which is also paid for the days they spend in returning, if you desert them far from their home—and food for lunch, and went up the exquisite valley of the Neto. The country reminds one at every turn of Arcadia—I mean the actual Arcadia of to-day. There is the same vegetation—squills, crocuses, and flowering trees, and in the river-beds brakes of tamarisk and oleander. But we did not find the great glory of Greece, the *anemone fulgens*. Several times our way took us across the Neto, and here we saw a method employed quite peculiar to the country. The stream is deep and rapid, and hardly to be traversed on horseback. But there was kept in readiness at the ford a strong cart, yoked with a pair of oxen, in which the traveller and muleteers take their place, while the horses are tied on behind. A very small child, with glittering eyes and solemn mien, armed with a long stick, stood in the cart, and drove the oxen through the water, which reached up to our knees. The horses stumbled and swam behind. So we crossed safely by the weight of our conveyance and the solid resistance of the oxen. The good people tried hard to detain us in Cerenzia, near a great forest, where they promised to let us hear the wolves by night. But we pushed on to S. Giovanni. From this, the proper journey in summer would be over the Monte Nero, the highest summit, to Policastro, and thence to Catanzaro. But when we were there, the snow was too deep, and the weather not settled.

Considering the interest of Cotrone itself, it is perhaps the best starting-point for this journey. The town itself, once the famous Croton, has unfortunately had all its antique materials used up in comparatively modern fortifications. It was, I believe, Charles V. who surrounded it with the massive walls and ramparts it now possesses. But across a small bay to the south, perhaps an hour's sail, we come to the promontory of the columns—*il capo delle Colonne*—where yet stands the solitary Doric pillar which remains of the famous temple of Hera Lacinia. Here it was that all the early Greek colonists made their devotions, and this, like the temple of Apollo at Naxos (near Catania), might be regarded as the great metropolitan cathedral of the Italiotes. Here it was that the mighty Hannibal, when embarking for Africa, after his seventeen years' devastation of Italy, left his proud record of the cities taken, the armies destroyed, the land ravaged, which gave his mortal enemy



a blow from which she never recovered. The depopulation of Italy, with all its frightful social consequences, was the work of Hannibal. Foreign plunder was at this very time about to turn the Roman nobles into great capitalists, and they seized the opportunity to establish those great *latifundia* worked by slaves in the deserted tracts, which, as Pliny truly remarked, ruined Italy. The very country of which we are now speaking is at this very day practically under the same system. The working-people are practically the slaves of absentee noblemen, who own all the country, and reap all the profit.

If Croton has nothing old remaining but the famous pillar, so in the case of Sybaris we hardly as yet know the site. The rich plain of the Crati and the splendid green slopes which surround it, show us plainly enough why that town had once been celebrated for its wealth in cattle and in fleeces. For on the Crati it certainly was situated, as the Crotoniates turned that river over the ruined city, in order to complete its destruction. Whether the close windings of the stream still mark the spot, or whether the course has since been changed, or how much of the old material has been carried down to the sea in winter floods, no one can tell. The ruins of Thurii must be somewhere near, and may mislead the first excavator who attempts the problem; for what will have the most exciting interest is the discovery of the remains of the richest of all Hellenic towns, with nothing later than 510 B.C. among its monuments. Who knows what new lights may not then be thrown on Greek art?

I have often pressed Dr. Schliemann to turn his matchless instinct upon this problem. If he could be induced to begin excavations, which the landlord, as I am told, would favour, we might prophesy very large results. But let us now return to our business.

The third way of penetrating into the Sila is by Catanzaro from the south, to which the train from Reggio will bring the traveller, or at least within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours' drive of it; for in Southern Italy you must not imagine that the station and the town whose name it bears are at all proximate. At Potenza, for example, in the Basilicate, the town is indeed right over the station, but perhaps 800 feet over it, so that to go up by carriage is a long and tedious journey. I saw another station—I forget its name—where no town was visible, but where I was shown a road leading from the station down to a river, and rising at the other side to scale a lofty mountain. If you forded the river and pursued the ascent, you might arrive in three hours at the town behind the mountain. On the way from Benevento to Foggia there is a station called Troja-Giardinetto, where I looked out, and saw to the north on the horizon a town occupying the top of a distant hill. On the south was a vast plain, and far away, miles away, was another town. It was clear enough that the station was named after both—

one perhaps ten miles away, the other twelve; but when I asked the railway officials which was Troja and which Giardinetto, they began to dispute the matter, and had not settled the question when time was up, and the train went on.

Catanzaro is not so extreme a case, and lies so high on the top of a rock, that a steep ascent from any main line is necessary. It is a large town, also with decent inns, but too large and fashionable for picturesqueness of costume. The people who go to chapel on Sundays are aping the vulgar dress of Europe, while in the villages but a few miles away, such as Tiriolo or San Geminiano, the women and girls are more splendidly attired on feast days than I ever saw them anywhere. Not even an Easter Day at Monte Cassino, and that is wonderful enough, can compare with it. So that the traveller who prefers unspoiled Nature, in man and mountain, to a comfortable inn, will abandon Catanzaro for the higher villages, and hasten to the splendid chestnut, oak, and fir forests of the Sila, with its tumbling rivers, its beautiful birds, and its primitive and interesting peasantry.

It remains to give some further details as to the manner of living and the cost. For it is needless to prescribe routes in a district not so large that its limits cannot be reached at any time in two days, and yet so large and unexplored that weeks might be spent fishing, botanizing, admiring, inquiring from village to village. I have only indicated the modes of approach, and the best centres of radiation. As to the rudeness of living, it has certainly been exaggerated. That excellent traveller, the late François Lenormant, who wandered through many parts of Calabria, not however including the Sila, was said to have ruined his weakened constitution and shortened his life by the hardships of Southern Italy.

I cannot believe anything of the kind, though I sympathize with his eloquent complaint, especially at having hare served with chocolate sauce.\* But he went in late summer, when the evils of rude countries are at their height. In spring I can testify that we found no insects troublesome, that though the floors were dirty the bed-clothes were always perfectly clean, and that at the inns used as restaurants by the officers stationed in each village, we were always able to find respectable food—the spring vegetables, such as salad, being often very fine indeed. Any one who can tolerate travelling in Greece need not fear Calabria. The bills charged us for this kind of living were 12 or 13 francs per day for both of us, including everything. If the cost of ponies, including one baggage animal, be included, 28 francs per day will represent the cost for two people when they are moving. While staying at any village 7 francs each

\* In his first vol. on "Apulia" (pp. 311 seq.), he gives a curious list of the dreadful dishes which were served to him by way of delicacies, in Apulia, Lucania, and Calabria.

would be ample, and with introductions, it would cost far less. This is considerably cheaper than even the most experienced traveller can manage Greek expeditions—I will not speak of dragomen at 50 francs per day!

As regards comparison of scenery, there is no part of Italy so like Greece as this further Calabria. From Tiriolo looking south, the mountains of Sicily are visible, all the Lipari islands, and the great mass of Aspromonte, which is the highest point of the next and extreme joint of the toe of Italy. For as the peninsula narrows and descends north of the Sila into a ridge easy of passage, so south of the Sila there is another narrowing, but this is much nearer the strait, so that as a land-route it was never so valuable. The country from Catanzaro to Reggio is no doubt full of beauties of its own, as any one can see from Mr. Lear's book, but this is matter for another expedition.\* Even from the coast railroad one can see numbers of villages perched on the mountains away from the sea, which was long so infested with lawless pirates. But these heights from Gerace to Reggio never possessed the vast forests, because they had not the extent and seclusion of the Sila, and except Aspromonte itself, they look barren and bare.

The Italian Government are making solid and steady progress in the incorporation of this outlying district into the great unity of the peninsula. Not only are there fine military roads now traversing the Sila district—the first known there since the days of the Roman Empire, but a railway along the west coast to Reggio is in progress, and the enlistment of all the youth in the Italian army is teaching the mountaineers something of geography, and of the relations of Calabria to the rest of Italy. If we may trust the experiences of Napoleon's campaign in Russia, they are the hardest men in the peninsula, for it is well known that of all the Italians who were carried off to that frightful disaster, only some *Neapolitans* found their way home—a matter of wonder to those who considered the climate of Naples. But of course the *Neapolitans* were merely inhabitants of the kingdom, not of the city of Naples, and these *Calabrians* are used not only to great fatigues, but to deep snow and ice in their Alps, so that the wonder, like most wonders, can be explained quite naturally. The dress of the men is curiously sombre; many wear conical black felt hats, black gaiters, and almost all thick black cloaks, when the evening comes on; and in concert with this, there is a certain gloom

\* Since this was written Lenormant's posthumous volume on the west side of this coast, about the Gulf of S. Eufemia, has appeared. He has carefully described Nicastro, Il Pizzo, Monteleone, and Mileto, where a great Norman court, that of Roger of Sicily, occupied the ground once held by the Greek towns of Terina, Temesa, and Hipponium. But alas! both Greek and Norman remains have been completely destroyed by the terrible earthquakes which have torn the country, as no other part of Europe has been ever so often in pieces. The one relic of the Normans is the cider made from the apples grown on the mountains above Mileto.

and solemnity in their manner, which M. Lenormant compared to the traditional gloom of the Spaniard, and which may also be paralleled in the bloody and revolting character of the religious pictures and images among both peoples. But in friendliness, in honesty and in hospitality, they will compare favourably with the people in any part of Italy; to most of their compatriots they are indeed very superior.

They seem a people who live a hard and laborious life. With the exception of a stray riding traveller, always with a gun swinging on his back, you meet no peasants except those in rows, I had almost said in droves, hoeing or digging fields under the eye of an overseer on horseback; or those urging on with shrill voice lean bullocks in the cart or the plough; or those curious solitary lads, whose special occupation it is to attain a sort of mental *nirvana*, sitting by their flocks of sheep and goats. These picturesque animals find pasture from shrubs, when the grass is eaten away or burnt up by the sun, and the tinkle of their bells in the hot midday air has a faint and sleepy rhythm. It is but rarely that the shepherd rouses himself from his silent apathy even to play on a rude pipe, like the Lacon or Comatas of Theocritus. Once, by the way, at Reggio, I found a boy playing two flageolets together, without any joint mouthpiece, and making very pretty music in two parts. I bought his flutes, or rather, a spare pair which he had with him, for a franc, and found them "male and female," as the Romans would say—one considerably deeper in range than the other. This served him to play a simple accompaniment to his air.

But these picturesque aspects cannot hide from the traveller the careworn and oppressed look of the peasantry all through Apulia and Calabria—many pale from fever, but far more evidently weakened by want of proper diet, and lowered in spirits by the hopelessness of their situation. The metayer, or joint proprietary, system of Northern Italy, is unknown throughout those parts of the old kingdom of Naples. As the peasants do not live in scattered cottages, owing to former insecurity, they are gathered into the widely separated towns, from which they descend into the valleys to work all day for a franc or less, to climb up again every night in weariness to their homes, or else great sheds or shed-like houses have been built for them by the proprietor, when the distance from a town is very great, where they lie huddled together every night in horrible squalor, to be wakened up and driven to the fields by a factor or inspector, not very different from the slave-driver in the Southern United States of former days. He often farms for a fixed rent the whole property of the absentee landlord, who wishes to enjoy an idle and often licentious life at Naples, and expends neither money nor care on his property. So the factor becomes a land shark of the worst description, and tries to squeeze out of his bargain all the profit he can by the sweat of the

peasants' brow. There seem to be no rights for the wretched labourer. His house, if he has one, even in one of the towns, is the property of his landlord, and he can be ejected at a moment's notice. If he displeases the *factor*, whose demands often violate what sentiments he still has of purity and domestic affection, he is cast upon the world homeless and hopeless, with no redress left him but murder, and no support but the levying of black mail in the mountains. Thus the brigandage, for which Calabria was so notorious, was too often the outcome of shocking tyranny and injustice.

Now that good military roads and the Carabinieri have put down the possibility of living by plunder, the safety valve is emigration, which is going on much as it has done in Ireland. Whole families of poor people leave their homes for Naples, where they embark for South America, generally the La Plata country. This climate naturally suits the Italian better than that of the Northern Union. I could not learn what success they have there, but fancy they told me of some who had returned wealthy, and bought villas near the great towns, such as Naples or Reggio. Lenormant, who spent several seasons in these provinces, has an eloquent digression in his first volume on "*La Grande Grèce*" (pp. 172-85), about the agrarian question. He compares the people to Egyptian fellahs, and to Irish tenants—having, of course, before his eyes the traditional picture of the Irish tenant of the last century. But in the matter of absenteeism and of emigration, there are, indeed, striking resemblances; and he shows the danger there is of socialism of the wildest form spreading in the rural population of Southern Italy. This is indeed the *Italia Irredenta*, to which patriot politicians should turn their attention. Here, indeed, there is room for a Land Act, which will not merely give rewards for idleness and agitation, but will save splendid provinces from desolation, rescue a fine people from destruction, and exhibit to the world publicly the odious selfishness and immorality with which an absentee aristocracy can systematically violate all the dictates of humanity. There have been such cases in other countries. In Ireland there were some two or three so notorious as perhaps to produce Land Reforms in recent years. In the kingdom of Naples it seems not easy to find a single landlord who takes a proper interest in his dependents. This, at least, is the impression produced on visitors by what they see and hear. If it is unjust to some exceptional men, they will afford another example of the good and worthy being discredited by profligate neighbours.

But I have strayed into politics, when I had only intended to describe a new field for harmless travel.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

## WREN'S WORK AND ITS LESSONS.

THE beauty that has been thought beautiful for two hundred years is worth examining; for in matters of art time is the final judge. Fashions come and go; to have outlived many fashions, yet always to have been thought admirable, is perhaps the highest distinction that human work can attain. This distinction Wren's work, or some of it, has undoubtedly gained; if we can find out how, we shall have taken one step, not towards copying, but towards equaling, or perhaps even excelling, it.

It is quite true that, both in England and out of it, much architecture remains which has stood the test of time longer than Wren's. But his work has this great interest for us—that it was done within the modern period. It was produced under conditions like our own, and not in that “once upon a time” about which all assertions may be risked, and in which nothing, it appears, was impossible. Hapless art-prophets, dragged through rough places at the chariot-wheels of a theory, mutter ceaseless maledictions against the modern world. Our only chance, it seems, is to get back to the age of miracles, when every workman, they assure us, did as he listed, and when the fortuitous concurrence of all the bits of work produced such things as Lincoln or Salisbury Cathedral. Wren, like ourselves, had not the advantage of living in those remarkable times. He had to plan his churches himself, and not to see them slowly evolved by undesigned coincidences of doors and windows and roofs. His drawings were worked from, and his buildings built by, no society of preternaturally-gifted artists, but by such bricklayers and masons and carpenters as we still see around us. “I am as you are, so are they; all mortal”—Wren might have said to us. And yet, with no living style to help him, with nobody, except an occasional carver or a smith, to design

the smallest fragment of his detail, he carried on the ideas of the Middle Age church-builders further than they themselves had taken them, and left work behind him which would have made them proud to claim him as a brother.

Architecture, like music and the drama, is an art which needs for each of its works one composer and many executants. If the building, the oratorio, or the play is to be perfect, some at least of the executants must themselves be artists. The great difficulty of the modern architect is that so few of the executants in his art are anything more than mechanics. A large proportion of them must have been no more than this at the best of times; and architecture so far differs from other arts, that for many of its executants no more than this is needed. A common excavator, it is evident, can dig a trench, a common bricklayer can build a wall, without needing to have anything of the artist in his composition. As regards the majority of men, plain mechanical work is all they can do, and all they wish to do; and such work, in the main, is what even the greatest architectural achievements are made up of. In stages far above digging and walling there is very much indeed to be done that requires nothing more than good workmanlike ability. Nearly all those features of a building, very numerous and very important, which consist of straight lines and circular curves, can be perfectly worked from drawings by any one with fair mechanical skill. The architect has only to see that they are well designed, and there are plenty of workmen, even now, who will take care that they are well executed. But the critical point is passed when we come to features which a drawing cannot fully explain. The mechanical workman can produce from drawings the largest arch-moulding, the most complex nave-pier, the finest window tracery; and from the same drawing of such things every competent workman will produce, practically, the same result. The reason is, that every point about them can be absolutely fixed and settled by lines and figures, and there is therefore no opening in them, or only the smallest conceivable opening, for the workman's art power, even if he has any. But all this is changed at once when we come to details which a drawing cannot perfectly explain. The mere mechanic is equal to the largest geometrical pattern, but not to the smallest piece of leaf-ornament, much less to ornament of a higher class. All sorts of mysterious reasons have been assigned for the difference; because, like Sir Thomas Browne, art theorists "love to lose themselves in an *O altitudo*," and because the real explanation is too simple and obvious to leave opportunities for fine writing and declamation. The plain fact, however, is, that the mere mechanic can only go with safety as far as he is guided; that he cannot be guided, except by way of partial suggestion, where difficult and complex forms come in, and

that therefore in the latter case an artist-workman is wanted, who, in his own special department, can guide himself.

It happened to Wren, as it happens to us, that he found mechanical workmen plentiful, and really artistic ones scarce. How this state of things came about was not for him the first and most pressing question. And since in this world the material is always threatening to choke the spiritual, and the tangible the ideal, the form of the question ought perhaps in any case to be reversed. It would be more pertinent to ask how artistic workmen could ever have been abundant, than why in the modern period they should be rare. In the best of times inventive power could not have been universal; in the best of times Goethe's aphorism must have been true, that all need the beautiful and few can produce it. The power of producing it, however, may be prized or scorned, cherished or neglected, encouraged or repressed. In the great ages of architecture, an artist, even in the humblest rank, had a career before him. His worth was recognized, his name was known, and he had a share of the honour which in baser times is given to money alone. For this honour and recognition he had not to depend on the slow perceptions of the outside world. Whatever his craft, it was organized; and organized not as a mere machine for supporting strikes and keeping up wages, but still more as an academy of art, so far as art was concerned with it. Every workman was thus known and judged by those who could judge him best. If he had ability, it was noticed and trained; and with a powerful society to support it, might become at last the pride of his country at large. Such organization as this has long since ceased. Whatever good modern trades-unions may have done, they have not opened, nor, I fear, attempted to open, a career to talent, unless perchance that talent lay in the one particular of plausible speech. Rather may the workman who seeks to improve his work be thankful if they abstain from thrusting him down again to the common level; and he lives his life, not as a leader in a useful and respected profession, but only as one poor man among countless thousands of the poor. He is lost in the crowd; his powers, whatever they may be, are unappreciated, and he soon learns that the way to respect and competence now is not to do his work better, but to do a better-paid kind of work. He passes from the cream of the working class to the dregs of the trading class, and this wise world of ours points him out as a man who has risen.

This, then, was the state of things in which Wren found himself: the state in which his successors still unhappily find themselves: a state in which hardly any workman will remain a workman, if he is clever enough to make a living in some other way. So Wren, like ourselves, could get almost any work done which needed a mechanic, and almost none which needed an artist-workman. Too wise to attempt impossibilities, he trusted entirely to work which mechanics



can do. A great thinker can more or less express his thoughts through any medium; and Wren, in default of a better one, expressed his through mere mechanical labour. He gave up, broadly speaking, all reliance on carving, sculpture, and coloured ornament, and made up his designs out of such details as can be worked with certainty from drawings. His whole dependence was placed on architecture proper; on general forms and proportions, on beauty of plan and impressiveness of construction, on graceful outlines and grand contrasts of light and shade. Here, and not in their minor features, lies the great strength of his works. Their decoration would often be better away. The wildly-draped saints that break the sky-line of St. Paul's, the puffy-cheeked cherubs that look down from its lower levels, have no great interest, probably, for any one. It is the fashion to praise Grinling Gibbons's festoons, and they doubtless contain spirited copies of a fruiterer's stock-in-trade. But when all is summed up, it was not much that the decorators did for Wren. They carved him apples and pears by the bushel, pouting faces by the score, and men in blankets by the dozen; but the net value of all these he seems to have known as well as we do. This knowledge he showed by not relying on them in the least. It had not been discovered in his time that there could be nothing artistic about a building but its ornaments—that it must needs have "ciphers and stucco-twiddlings everywhere." He conceived of architecture as a thing quite independent of carving, painting, and sculpture, though gladly admitting them all when they could be had. But seeing that in his time, as in ours, they could not really be had, except in small quantities and by great good fortune, he made his buildings, in the main, complete without them. It was not often that he tolerated mere pretences of them; and he never covered his churches, as London street fronts were covered some ten years ago, with the decoration that does not decorate, and the ornament that does not adorn. He found it possible to put his highest inventions into shapes which a common bricklayer or mason can execute; and thus, from the misfortune of having no artist-workmen under him, he plucked the glory that all the beauty of his buildings is his own. So much one architect can do, for so much one architect has done.

Wren, moreover, was thrown upon a time when there was no living style, at least for monumental works; and this must have been to him, as it still is to us, no help, but a great hindrance. When the old unions of architects, artist-workmen, and mechanics were broken up, styles, as progressive things, came to an end. For no one man can produce a style, or by himself do much to improve it. Every style is the product of many minds, working together for many years. It is the result of combination, and its growth stops when the combination ceases. It may

be, indeed, that new forms of combination will take the place of the old ones. It may be that art societies and journals, and the present unparalleled facilities for studying contemporary work, are even now bringing many minds to bear on the same questions, and are so, in new ways, beginning to make a living style again possible. In the meantime, however, the urgent question for us, as it was for Wren, is to see what can be done in its absence. It is sometimes said that nothing can be done. For while styles were growing and flourishing, people took them for granted, and looked beyond them, just as they take their own language for granted, and look beyond the mere accuracy, with which it is spoken, to the ideas which the speaker has to convey. But since, some two or three centuries ago, styles ceased their development, and became like dead languages, they have been treated with a blind reverence such as they never had before. To those who first developed them, they were only a means of making their buildings harmonious and beautiful; to those who have since copied them they have too often been looked on as an all-sufficient end in themselves. A "battle of the styles" has raged for half a century, and is scarcely over yet. People have turned the world upside down to bring in a new style. Within living memory the Roman style, the Greek style, the Italian style, the middle Gothic and the early Gothic, the late Gothic, and the "Queen Anne," or Flemish Renaissance, have all been in fashion by turns. Men of great literary power have made it the business of their lives to write on style, and if half they have said could be relied on, to adopt the right style would be salvation, and the wrong one, destruction.

To Wren, on the contrary, style was not an end but a means. He had thoughts to express, and it was through style that he expressed them; he had experiments to try, and style gave him the opportunity of trying them. With weaker men, style tends to become a substitute for thought. They find in it a useful stock of ready-made details, which can be applied to any shapeless mass, and which, to people who know no better, will give that mass the appearance of architecture. They learn their style; they lay it on as far as money will go; and they think that this is what it is to be an architect. No style, however, has more than a limited number of fundamental forms, and, used in this way, its novelty cannot last long. Its admirers grow weary of it; it goes out of fashion, and another style comes in; and this, in brief, is almost a complete history of modern architecture.

Every style, good or bad, must count on being out of fashion some day; and when that day comes, the difference between the artists who used it as a means and the pseudo-artists who rested in it as an end grows sufficiently clear. That day has long since come to

Wren's work. It has been in fashion and out of fashion, till so much of it as deserves to endure has finally taken its place above fashion. It has done so because, apart from the mere style, which is all that a careless observer sees, there is something admirable in the very essence of it; because, whatever we may think of the dress, which Wren borrowed, we always feel the beauty of the inner form, which he created. The same sort of dress, indeed, still meets us everywhere, and goes by the name of "Modern Classic;" but the difference is, that we seldom find the same sort of form beneath it. Imagine all the detail removed: in Wren's best work there will still be left a beautiful design, while in most modern classic there will only be a shapeless mass of haphazard building. All that people will see in this latter sort of work, some day, will be its shapelessness *plus* its unfashionableness. In Wren's masterpieces, on the contrary, the beauty of the main forms is striking enough to overpower the triteness of the minor features. The inner thought, which was the master's own, shines through the too familiar ornaments with which he surrounded it. It is beautiful without counting its style; it is beautiful even if its style offends us. True architecture, then, can be produced in times and places where there is no living style. It was possible for Wren to produce it, and, if they act on the same principles, it must be equally possible for his successors. This is far from implying that they should adopt the same type of detail. It implies, rather, that they should think the type of detail a secondary thing, and the forms and proportions which underlie the details the chief thing of all.

The great things in Wren's work, then, are its types of plan and composition. It would be misleading to say, without explanation, that they are mediæval; but all their affinities are non-classic. They belong to the post-Roman world—to the civilizations which succeeded those of the ancients, and in which artists everywhere broke through the narrow limits within which all excellence had previously been sought for. The Greek ideal only admitted a very few out of the endlessly varied forms which Nature offers or imagination suggests. It sought, not the highest, but the most faultless things; and the most faultless things are few. In much of the material which art has to work on, merits on one side are paid for by defects on another. The merits, it is true, may often be far higher than any which belong to the faultless class. An artist may perhaps say of forms what President Lincoln said of men: "It is my experience that those who have no faults have uncommonly few virtues;" and may be willing to lose a little in order to gain much. But this was not the way of the Greeks. No amount of beauty tempted them to condone a blemish; and thus they rejected ninety-nine per cent. of the materials which were ready to their

hands. Greek art, in this way, came to hold the same position in the realm of the actual and the possible which the Greek nation held in the habitable globe. It was equally wonderful and brilliant, but the space it occupied was equally small : it was a point of light in a universe of darkness.

A Roman ideal, at least in architecture, can scarcely be said to have existed. The Romans simply borrowed Greek details and misapplied them. But as the Roman empire was breaking up, the boundaries which were set to human invention broke up too. The artist found a whole infinity of life and interest outside the four walls within which his predecessors had been immured ; and instead of trying any longer to make a small artificial world according to his own standard of perfection, he accepted the real world for better or for worse. Nothing that was human, nothing that was natural, nothing that was in harmony with a healthy imagination, was any longer alien to him : he found nothing common or unclean.

Wren, by his inmost nature and preferences, was an architect of this post-Roman type. It is only the dress of his buildings that can be called classic : their fundamental design belongs to that subsequent and far wider growth of art which includes all the indigenous architecture of Europe for the last fourteen centuries. From all this, without distinction of date or country, he was prepared to take suggestions whenever they suited him. Post-Roman styles Wren had deliberately renounced, in spite of his occasional diversions in English Perpendicular ; but post-Roman ways of planning and grouping belonged to the very essence of his being. To call his spirit mediæval, however, would be to misname it. The term is too narrow in its origin, and custom has narrowed it still more. It is not the spirit of the Middle Ages alone that is meant, but the spirit of the last fourteen hundred years—a spirit which survived its transient eclipse by eighteenth-century formalism, and which is as powerful to-day as ever before. It is the spirit of the northern nations,—of Gauls and Celts and Teutons : the spirit which prefers the free to the formal, the strong to the smooth—the whole of man and nature to that little selection which satisfied the Greeks. Whether we wish it or not, it is the spirit of our race. Plainly confessed or hidden under strange disguise, it is always with us ; and Wren, for his part, could no more get rid of it than could the monks of some twenty generations before. They, like him, had their classic ambitions. As he thought the Latin style, so they thought the Latin language much finer than the English one. They dreamed, perhaps, of emulating the Augustan poets ; but instead of epics in hexameters, they wrote hymns in rhyme ; and though they admired the *Æneid*, they left us the "*Dies Iræ*."

To see how this free non-classic spirit shows itself through the

thin veneer of Wren's classic detail, look for a moment at the tower of Bow Church, Cheapside. This, in its general design, belongs to the most perfect and fully developed of all the tower-types which the genius of the Middle Ages conceived, and, as will presently appear, it is in some respects an advance even on this. Nothing that is Greek or Roman exists of this type: nothing, we may be sure, ever did exist. The Greeks and Romans were not great tower-builders, and those towers in Rome which seem most to have preserved the old traditions are plain and square. Such, for instance, are the *campanili* of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santa Francesca Romana, and San Giorgio al Velabro: all much later than any pure classic work, but all showing the classic uninventiveness at every turn. For Roman traditions long lingered in Italy, and especially in Rome itself. There was a constant struggle there between the classic and the post-classic elements; and sometimes one gained the upper hand, sometimes the other. Still, occasionally there, and always in most parts of Europe, the new, daring, imaginative spirit finally had its way. Tower-builders were no longer satisfied with four high walls for their design. Instead of plain square plans, they tried squares broken by piers and buttresses; they tried polygons and even circles. But their most complex and yet most successful designs were made by placing one kind of plan above another. It would need a book, not an article, to describe the endless variety of compositions which were formed in this way. Sometimes, as at Bari, at Pistoia, and at Murano, they set a smaller square tower on the top of a larger one. At other times—for instance at San Gottardo, Milan, and at St. Nicholas, Frankfort—they combined a larger and a smaller polygon in the same way; while in the great tower at Andernach, and in some of the Norfolk and Suffolk churches, we even find a polygon placed above a circle. A still better effect, however, was gained by placing an octagonal super-tower, or "lantern," on a square sub-tower; and on this combination are based some of the finest steeples all over Europe. It ensures of itself that the lower part of the tower shall look strong, and the upper part light; that, at least in the corner view, the structure shall seem to diminish as it rises, and that the higher part, from its increased number of sides and angles, shall attract the eye by its superior richness.

All these are valuable qualities in a tower scheme; and it is not surprising, therefore, that square towers with octagonal lanterns found admirers everywhere. But, used as they were in Italy—at Cremona and Modena, for example—they still had two great defects. The octagonal tower was cut off from the square one by heavy cornices and parapets; there was no vital connection binding the two into one design. That was the first fault. The second one was, that on an angular view the flat-topped corners of the square stood out

far beyond the octagon, and made an unpleasant break in the otherwise aspiring outline. Various expedients were tried to remove these imperfections. In many cases the angles of the square were sloped off towards the oblique sides of the octagon; more rarely, the two were united by gables; and in a few cases the octagon was set angle-wise, so as to reduce in this way the flats over the corners of the square. But the best solution of the problem was found in carrying up pinnacles or turrets over these unmanageable corners—thus getting rid of their jarring horizontal sky-lines, and enhancing the richness of the upper stage by features which admitted of almost endless variety.

This was the extreme point which tower design had reached before Wren arose; this was its furthest development in complexity and in grace. We find this development variously worked out in very many of the great churches on the Continent—at Chartres, at Laon, at Coutances, at Senlis, and St. Ouen, Rouen; at Strasburg, Freiburg, and Vienna; at Burgos and Tarragona. In England we have examples of it in the western tower at Ely, and in many smaller churches, such as Tong, Masham, Wilby, and Chester-le-Street. All these types are different, though all are beautiful; but it was Wren's good fortune to devise a fresh difference, and by means of it a novel beauty. In all the examples just quoted the super-tower was octagonal; by a stroke of genius, which, lest he should introduce a discordant form, a Gothic architect could hardly have ventured on, Wren made his super-tower circular. Such things had been, though rarely, in the earlier round-arched styles. There is a little-known specimen at Saintes—a better-known one at Poitiers, and a celebrated one at Amalfi—which, "glittering with green and yellow tiles, like dragon's scales," as a modern writer describes it, has been a favourite subject with painters. None of these, however, even making all allowance for the difference of style, have any noticeable resemblance to Bow Church, and none of them, in all probability, were known to Wren. What he did was, not to return to a tentative Romanesque type, but to make an advance on the fully developed Gothic one; of course, with the determination, here as elsewhere, that all the Gothic detail should be translated into his own favourite Roman.

We have seen how Wren came by the primary idea of his tower: it remains to glance at his way of working it out. The sub-tower, like most of his, is plain and square—too plain, we should be tempted to say, till we remember its position. Bow Church was built when the City was rising from its ashes, more fireproof, but scarcely less crowded, than before it was destroyed. Wren had done his best to have it rebuilt with a view to light and air and traffic; in thoroughfares of a width which to his contemporaries seemed extravagant and unheard of. Being an artist, they felt that he must be unpractical,

and he met with the usual treatment of men who look a little further forward than their neighbours. The City lanes were rebuilt as narrow as before; the halls and churches were shut in and hidden. Till the housetops were passed, architecture, under the circumstances, would be thrown away: so Wren gave little thought, except for strength, to the outsides of his churches and the bases of his towers. They rose as lilies rise from amongst weeds and brush-wood—one tall smooth stem, to lift them above all meaner things, and then their buds and blossoms in a glorious cluster.

The super-tower of Bow differs not only in plan but in design from all previous ones. Not only is it round, while they were usually polygonal; but while they were formed of walls relieved by windows, it consists of a mere ring of columns ranged around a central core. Previous super-towers have often a shaft of moderate size running up each angle. Wren retained the idea, but altered the proportions. He enlarged the shafts, removed the wall between them, and formed a background of shadow for them by means of the central cylinder. They are ordinary Corinthian columns, such as one sees every day and all day without observing them; and yet, by their mere arrangement and their contrasted light and shade, he has made them into an object which one does not weary of in a lifetime. The detail is common and uninteresting, but its arrangement, both in plan and elevation, is marvellous. There is no need to undervalue good detail: it is the one thing which Wren's churches lack, and for want of which they will never bear minute inspection. But in times like ours, when style and detail have been followed to the neglect of general form—when style was to save us, and where we yet cannot keep any style in fashion for twenty years together; when carving and ornament were to be everything, and when nine-tenths of our carving and ornament are still a sorrow instead of a joy for ever—it is worth observing how one unaided architect, with an unaccommodating style and mechanically worked details, produced buildings which each succeeding generation still looks on with delight.

No other external design of Wren's, perhaps, is quite as perfect as this of Bow. Like other men, he was unequal: at times he was thwarted, and at times, doubtless, overworked. He succeeded best when he took up some non-classic type, and developed it further on the original lines. His poorest towers are always those—like St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. George's, Bôtolph Lane—which keep nearest to the mere oblongs-on-end one finds at Rome. He himself seemed to feel no interest in them; he did not even try to beautify them by well-studied details. His great strength, as regards external work, lay in that typically post-Roman feature, the lantern or super-tower. With this he never fails conspicuously, and often succeeds to admiration.

It would be easy and tempting to take up Wren's other towers, and to show how entirely, in all but their style, the best of them follow characteristically non-classic types. St. Bride's, for instance, has essentially the same pervading idea as the towers at Chiaravalle and at St. Sernin, Toulouse. This idea is to cover in the tower, not by a spire or dome, but by a series of arcaded stages, each less in diameter than the one below it. St. Magnus, London Bridge, almost repeats on a smaller scale the design of the great half-Gothic, half-Renaissance tower at Salamanca. In both there is a plain square sub-tower and an octagonal lantern or super-tower covered by a pointed dome, which again is crowned by a graceful *flèche* or spirelet. Both have the lower tower relieved by pilasters; both have columns at the angles of the octagon, and an entablature breaking round the columns. The one main difference—and even this is chiefly a difference of size—is that at Salamanca there are large compound pinnacles above each angle of the square, while at St. Magnus there are only small pedestals and vases in their place. St. Antholin, Watling Street, had (for it is now pulled down) a lantern stage similar on plan to the Romanesque one at Caserta Vecchia, and to that in a church of late Gothic age at Coutances—that is to say, it was an octagon with round turrets attached to the four oblique faces. St. James's, Garlick Hill, has a lantern stage with square projections set diagonally in the same position; thus having a plan like the super-towers at Laon and the bell-tower at Tarragona Cathedral. St. Stephen's, Walbrook, Christ Church, Newgate, and St. Mary, Aldermanbury, have square super-towers of less size than the sub-towers, and belong to the class of which there are Romanesque examples at Bari and Murano, and Gothic ones at Nuremberg and Tournai. Lastly, St. Michael's, College Hill, with its *three* gracefully diminishing octagonal super-towers, presents a form dimly shadowed out in the lanterns at Cremona, but more nearly approached in St. Andrew's, Sutton, and in the Hotel de Ville at Oudenarde. It is hard to tell now with how many of these precedents Wren may have been in some way or other acquainted. One thing only is clear, that the less he knew of them, the more wonderful was his affinity in invention and fancy to the great post-Roman architects who produced them.

There is abundant proof, then, that Wren's classic tastes only affected, so to speak, the mere surface of his mind. His deepest affinities were with the free and the inventive, not with the hackneyed and formal. Just this amount of truth there is in the common phrase which speaks of his work as "very English." These qualities are English; and though for a hundred years after Wren's death the whole power of fashion sought to drive them in and keep them under, they are showing themselves more and more as English art



becomes more vital and spontaneous. If, however, Wren's work is very English, it is plain that a thing may be so, although England never produced its like before. Anything more novel in its day, more individual and personal than Wren's designs, can rarely be met with. It is not necessary, then, that to be very English we should renounce our times because they are new and unprecedented. We may venture to live now, instead of dreaming that we were contemporaries of Sir Roger de Coverley, and may try to meet the wants of our neighbours rather than those of our great-great-grandfathers. To say this is not to be insensible to the charm of all that lingers on from an age that was and is not. It is only too easy to turn away from the difficult present and the doubtful future to that incomparable dream—

"So sweet, so sad, the days that are no more."

But every period has not only the melancholy pleasure of looking back to what went before, but also the pressing duty of bringing out such good as may be in it. The time that creates nothing will not be remembered with reverence or regret; and when it takes its place among bygone centuries, it will be "without honour among the dead for ever." Wren's work shows how it is possible to act for the present and yet not break with the past; how to be thoroughly original and yet thoroughly national. His buildings were foreign in style; their details came from Rome, not from Lincoln or York. They were novel in conception; the nearest parallels to many of them are in France, or Italy, or Spain. But Wren made his style a servant and not a master, and far from fearing to use it as it had never been used before, he seems half-ashamed of himself when he falls into a customary groove. No precedent was a law to him, all precedents were suggestions or warnings. He held fast what attracted him, he threw away everything by which he was repelled; and so, choosing and ordering his materials according to his own sincerest preferences, he shaped a most alien style into the natural outgrowth of an English city.

In truthfulness and reasonableness, in the practice of making his architecture rise out of and express the real facts of his buildings, Wren was mainly an architect of the olden kind. He was seldom a mere provider of façades—an applier of the "five orders" to any sort of dead wall, or pierced wall, that might first happen to suggest itself. He worked like genuine architects in all ages, and not like those fitters-on of architectural fineries and dressings of whom in this country Inigo Jones was one of the first and cleverest. He designed from the inside outwards, and not from the outside inwards; he thought more of the form than the dress, and more of the life than of either. Instead of borrowing the beautiful which had served some bygone end, he produced new beauty in the very fulfilment of present needs.

It would have been well if the same originality had oftener been attempted in our own times. With us, mediæval church plans have, as a rule, been closely followed in spite of their inconvenience. Old arrangements have been repeated when very different ones were required.\* A church was wanted, perhaps, for a modern town; the want has been met by a copy of one from a Northamptonshire village. A church was required for a large congregation; in answer to the requirement you got one modelled on that of a monastery. You wished all the congregation to join in the service: you found a third of them shut out by the nave piers. You wanted a building fit for the work of English Christianity to-day: you were presented with one designed for the Roman Catholicism of A.D. 1300. And the whole blame cannot fairly fall on the architects, for the people loved to have it so. There is still little sympathy for anyone who, in this branch of art belongs to his own period, and gives his days and nights to its yet unconquered problems. It will make as much for his popularity as for his ease if he shuts his eyes to the chaos of the modern world; if he abandons the thought of bringing its smallest fragment into order, and if he contentedly throws away his life in forging sham-antiques to suit the fashion of the hour.

So did not Wren. His churches were planned to meet the wants of his time. His buildings in their day were modern; in far less perfection, yet in the same sense as that in which old Greek and Gothic buildings were modern once. These masters of the art rejoiced in making their productions fresh, novel, unprecedented; and so in his way did Wren. The doings of the last forty years would have startled him; for he never dreamed, on the one hand, of making all the old churches look new, nor, on the other, of making all the new ones look old. He did not leave the trail of the restorer on his predecessors' work, and he did not copy that work slavishly, as if he too were not a man. Society in his times laid great stress on preaching; and for preaching, quite as much as for worship, his churches were built. Wren did not seek this condition, or make it. It is not for an architect to tell the people who come to him for what purposes they are to build. It is for him, on the contrary, to ascertain the purposes, and then fulfil them as completely as he can. This is just what Wren did. He accepted the condition that his parochial churches were, above all things, to be fit for preaching in; and he planned them so that an ordinary voice can be heard through-

\* It has even been said, by people who have not yet mastered an elementary distinction like that between the style of a building (such as Greek, Gothic, Renaissance, &c.), and its form of plan (such as oblong, cruciform, polygonal, &c.), that churches on a new type of arrangement cannot possibly be "pure Gothic," or, in other words, that new thoughts cannot be grammatically expressed in an old language. On this theory, "In Memoriam" cannot be in pure English; because it is not a mere echo of "Lycidas;" nor Mill's essay "On Liberty," because it is not simply an amplification of Bacon's "On Unity in Religion."

out. In a letter dated 1708, and preserved in the "Parentalia," he records some of the principles on which he did this. "A moderate voice," he says, "may be heard fifty feet in front of the speaker, twenty feet behind him, and thirty feet on each side." It is an under-estimate in each direction; but even with this allowance it is easy to see that the very long plans of our old Gothic churches were out of the question. Nave piers or columns, too, in the regulation double row, were things to be avoided if possible; and again, if a larger congregation had to be provided for than an area of about eighty feet by sixty feet will hold, it became necessary, on Wren's principles, to put part of them in galleries.

It may be admitted at once that Wren achieved no great success in the treatment of his galleries. He did not think out their position or their design as he thought out the planning of his buildings in general. They look as if they were forced upon him against his will, and as if he felt that the responsibility for them rested with others. So far, doubtless, he was to blame. But he had not in this matter our advantages; for he did not know—what every one now knows or may know—with what admirable effect the architects of central and south-eastern Europe had long used these and kindred features. His largest churches are those in which the galleries are most prominent, and for this reason they are rarely the best. St. Andrew's, Holborn, for instance, is a mere oblong nave, ninety-one feet by sixty-four, divided into the usual three avenues by six columns on each side. There is a shallow chancel, and a deep gallery over each aisle. St. Bride's is a similar church, a little smaller; and Christ Church, Newgate Street, a similar one, a little larger. These show his version of that "conventional church type" which has come down to us from the Middle Ages, and which still flourishes in our midst. Anything more inconvenient for a congregation could not readily be devised, and the addition of galleries made the scheme as ugly as it is inconvenient.

This is how things went with Wren when he bowed to precedent, and copied for a church meant for preaching in, the arrangements devised in remote ages for a very different end. He met with quite other results when in his plans, as in his towers, he took up less familiar types, and allowed his mind to act freely on them. His best church plans, like his best towers, are in essence chiefly post-Roman; but while there is more northern influence traceable in the latter, there is often more eastern feeling in the former. A little thought will show that this is a natural and reasonable difference. The typical Gothic church plan is an avenue; the typical Byzantine church plan is a central area. The one is arranged along an axis; the other is grouped around a point. Avenue plans, it is true, may be found in the east, and central area plans in the north and west

of Europe; but on the whole this is the division. Now, Wren's experience showed him that churches built, as his were, for preaching in, must for acoustic reasons be short and wide. The alternatives were to treat them as stunted avenue plans, or as well-shaped central area plans. We have seen how the former turned out at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and elsewhere; it remains to inquire how the latter succeeded.

That the main feature of St. Paul's is its central area, every one knows. The space under the dome, which is, roughly speaking, about 100 feet square, was certainly intended for the use of a congregation. It is usually supposed that Ely Cathedral suggested the treatment of this central space, which, however, like most types of the class, first originated in the Greek church. The rudiments of this design, in which a square is brought into an octagon by means of columns, and is finally domed over, are found at St. Mary's, Abchurch, and St. Swithin, Cannon Street. But the most perfect adaptation of it which Wren ever produced exists at St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Here, as in his smaller churches generally, there is nothing noticeable on the outside. He reserved his strength for towers and interiors, and an admirable interior he has here designed—admirable, that is, in general form and proportion; not admirable, any more than his other works, when one comes to criticise the minor details. The outer walls form a plain oblong; within this there are sixteen columns so cleverly placed as scarcely to cause any obstruction to sight. Twelve of them enclose the central area. This is square on the ground-floor, cruciform above, and octagonal at a higher level; the octagon being finally crowned by a circular dome, from the eye of which a flood of light is poured into the middle of the church. Thus, out of a naturally ill-proportioned room about 75 by 60 feet, Wren, with simple means but with consummate skill, produced a church which is renowned wherever architecture is studied. This was his reward for abandoning outworn precedents; and this, compared with St. Andrew's or St. Bride's, will help us to decide whether avenue plans or central area plans are likely to be most artistic for buildings in which a single voice has to be distinctly audible.

Wren, however, when he got free from the common nave and aisles plan, did not by any means confine himself to that with an octagonal space. Different sites necessitate different arrangements, and he was far too much of an artist to adopt one stereotyped idea everywhere. His church plans are full of variety. It is singular to observe how he anticipated many of the forms which have been proposed in recent times with a view to meet the wants of town congregations. The church with narrow aisles, for instance, in which the usual rows of nave piers are moved towards the walls, so as to be out of the way of the people, was discussed not many years ago as if

it had been a startling novelty. Few persons knew, apparently, that two specimens of the class—St. Peter's, Cornhill, and St. James's, Garlick Hill, were already standing in the very midst of London. The useful plans in which a small number of columns only are employed, instead of the customary double row of them, had also been largely used by Wren. Of this sort are St. Martin's, Ludgate, St. Anne and St. Agnes, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Augustine's, Watling Street. Most of these have four columns, which are occasionally formed into two nave arcades of three bays each, but are oftener and better moved towards the corners of the plan to allow of a central dome or cross-vault. This idea was originally Roman, but it found more favour in the east than in the west; and after being adopted in churches at Ephesus, at Thessalonica, and at Athens, it was finally copied on a large scale in the great mosques at Constantinople. It is, in fact, a central area plan of another species than that used at St. Paul's and St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The apsidal-ended nave with the chancel opening out from the middle bay of its apse, which exists at San Saturnino, Pamplona, and which was revived by the late Mr. Street, I think at Eastbourne, had been already experimented on by Wren at St. Clement Danes. And even the singular nave plan of St. Gereon, Cologne—an elongated polygon approximating to an ellipse—had been unconsciously followed by him at St. Benetfink, Threadneedle Street. All these, and some others, which have been recently advocated, he tried, and more or less succeeded with, in his lifelong effort to meet the practical wants which he had to provide for, and yet to meet them in a dignified and artistic way.

The principles on which his smaller churches are designed differ considerably from those which may be traced at St. Paul's. In them he was aiming at certain definite ends and uses, which shaped each building from its origin to its close. It was his wish to make St. Paul's also fulfil those purposes which in his day still remained to a cathedral, and to let them govern its whole arrangement. Here he was over-ruled: the design he had prepared was rejected, and he was given to understand that the promoters simply wished him to repeat, in the Roman style, the kind of building which from custom people associated with the word "cathedral." He submitted, and with disappointment and grief has left us in St. Paul's, not the best that he could have done, but only the best that he was allowed to do. So it is with architects. A painter may paint what he will; a sculptor may model what he will; a musician may compose and a poet may write whatever each sees to be best; but an architect can go no further than his clients will follow him. He may make drawings, indeed; but the drawing of an unexecuted building does not even show that it would have been possible to execute it—much less that it would have been satisfactory at all points within and without.

Just as a painter's work is a picture, and not the mere outline for a picture; just as a sculptor's work is a statue, and not the mere sketch on paper for a statue; so, but even more thoroughly and emphatically, an architect's work is a building, and not the mere plan or view of a building. His productions, then, it is always in the power of others to influence to an extent beyond that to which the productions of most other artists can be influenced; and this fact will have its weight in any criticism of architecture that means to be fair and just. It is easy to illustrate this from Wren's own practice. Nothing in his parish churches, perhaps, impresses common observers more unpleasantly than the pewing. The worshippers are boxed up in rooms within a room: the height and heaviness and discomfort of the pews are proverbial; and for all these things Wren popularly gets the blame. Yet he is so far from deserving it, that in the before-quoted letter of 1708 he records his earnest wish to have had benches instead of pews; "but," he says, "there is no stemming the tide of profit, nor the advantage of the pew-keepers."

We have seen in Wren, then, a designer of the modern period who was yet a true artist; a man who mastered his style, instead of being mastered by it—to whom it was always a means and never an end. We have seen in him a so-called classicist whose deepest thoughts were all non-classic, whose towers are full of Gothic spirit, and his plans of eastern inventiveness. We have seen in him an architect deprived of nearly all aids to architecture, yet victorious; and a church-builder to whom precedent was nothing and novelty nothing, but reasonableness, expressiveness, and beauty, everything. Such was his work: what were his wages?

England treated Wren much as she treated Milton; and the price paid for St. Paul's is only worthy to be named with that given for "Paradise Lost." The pamphleteers reviled him from their garrets; the great Sir Vistos of the period, who had dabbled in building, and thought themselves better architects than Wren by at least thirty thousand a year, maligned him when living, and perhaps slandered him when dead. The salary he received would by itself hardly have kept him alive to do his work, and half of it was stopped for years by Act of Parliament, "thereby to encourage him," so the clause runs, "to finish the same with the utmost diligence and expedition." It is the sort of encouragement which in this country artists of all kinds have frequently met with; but Wren's achievements had been so great that it was ultimately felt he deserved something more. He was therefore turned out of the Crown surveyorship after more than fifty years' service, without pension or thanks; and his appointment given to one Benson, who is deservedly immortalized in the "Dunciad."

Wren did not complain; he had done his work, and that was

enough for him. He was perhaps happier at last in not having been a "successful man," for the successful man "has his good things now." His triumphs, such as they were, had never turned his head; his ideal was always beyond them. He seems to have been one of those men who, while others are praising their work as it is, are at heart regretting that is not what they meant it to be, and whose greatest achievements therefore gain less credit with the world than the lowest failures of the empty, the boastful, and the self-satisfied. For a time, and perhaps a long time, people take both classes at their own valuation. Still, a victory is a victory, and a failure is a failure; and when the thinker and the talker have both passed away, the difference between their doings gradually discloses itself. Then it is too late to acknowledge it; the time for rewarding desert is over. But it is not for reward that the best work is done; it was not for reward that Wren did his.

JAMES CUBITT.

## PARLIAMENT AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA.

I CONTRIBUTED to the February number of this REVIEW a paper under the title "Parliament and the Government of India," which gave rise to considerable discussion. The paper was an argument in favour of a more efficient, direct, and continuous control by Parliament over the conduct of affairs in India than is possible under the dual form of Government which obtains at present. The means by which I proposed to bring about this more direct and efficient control were the abolition of the Indian Council, and the substitution in its stead of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons, from which the official element would be absolutely excluded, which would have authority to call for all Indian papers without exception, and to raise debates on any question of Indian policy. I have no reason to complain of the tone in which these propositions were criticized, both in London and in the provinces; but what struck me most in the comments elicited by my paper was the diversity of views held by writers in regard to the manner in which our Indian possessions are administered. Much has happened even within the last few months to deepen my conviction of the urgent and immediate need of my proposal; and this fact, as well as some of the adverse comment which it has met with, is my apology for recurring to the subject. To argue in favour of a direct and efficient Parliamentary control over the affairs of India appears to me, I must confess, equivalent to arguing for the right of the British people to control the destinies of the United Kingdom. Our Indian Empire constitutes the pivot on which the whole of our Foreign Policy revolves. So intimate is now the connection between the Indian Peninsula and the continent of Europe that any great European State has it in its power by an aggressive foreign policy, if not actually to imperil the peace of India, at least greatly to disturb our equanimity with regard to it. And under the existing



state of things, the great and exceeding mischief is that our easily excited apprehensions are never according to knowledge. So long as the Government of India continues to be withdrawn from the cognizance of Parliament, the policy which vitally affects the interests of both England and India will be secretly matured and will be known to the nation only in its effects. That in this respect there is no difference in the action of Liberal and Conservative Governments, a single illustration will suffice to show. A few weeks ago I asked a question in the House as to the construction of a railway to connect Quetta with the Indus. I inquired whether the statements that this work was about to be entered upon were correct, and whether the Government proposed to submit to the House their reason for entering upon this costly undertaking. The reply was that the subject would not come before the House, because the Quetta Railway was only a matter connected with "the extension of railway communication" in India. Technically this was doubtless correct; actually, in sanctioning this project, the Liberal Government have entered upon a policy, the ulterior development of which they will be powerless to control, and which may be fraught with far more formidable consequences to the people of this country, than even the bombardment of Alexandria. This will seem a hard saying; but I think I am in a position to demonstrate its veracity to the satisfaction of the most unbelieving.

All Liberals at least will agree that one cause, perhaps the chief cause, of the overthrow of the late Conservative Government, was the disastrous policy which they had pursued in Afghanistan. When that policy was first disclosed to an unsuspecting nation, it was described as a short and easy method for the acquisition of a "scientific frontier" which should set our minds permanently at rest as to the aggressive projects of the Russians in Central Asia. The military operations were to consist of a military promenade, costing at the outside not more than a million and a quarter of money; and the revenues of India, under the skilful management of Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey, were said to be able to furnish this amount without any extra demand upon the Indian taxpayer; while in return for this trifling trouble and expenditure we were to have a "scientific frontier" warranted impregnable against all attacks, and a "strong, friendly, and independent Afghanistan." We know what came of these cheerful predictions. "The result," wrote Lord Hartington to the Government of India, May 21, 1880, "of two successful campaigns, of the employment of an enormous force, and of the expenditure of large sums of money, has been the disintegration of the State which it was desired to see strong, friendly, and independent; the assumption of fresh and unwelcome liabilities in regard to one of its provinces (Kandahar),

and a condition of anarchy throughout the remainder of the country." This result was not considered satisfactory by a majority of the people of the United Kingdom. The Conservative Government was expelled from office, and a Cabinet installed in its place pledged, as all its supporters believed, to the prompt evacuation of Afghanistan and the disentanglement of the country from the "fresh and unwelcome liabilities" which had been wound round it by their predecessors in office.

I do not doubt that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, at the time of assuming office, were at one with the great body of those who put them in power, and were prepared to carry out the policy above indicated in the letter and in the spirit. The circumstances were exceptionally favourable for doing so. The leaders of the Afghan people who had fought against us with such signal courage and success at Sherpore, had made to our representative at Kabul a series of propositions, which, had they been accepted by the present Cabinet, would have gone far to obliterate the recollection of even the atrocious military executions which had signalized our occupation of Kabul, and the desolation and misery which we had spread over the whole country. These propositions were that Yakoub Khan should be released and restored to power over a united and independent Afghanistan; that the British resident to be established in the country should be of the Mahommedan religion; that the British troops should be withdrawn; and that "assistance should be given to the Ameer, seeing that the country had been desolated, and nothing of value is left, as the British authorities themselves are thoroughly aware." The importance attaching to the restitution of Yakoub Khan consisted in the fact, that to him alone, of all Afghans, was it possible for the two great sections of that people to recognize as their Sovereign without doing violence to their tribal prejudices, his father, Shere Ali, having belonged to the Douranee section, and his mother having been the daughter of a leading Ghilzye chief. Hence, while the Ghilzyes around Ghuznee and Jellalabad remained loyal to him, even after his deportation to India, it was in his name that Eyoub Khan made his memorable advance from Herat, defeating General Burrows at Maiwand, and laying siege to Kandahar. Lord Hartington was fully aware of the great importance of the return of Yakoub Khan to his people, and earnestly pressed it upon the Indian Government. Obstacles to this course, in reason or equity, there were none. The deposition and removal of Yakoub Khan was, morally, one of the least defensible of our actions in Afghanistan, as politically, it was one of our most costly blunders. But when the choice is put before them of committing an injustice, or acknowledging an error, there is unhappily little to hope from the Indian Bureaucracy. The Cabinet weakly succumbed to their

opposition, and so, in default of Yakoub Khan, were compelled to fall back upon the present Ameer, Abd-al-Rahman Khan, a Russian pensioner, and a man abhorred by the Afghans as being, on his mother's side, not an Afghan at all. The forcing this unwelcome ruler upon an unwilling people, was described as the conferring of "institutions" upon Afghanistan. The "institutions" proceeded at once to put to death, either by public execution or secret assassination, the leaders of the people, who, under Shere Ali, had raised the country to an unprecedented height of prosperity; and became, in consequence of his cruelty and treachery, so detested by his subjects, that the Indian Government had to come to his assistance with an annual subsidy of £120,000, extracted from the well-filled coffers of the opulent Indian ryot. The Indian Government were as loth to abandon Kandahar as to restore Yakoub Khan, and for precisely the same reason. It was equivalent to an acknowledgment of error. And there can be little doubt that in this respect also they would have triumphed over the feeble resolution of the Cabinet, but for the important assistance which, at this critical moment, the latter received from Eyoub Khan. It was the battle of Maiwand, and not the popular voice expressed in the election of 1880, which effected the evacuation of Kandahar. But at this point, the victory of the Government ceased. As for Afghanistan, we have never evacuated it; we have merely withdrawn our outposts to a distance of seventy miles from Kandahar, retaining under our immediate supremacy the whole of the Pishcen Valley, and keeping a garrison in Quetta.

Since then this policy has secretly received still further developments, and preparations are being made for once again advancing into the interior of Afghanistan. The entire district of Quetta has been taken over from the Khan of Khelat, and we are now about to unite Quetta with the Indus by means of a railway, which will cost the Indian taxpayers a sum, at the very least, of three millions sterling. In a word, while ostensibly engaged in carrying out a policy for the complete evacuation of Afghanistan, the present Government have quietly matured one for its rapid military occupation a short time hence. The railway once completed to Quetta, will certainly not be allowed to terminate there. It will be pushed on to Kandahar, if not by the present Government, at any rate by the next Conservative Government. All this activity on one side of Afghanistan will probably produce a corresponding activity on the part of the Russians in Central Asia, and the unhappy Ameer, Abd-al-Rahman Khan, will be compelled to choose a side either with or against us. In this dilemma it is hardly a matter of doubt on which side he will elect to stand. If he declares against us, he will lose Kandahar; but if he declares against the Russians, he will lose Balkh, which is the chief source of his power, and from which he draws the Turcoman

soldiers, without whom he could not maintain his authority for a day in Kabul. Is there not too much reason to fear that by this policy in Quetta and Afghanistan, this country and India will be committed to a reoccupation of Kandahar, and a war with Russia in the neighbourhood of Herat within the next ten or fifteen years?

Now this policy may be a sound and defensible one. It is possible that the safety of India needs that we should hold Kandahar, and be prepared to fight with Russia in Central Asia, for the possession of Herat; but it is monstrous that a free nation should be involved in these tremendous responsibilities without its full knowledge and sanction. It may be argued that the consequences which I have stated to attach to this Afghan policy are not natural or probable deductions therefrom; but the really important question is—and of the answer to that there can be no doubt whatever—are they not so regarded by the Indian Bureaucracy? Quetta, Pisheen, and Kandahar, have never been regarded by that body as merely defensive positions, but as favourable posts from which to carry on aggressive operations against the Russian possessions in Central Asia. This view of the occupation of Kandahar has been very frankly stated by Sir Frederick Roberts :—

\* In connection with this subject it will perhaps interest my readers to recall the judgment of General Sir H. Norman upon the probable consequences of an occupation of Kandahar :—“ The amount of force required at Kandahar depends first upon the territory we take, and, secondly, upon the supposed object of holding Kandahar. If we occupy the whole province and hold Khelat-i-Ghilzai, Girishk, Furrat, and other necessary places, besides Quetta and our lines of communication, I do not see that less than 20,000 or 22,000 men would be sufficient, and this force would have to be very thoroughly equipped for movement, and require a strong reserve to be brought from Sind and India, if ever operations were to be extended towards Herat; for I need hardly remark that our being at Kandahar would not hinder Russia, if so minded, from occupying Herat, unless we are prepared to bring up a large force to that place. . . . It may be urged that if we make a railway a more moderate force will answer. I doubt this. The railway, for about 250 miles, will have to be strongly guarded, and it is not only liable to attacks, but also to interruption from floods, of which instances occurred this year, although the rainfall was not excessive. No doubt a railway is useful in bringing reinforcements and stores, but it must not be implicitly relied on, and, at all events, the force I have specified is the least that I think should be maintained above the passes, completely equipped for movement and quite independent of the railway. The entire cost of the occupation of Kandahar . . . would be about £1,400,000 per annum. . . . Besides this, no doubt much would have to be done in the way of constructing permanent shelter for the troops, and in improving or constructing fortified posts, and these, together with the completion of the railway from Sibi to Kandahar (250 miles), and the probable improvement that will be necessary to the railway up to Sibi can hardly take less than £2,000,000 sterling. . . . Entire withdrawal from Afghanistan would be hailed with joy by our Native Army. Nothing short of this will restore the old popularity of our service. We know that recruiting, even though a bounty is given, has been practically stopped, and this, to those who know the Native Army, is not surprising. Good and loyal soldiers as they are, and always anxious for a campaign, prolonged service out of India, and especially in Afghanistan, is hateful to them. No device of a reserve will remedy this defect, for neither army nor reserve can exist without recruiting, and I can conceive nothing more disastrous to the popularity of the service than a continuance of the liability to be sent to Afghanistan, combined with the formation of a reserve which should give the State a claim to re-enrol a man when he had left active service and settled down at his home. We cannot do without our Native Army, so let us not tamper with it. It serves our purpose for all really necessary objects connected with the defence of India, but it will not serve us if we condemn a large part of it to duty in Afghanistan. We cannot replace this army in Afghanistan by Afghan levies, for they would eventually turn against us, and to replace them by Europeans would be too heavy a burden.”

"The seaport town of Kurrachee," must, in his opinion, "be the base of all military operations undertaken in the direction of Kandahar and Herat, which line, unless I am much mistaken, will henceforth be the theatre of any war carried on against us by the Russians in Central Asia. . . . With the completion of the railway to Kandahar, that place would be our starting-point. Thence Herat is distant only 350 or 400 miles. The road is quite practicable for wheeled guns, and for some part of the way a fair amount of grain and forage is procurable. . . . I am of opinion that it is by this line that all offensive operations on our part could most advantageously be carried on."

As I have already stated, I am not calling attention to the policy of the Government in order to condemn it, perilous though I believe it to be, but in order to emphasize the secrecy with which it has been carried out. Had there been no Indian Council, and had its place been occupied by a Standing Committee, such as I suggested in my former article, every step in the carrying out of this aggressive policy in Afghanistan would have been known to and discussed by Parliament and the nation. Nothing but good could have come from such a discussion. If the policy were sound, the hands of the Government would have been greatly strengthened; if unsupported by adequate reasons, the policy would have been abandoned. As it is, the nation stands committed to an armed intervention in Afghanistan, — a course which has been tried twice already, in 1838 and again in 1879, and on both occasions with most disastrous consequences.

It is by the Indian officials themselves that the keenest dislike is manifested to a more efficient Parliamentary control over them and their doings. This is only natural. The members of the Indian services, civil and military, doubtless possess excellent qualities; but an appreciation of Parliamentary Government and the value of free and fair discussion is not to be expected from them. The best part of their lives is spent in the administration of a most rigid, exclusive, and irresponsible system of Government. Of this system, they become, as we all know, the staunch, the almost fanatical admirers. They regard it, to quote the enraptured language of Sir Lepel Griffin, as "the most perfect system of Government which the world has ever seen." To any one who holds this extraordinary opinion, it is hardly possible that the constitutional system which he left behind him in England should appear other than the worst form of Government which the world has ever seen. It certainly is the opposite in every respect to that which we have allowed to grow up in British India; and the incapacity of even the most successful Indian officials to accommodate themselves to the conditions of public life in England is seen in the obscurity which overtakes so many of them upon their return. Their opposition, therefore, to the authority of Parliament, really counts for very little. It is the natural dislike of men to a method of Government which they do not understand, and in which they are disqualified, by their training and education, to

take a leading part. They instinctively cling to such an institution as the Indian Council as the one dry spot on which the Indian Bureaucrat can still find safe lodgment amid the rising waters of Radicalism.

At the same time the plea, under cover of which this dislike to Parliamentary control is disguised, possesses a superficial plausibility which has caused Parliament itself to hesitate and halt in the proper enforcement of its authority. That plea is that Parliament, as a body, possesses no such knowledge of the needs of India as to qualify it to intervene with advantage in the government of the country. The Indian officials do possess this knowledge. And they are the only Englishmen thus exceptionally qualified. The management of India must therefore be left almost exclusively in their hands, unless we are prepared to assert, and to act upon the paradox, that for the good government of a great empire ignorance is a qualification superior to knowledge and experience. Specious as this reasoning appears upon the surface, it will be found on closer investigation to have in it a fatal flaw. It would, perhaps, be wise to leave the Government of India exclusively to Indian "experts," if these gentlemen were unanimous as to the manner in which India ought to be governed. Unhappily this is so far from being the case, that there is no Indian question, and there never has been one during the whole of the past century, on which the great body of Indian "experts" have not been divided into two irreconcilable camps. These divisions, together with the absence of any supreme arbitrator to decide between the combatants, have inflicted deep and lasting injuries upon the people of India. They have robbed our administration of all continuity. As the chances of promotion brought one or other party into power, the fundamental principles on which the Government was conducted have oscillated violently from one extreme to the other. The Government of India has, indeed, been little better than a series of disastrous experiments in which the population has been regarded as a sort of *corpus vile* on which our huge crowd of Indian administrators were entitled to exhibit their legislative ingenuity. These irreconcilable differences of opinion are a necessary consequence of a despotic Government such as exists in India. Where there is no free and thorough discussion of public questions, there can be no approximation made to a common platform for the disputants on either side. The officials in power carry all before them, right or wrong. Their opponents bide their time. They know that a very few years will see these gentlemen not only out of office, but altogether withdrawn from the scene of their labours, and as impotent to control or fashion Indian legislation as if they had never set foot in the country. Then comes their opportunity, and they are quick to seize it, knowing that their time, too, is but short. The young

plants of legislation which their predecessors had planted are plucked up in order to examine the roots. These are declared to be in a state of mortal disease, and a new crop is forthwith planted, to be subjected to similar treatment a few years hence. We make careful provision for depriving ourselves of all knowledge of the currents of native feeling, and then declare that India must be ardently loyal because we get no intelligence to the contrary. We invest many hundreds of quite ordinary Englishmen with absolute power, and insist that this power is never abused upon the unsupported assertions of those who wield it. But no internal reform is possible in India which does not directly touch some privilege of the ruling body ; and, what is far worse, does not establish a precedent, which, if pursued, would in course of time obliterate those privileges altogether. All internal reforms therefore are opposed, and so long as a Governor-General has for his sole support, not the Parliament of the nation, but merely a secret council, composed in the main of Indian Bureaucrats, it is impossible that he should overcome this resistance. In sending a Viceroy to India, and then interposing between him and the natives the dead wall of an Indian Council, we destroy the very object for which the Viceroy is sent. The Viceroy is in India as the representative of the English nation, to act as arbitrator between the ruling class and the people of India ; and this high function it is impossible for him to discharge until he is brought into direct relations with Parliament.

So far, at least, I think, there are not many Englishmen, and probably no Members of Parliament, who do not agree with me. What has been objected to is the means by which I propose to obtain this end—namely a Standing Committee with authority to call for all official documents relating to India, and to raise debates upon Indian subjects. I will therefore give the reasons which commend this particular machinery to my mind. All men—at least all official men—are greedy of power ; all are impatient of popular control and supervision ; and so we find that there is a constant endeavour to withdraw their proceedings as much as possible from the intervention of the House of Commons. The invariable pretext on which this is done is that, in the particular matter concerning which information is requested, secrecy is essential to the public interests. The gentlemen who allege this pretext are undoubtedly sincere, and the “public interests,” in their judgment, would in all probability be immensely benefited if this secrecy were never infringed. But as regards our Colonies or our foreign relations, it is only occasionally that those burning questions arise in which the intervention of Parliament is imperatively demanded ; and then there are so many sources of information open to Parliament and the nation that neither Colonial nor Foreign Office can long adhere to its policy of silence and con-

cealment. In India the case is quite otherwise. We are there carrying on an experiment with materials which, despite of all that official apologists may assert and indolent persons may choose to believe, are ludicrously inadequate for the end to be accomplished. We are dealing with a continent possessed of a high and very complex civilization of its own, and inhabited by a people exceedingly intelligent and active-minded, quick to learn our language and imbibe our ideas, and shrewd to a degree in their criticism of our characters and political methods. None the less in the government of this country we have pushed the people altogether aside, and have entrusted the entire control of their destinies to Englishmen, selected, when still boys, by a system of competitive examination, who proceed to India simply in order to obtain a livelihood. Between them and the people of the country (speaking generally) no social or friendly relations are ever established; on the contrary (as was proved to demonstration in the excitement provoked by the Ilbert Bill), a bitter and increasing antipathy divides the two races as by an impassable gulf. To crown all, the ruling race have no permanent stake in the country which they rule. They come and go, the entire *personnel* of the administration undergoing a complete change in the course of twenty years. In India, therefore, all accumulation of official knowledge and experience is impossible. The people of the country, by reason of their exclusion from the higher posts of the administration, cannot acquire it; and the English officials withdraw as soon as they have acquired a sufficient income to live on at home. There are people, I am aware, not a few, who believe that British rule in India is a vast success, notwithstanding, "the most perfect government," in fact, "that the world has ever seen." There are also spiritualists, believers in an occult Buddhism; and indeed no limits can be put to human eccentricity or to the measure of human credulity. But the immense majority of people, assuming them to be clothed and in their right minds, will acknowledge that to predicate success of a government constituted in the manner I have described is hardly less absurd than to argue in favour of the flatness of the earth. In British India the Government, as at present constituted, is lacking in every condition which has been found essential to the production of good government in every other country in the world, and that should suffice to convince any reasonable person that it must be greatly in need of supervision and reform.

Now I do not propose an increase of Parliamentary supervision and authority under the impression that it would be adequate to the needs of the case. I know that it would be woefully inadequate; but it would be the beginning of a better state of things. By providing a Court of Appeal, where all cases would be discussed in the full glare of publicity, it would allow the people of India to



place their own case before the English nation, a boon of which at present they are altogether deprived. At the same time it is obvious that if the extent of Parliamentary knowledge and control was to be left at the discretion of the Secretary of State for India we should remain exactly where we are now. A Secretary of State for India is, by the hard necessity of the case, the automaton of the department of which he is nominally the chief. He no sooner enters upon his office than he has to surrender up his judgment and his reason to the Indian official advisers, and to become their agent and spokesman. A Standing Committee, having power to call for all Indian documents, and to raise debates upon Indian questions, would effectually defeat this policy of silence and obscurantism. Take, for example, such a case as the secret demands made upon Shere Ali at Peshawur eighteen months anterior to the breaking out of the last war in Afghanistan. When questioned on the subject in the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury gave a reply that had the effect of quieting public anxiety; but had all the facts been known there can be no question that that fatal and disgraceful war would never have been waged. Had there existed then such a Standing Committee as I have suggested, Lord Salisbury would never have ventured to make the statement he made. I am aware that any proposition which, if carried into effect, would curtail the authority of those in office will be denounced by those who actually hold office, and by those who expect to do so, as dangerous, and therefore unadvisable. But the point to be considered is whether it be not far more dangerous to leave the government of our Indian Empire in the exclusive possession of a body irresponsible alike to the people of India and to the people of the United Kingdom. Year after year the interests of the two countries become more inextricably interwoven, and any violent rupture would result in consequences even more disastrous to ourselves than to the people of India. We know well enough what the Indian officials think of their own achievements in the East; but of the actual condition of India and its people—whether they are thriving under our rule or the reverse—we possess little accurate knowledge, and respecting these all-important topics the ruling class, so far as I can see, can supply us with no information which bears examination. As a member of the Indian Railway Committee, I have been profoundly impressed by the utter absence of official evidence as to the economic effect of the railways on the condition of the people. It is evident to me that in the vast expenditure on public works which for the last quarter of a century has gone on in India, we have been literally plunging in the dark. Even if it be granted that in the mere administration of India the members of the Indian services stand in no need of a watchful and intelligent criticism outside of their own body—an assertion, however,

which only needs to be put into words, in order to be rejected as preposterous—they have, assuredly, no special aptitude for the uncontrolled management of the vast commercial interests which this country has created in India. These, at any rate, imperatively demand the vigilant consideration of Parliament; but unless Parliament delegates to certain of its own members the duty of collecting the necessary information, and bringing the same from time to time under the consideration of the House, it is impossible that either Parliament or the nation can acquire the knowledge to enable them to watch and to criticise. We may remain as we are at present, knowing little about India, swallowing upon trust whatever facts or statements may be prepared for the national consumption; and if this be thought a wise and safe condition, then there is no need to abolish the Indian Council, or to set up a standing committee of the House of Commons in its stead. But if the duty which Parliament owes, not less to the people of India than to the nation, demands that it should be able to know and to judge of the things which are done under the sanction of its authority in our Oriental Empire, it seems to me that a Standing Committee is the only machinery by which the information essential to the discharge of these high functions can be placed at its disposal.

This, however, is a matter of detail. If any one can suggest any other arrangement, as effective and less objectionable, I am prepared to surrender the plan of a committee without reluctance. The end it is which appears to me so supremely important. Within the last quarter of a century our Indian empire has undergone a marvellous transformation; and questions of great difficulty and complexity require to be dealt with which the Indian services are neither by training or circumstances fitted to handle successfully. There is first the economical question. We have spent an enormous amount of the wealth of India in the construction of railways, canals, and other works under the impression that we should thereby, not merely develop the resources of the country, but greatly improve the condition of the people. There is a strong desire in official circles that this vast expenditure should continue; but we are by no means fully supplied with evidence as to its good effects, so far, upon the people. The point ought to be certainly decided, either in the affirmative or the negative, before any further continuance of the policy is sanctioned, or otherwise we may discover, when too late, that we have laid burdens on our empire by the very policy which was intended to enrich it. Secondly, there is the not less vital question of providing for the increasing class of educated and thoughtful natives which we are doing our utmost to increase annually a proper field for the exercise of their abilities—a just share in the government of their country. As regards this the Indian authorities have made it clear, by

the attitude which they have taken up in regard to the Ilbert Bill, that they are determined to make no concession. It will perhaps be urged on the other side that they have exhibited no such frantic hostility to the local self-government scheme; but this is easily accounted for. Each local government has had the drafting of the provisions of its own scheme, which has in every case been so whittled down as to become quite insignificant. Moreover, all these local bodies, when established, will exist merely by sufferance of the collector, and, should they exhibit any troublesome independence, will be reported to head-quarters as appropriating to themselves a political character, and promptly dissolved for their audacity. It is only Parliament, as the interpreter of the will of the British nation, which possesses sufficient authority to confer upon the people of India some measure of political liberty.

Lastly, there are the foreign relations of the Empire, now altogether in the hands of a class which is of necessity militant and aggressive. This is due to several causes, partly to the predilection for violent measures which the possession of great power invariably produces; partly to the fact that, from their position in India, they are free from the sacrifices which war inflicts upon the people; but chiefly because their attitude towards the political aspirations of the able and educated natives of India has deprived them of any strong hold upon the affections or loyalty of the people. Hence their belief in prestige; hence their wearisome iteration of the trite and most inaccurate assertion that India was won by the sword, and must be held by the sword; and hence the eagerness with which they plunge into any enterprise having for its object to keep a possible enemy at a distance from India. Russophobia is a natural product of our system of government. It is a disease to which the official class is peculiarly liable, and they communicate the infection to the British public. There is only one way by which the nation can be delivered from this most dangerous form of homicidal mania. It is by making Parliamentary control over India more direct, more continuous, and more effective. Then the Indian "expert" would be reduced to his proper dimensions. At present he is a kind of Indian political Pope, whose dicta are to be received implicitly, and whose reasons are much too recondite to be subjected to examination and criticism. Then it is that the reasons would be examined, and not the man substituted, as a divine oracle, whose function it was only to state conclusions.

JOHN SLAGG.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN FRANCE.

MONSIEUR J. REINACH, who has made himself, so to speak, the intellectual executor of Gambetta, and who is publishing the complete collection of his speeches, with his despatches from Tours and from Bordeaux, has just given us a "History of the Gambetta Ministry." Nothing can be more melancholy than the story of those three months in which an apparently unassailable prestige was breaking down under that distrust which seems to be the inherent vice of democracies. There were faults, no doubt, on the side of Gambetta himself, and M. Reinach has not made this sufficiently clear; but it is none the less true that his fall was the result of a mixture of prejudice and calumny, blind passions and petty interests. Gambetta did not fall because he had made M. Allain Targé Minister of Finance, nor because he had made M. Paul Bert Minister of Religion, nor because he had yielded to the Radical cry for a revision of the Constitution, and for three years' military service for all citizens without exception; he fell because he had attempted to constitute a real Government, which should have the courage to act and to bear the responsibility of its actions, and should be something more than the minion of deputies, themselves the minions of their electoral committees; he fell because he had resolved on a broad, energetic, and truly national policy, with which men of all parties might be proud to associate themselves. M. Reinach had opportunities of watching very closely the events of those three months, and he has given us a lively record of them, showing very plainly how the parliamentary storm arose which swept away the Gambetta Ministry. But it was more than this. His evil genius was against him. He came into power at an unlucky moment, forced on by the public curiosity rather than the public confidence. He was made to take office, not because people agreed with him, but because they wanted to see how he would go through with it. From the very first day his position was not that of a general leading his troops under fire, but that of a gymnast on the tight-rope in the midst of a circle of spectators, whom he is to astonish by his skill, and who are quite ready to hiss him if he fails

in any part of the performance. A new Ministry is generally allowed its honeymoon. The Gambetta Ministry had but an April moon to begin with, and, as ill-luck would have it, the revolt in Egypt and the financial crash brought about by the *Union Générale* happened at that very moment. This was quite enough to prove that he was dragging the country into war, and to ruin his credit. Less than a year later, an accident removed him altogether from the scene.

And now see what a curious freak of fate! No sooner is Gambetta dead, than M. Jules Ferry, a statesman of the most opposite character, who had never been among his intimates, and who might even have passed for his rival, steps forward to receive his political inheritance, becomes the chief of his party, and all that Gambetta had failed to do, M. Ferry does. He takes for his colleagues a number of the Ministers chosen by Gambetta—M. Raynal, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, M. Campenon, M. Martin-Feuillée, and no one complains, as they complained under Gambetta, that the Ministry is wanting in prestige. That steady and faithful Government majority which Gambetta yearned for, and which he did not have for a single day, M. Ferry has succeeded in obtaining in the self-same Chamber, and there is no reason to doubt that he will be able to keep it. This, of course, is partly accounted for by the fact that after the death of Gambetta many of the deputies saw the mistake they had made, and perceived that the country was beginning to be weary of their incapacity for government and wished for a stable Ministry; but it is also due, on the one hand, to the personal ascendancy of M. Ferry, to his skill in parliamentary strategy, his knowledge of men, his coolness, and a dignity which makes it impossible to find a handle against him; and, on the other hand, to circumstances which have been as persistently favourable to him as they were adverse to Gambetta. When he went to Cahors to inaugurate the monument raised to his illustrious predecessor, he was able to speak of him without a reservation in terms of magnificent eulogy. He stood there himself as a more fortunate Gambetta, and shone in the reflected light of Gambetta's greatness.

Gambetta fell on the question of the revision of the Constitution. He wished, by a vote of the Chamber and of the Senate, to limit beforehand the extent and the nature of the revision; the Chamber refused to limit either. M. Ferry presents a Bill for a limited revision, almost identical with that of Gambetta; and as four-fifths of the committee have adopted it, it is probable that before these lines appear in print, it will have been carried by a strong majority. Gambetta projected a colonial policy. The agreement he made with England for united action in Egypt was one of the causes of his fall. M. Ferry has established a French protectorate in Tunis: has obtained from China, by the treaty of Tien-tsin, the recognition of French supremacy in Annam and Tonquin. He is developing French interests in Madagascar, on the Congo, and in Senegal; he is perhaps about to obtain advantages in Morocco and in Egypt,—and everybody is delighted with him. The whole financial world rose against Gambetta's proposed action in the matter of the railways; M. Ferry has come to an agreement with the companies by which he secures for the State some part at least of the advantages contemplated by Gambetta. He has disposed of the irritating question of the magistracy by a law

which, while it is not a very good one, satisfies some of the demands of the Republican party without violating the principles of our judicial organization. Finally, it is even possible that he may be able to settle in some tolerable fashion the much more difficult question of military service; but this is more doubtful, considering how ill we have begun.

In all these matters M. Ferry may be congratulated on his skill and his good fortune, though his attitude may not in every case deserve equal approbation. For his foreign policy there can be nothing but praise. Though new to diplomacy, he has brought into it from the first all the tact of a man trained to affairs. His temperament is here of great service to him. He is cool, astute, persevering; he is not to be put off with words, and prefers a solid gain to the most brilliant appearances. The treaty of Tien-tsin was concluded with a rapidity, secrecy, and moderation which did the highest honour both to M. Ferry and to M. Fournier, the officer of marine whom he employed. The conclusion of the agreement with the African Association was an admirable means of protecting French interests on the Congo without touching the susceptibilities of other powers. In Morocco our moral situation is most satisfactory, and, thanks to the skilful direction of affairs in Tunis, France has recovered throughout the Mussulman world the prestige she lost in 1881. We cannot yet say what will be M. Ferry's course of action in Egypt; but we may well believe that, while he intends to secure the necessary guarantees for our interests there, it is his aim to secure them in concert with England without chafing English sensibilities or endangering a Government which has always acted loyally towards France. The real question—and it is an anxious one—is, how far the nation is in a state to profit by the opportunities afforded by our military and diplomatic successes. The military campaign which has placed Sontay and Bac-ninh in our hands was admirably conducted, and with comparatively little expense; the diplomatic campaign was a still more brilliant success; the commercial campaign has yet to be entered on. The future of our colonies must depend entirely on the activity and skill of our industrial and commercial classes. Is France to have ploughed and sown for the foreigners to reap?

In the matter of domestic policy, M. Ferry cannot be accused of being wanting in courage or decision. Not only has he resolutely broken with the Intransigeants, repeating at the banquet at Périgueux, after the ceremony at Cahors, the declaration of war made at Havre, but he has known how to curb, in several instances, the impatience of his own party, and to oppose his political wisdom to several popular measures. In this way he refused the demand of M. Paul Bert for the augmentation of all the teachers' salaries, when the Budget for 1883 had wound up with a deficit, and a new deficit might be counted on for 1884. By energetically opposing any such increase of expenditure, and by promoting economies in all the public services, M. Ferry showed himself a true patriot, and not a flatterer of the populace. This financial crisis, which presses at once on the State and on private individuals, is principally due to the slackening of industrial activity. In the discussions which took place in the Chamber on this subject, M. Ferry was almost the only person who spoke sense. He even scouted, as useless, the idea of a parliamentary inquiry into the causes

of the crisis. It was carried, nevertheless; and only served to show how thoroughly he was in the right. The delegates of the various trades who defiled before the committee, instead of speaking as practical men on practical matters, took to repeating the political absurdities they had caught up at public meetings. As a remedy for the economic crisis, they proposed the suppression of the Senate, or the separation of Church and State—when they did not propose the abolition of private property. Even those who were a little more reasonable saw only the secondary and accessory causes of the evil, such as the Treaty of Frankfort and the invasions of foreign workmen. No one pointed out the true causes—the rise in the price of labour consequent on the exactions of the men, the idle and luxurious habits of the working-classes of the towns, especially Paris, and the narrow and selfish parsimony of the bourgeois class who will not venture their money in industrial enterprise. The committee of inquiry allowed itself the pleasure of having the principal orators of the public meetings to speak before it. What they had to say was perfectly valueless; but the very importance assumed by these ignorant declaimers, and the credulity with which they are listened to by the workmen, is perhaps itself one of the causes of the economic uneasiness from which we are suffering. The strike at Ansin, which lasted six weeks, and from which it will take the unhappy men who joined in it a long time to recover, was purely the result of the stupid and criminal instigations of some of these agitators. It cost the company and French industry dear; and it benefited only the Belgian coal mines. Curiously enough, one of these agitators is M. Maurice de Talleyrand, a nobleman of distinguished family, who, after ruining his fortunes by his extravagance, retrieved them in the mines of America, and is now preparing to play a part in politics by throwing himself into the most advanced socialistic propaganda.

But while, in matters of foreign and financial policy, M. Ferry has shown himself a true leader, it may be questioned whether he has at all points displayed the same courage, and whether he might not have done better to repudiate some portions of the heritage he received from Gambetta, the acceptance of which may lead to serious consequences. There are some cynical minds to which opportunism appears to consist in doing ill oneself lest others should do worse. It would be very unjust to apply such a definition as this to the general policy of the Government; but it seems to be not wholly without application when one thinks of the Bill for regulating military service now under discussion in the Chamber of Deputies. If this Bill, which makes military service for three years compulsory on all Frenchmen without exception, ever comes to be put in force, it will result, first of all, in a lowering of the intellectual level of the nation, and then, when the system is felt to be intolerable, in the reduction of the period of service, first to two years, and then to one, and the consequent ruin of the military power of the country. It would have been worthy of a statesman like M. Ferry to offer an unflinching opposition to this foolish law, to denounce it as springing from a levelling spirit destructive of social order, to show that it must lead to the most disastrous results, financial, intellectual, and military, to propose in its place a simple scheme for the reform of the mode of exemption, making it the privi-

lege of intelligence and not of wealth, and reducing the period of service from five years to three, and then to keep resolutely to his own programme. If the Chamber had not supported him on the question, the intelligence of the nation would have been with him, and his reputation as a statesman would have gained rather than lost; he would have had a greater moral force in reserve for the future. Instead of this, he remained silent; he allowed General Campenon, who almost seems to covet the laurels worn by the Radical General Thibaudin, to support the Bill in its extreme form, and to assert that he represented the views of the whole Cabinet. It was not until the Liberal journals had protested loud and long that a timid amendment was put forward by M. Durand, the Under-Secretary of Public Instruction, suggesting a hybrid plan, by which a very small number of young men should be completely exempted from military service. This is at once too much and too little. It is too much, because one year's service ought to be required from everybody; and it is too little, because the privilege of serving one year only ought practically to be given to the whole *élite* of the nation. M. Ferry has, of course, his answer. He might say that, knowing beforehand the impossibility of carrying out such a law, knowing that the Senate would never pass such a Bill into law at all, he has not chosen to compromise his authority in the Chamber by attacking a project to which the deputies attach a purely electoral value, and which they do not honestly care to see realized; and that he prefers to devote himself quietly to the development of his scheme of foreign policy. But, plausible as this excuse may be, we hold that on a question of such importance it is the duty of the head of the Government to express a distinct conviction, to give a direction to public opinion, and to prevent the spread of dangerous hopes and ideas amongst the mass of the electors. This idea of equality, pushed to the extreme, might lead to consequences as disastrous as those produced in 1848 by the idea of the *droit au travail*.

The question of the magistracy and that of the revision are much less serious, because they are purely parliamentary, and do not much interest the masses. The Revisionist League has proved this. It attempted to create a revisionist movement in the country, and failed. M. Ferry evidently had no wish either to sift the magistracy or to interfere with the Senate; in these matters he has only consented to act himself in order to cut away the ground from under the feet of his adversaries. The question of the magistracy has been treated, as was pointed out in a former article, with all possible moderation. The law which was passed had the advantage of diminishing the number of useless magistrates, and of ridding the Government of a certain proportion of hostile ones. But if the country has gained a good deal by the law, the Ministry has gained little or nothing. It has had small thanks for the progress achieved, and much blame for the inevitable mistakes made in reconstituting the *personnel* of the tribunals. This has been seen just lately in the scandalous debates to which the administration of Corsica has given rise. Republicans who are neither Radicals nor Intransigents have accused the Government of making over the conduct of affairs in Corsica to the caprice of two deputies, M. Arène and M. Péraudi, and of having been guided in the choice of magistrates and other functionaries, not by the merits or the political



opinions of the candidates, but simply by their character as friends or foes of those two gentlemen. These grievances were exaggerated, but they were not wholly factitious; and what has happened in Corsica has happened also, in some cases, on the mainland.

As to revision, the great disadvantage of the proposals made by the Government is that they disturb the minds of moderate men without satisfying the Radicals, and also that they tend to bolster up in the popular mind the idea that the guarantees of good government are to be sought rather in the mechanism of the Constitution than in the wisdom of those who have to apply it. Nothing could be more puerile than the Bill which is about to be passed. A clause is to be put into the Constitution forbidding the revision of the form of government. But what is to hinder the revision of the clause itself? Suppose there should ever be a Royalist majority in Parliament, who is to prevent their suppressing the clause and revising the Republic? In the second place, the electoral basis of the Senate is to be enlarged, by increasing the number of delegates sent up by the towns, and by having the successors of the irremovable deputies of to-day chosen by senators and deputies together, and for a period of only nine years. This reform will do very little to alter the character of senatorial representation; what little it does will be to lower its status; and, in any case, the Senate will still be elected by an indirect suffrage, and not by universal suffrage pure and simple. Finally, the Senate is to be unable to reinstate, in the form of an amendment, credits which have been rejected by the Chamber. This is intended to put a stop to the possibility of conflicts between the two Chambers on matters relating to the Budget. No one seems to realize that the fear of conflict is the very thing that makes it any use to have two Chambers at all; that, as no one can have any interest in prolonging a struggle, mutual concessions are made, and these concessions go to form the political character of those who make them, and to create harmony among the various powers of the State, by discouraging extreme measures of any sort. Moreover, as this restriction of the financial prerogatives of the Senate has to be balanced by forbidding the Chamber of Deputies to suppress, by a vote on the Budget, any department created by a law, it may perhaps turn out that the financial rights of the Chamber have been even more impaired than those of the Senate. As a matter of fact, the revision comes to very little on the whole. If it has the effect of ridding us for some time to come of all proposals for revising the Constitution, we may congratulate ourselves on having passed it; but if we are to be perpetually overhauling the machinery of the State, the country will grow weary, and will begin to feel that it is living under a provisional government—a sentiment which would be fatal to the Republic.

The point which is of vital importance now is to give the country sufficient confidence in the stability of the Government for the budget to right itself, for commerce and industry to revive, and for the deputies to feel it their interest to adhere firmly to the ministry they have so far supported. From this point of view, the recent municipal elections look hopeful. In Paris, it is true, the Autonomists, and even the Revolutionists, have obtained a real success. In some of the large towns the Intransigent ranks have been strengthened; and in a considerable number of rural communes the reactionary party has had the

majority ; but the elections, as a whole, have been a triumph for the Ministry. The publicity of the meetings of the municipal councils, enforced by the recent municipal law, will help to bring to light the stupidity and incapacity of the greater part of the Intransigent representatives. That party is now indeed almost annihilated, through the disorder produced in its ranks by the various socialistic and revolutionary coteries, who make it their business, first of all, to discredit the deputies of the Extreme Left, denouncing them to the electors as accomplices of the bourgeoisie, and, next, to discredit themselves and each other by mutual calumnies and by the public display of their vanity and ignorance. The Anarchists especially, few as they are, render a signal service to people of sense. Some of them speak of the sufferings of the proletariat in eloquent and touching tones, which remind us of the first fathers of the Church, or of the great preachers of the Middle Ages ; but when they come to describing the social organization as it should be, their ideas are so childish, so contradictory, so absurd, that they carry their own refutation with them. On no account should the Anarchists be suppressed ; they are the helots of democracy ; they show to what depths we may descend if we give ourselves up to the chimerical dreams of Socialists and levellers.

Whilst the Chamber is wasting on revision and military service the time it had better be giving to the Budget, the Senate has passed the first reading of a law which may have the gravest consequences for French society—the Divorce Bill. Every one has been surprised at the immense majority which sanctioned this reform. It shows that public opinion, which until a few years ago was steadily opposed to divorce, is now almost unanimously in favour of it. This change of feeling may no doubt be attributed in part to the energetic campaign of M. Naquet ; but it is chiefly due to the increasing prevalence of wife-murder, followed by acquittal before the tribunals. The absence of divorce from our code has practically resulted in the toleration of murder in case of adultery or desertion. The Senate was much impressed, moreover, by the weakness of the speeches of M. Jules Simon and M. Allou, who spoke against the Bill. Instead of serious arguments, based on legal, historical, or social grounds, they contented themselves with sentimental declamations on the eternity of love, the sanctity of marriage, and the indissoluble nature of vows, which sounded more like the rhetoric of the Bar than the reasoning of sober politicians. What makes the question of divorce peculiarly difficult to discuss is, that it is a practical rather than a theoretical question, and that it is impossible to know without experience all that is to be said for or against it. No one can maintain that divorce is theoretically worse than legal separation, which has the same disadvantage, together with others peculiar to it ; but it may be supposed that in a country where the marriage tie is already none too strict, the possibility of divorce may tend to relax it still further. It would be very humiliating for us if, as M. Allou imagines, divorce were to produce in France an amount of social disorder which exists neither in Germany, nor in Belgium, nor in England ; but would it do so ? The question has two sides, and if it is possible that some married people might be encouraged in transgression by the hope of divorce, it is equally possible that others might be restrained from transgression by

the fear of it. It was at any rate necessary to put the law of France in harmony with the principles which govern all secular society, and which refuse to recognize perpetual vows or enforced celibacy. The law voted by the Senate, moreover, surrounds the right of divorce with difficulties enough to guarantee it against abuse.

The legislation of divorce will at least have the advantage of greatly diminishing the interest which in France always attaches to adultery, and which has made it the basis of our theatrical and romantic literature. It was useless to say that the subject was worn out; it was always renewed, and it always interested. Unfortunately it does not follow that our literary morals will benefit by the change. For some time past those of our novelists who have tried to get out of this eternal round of conjugal infidelities have mostly fallen to a still baser level, and made us think with regret of Dumas *père* and George Sand, who gave us at least, if not morality, an atmosphere of real and generous passion. The great success—say rather, the great scandal—of the day is the “*Blasphèmes*” of Jean Richepin. The extravagant praise bestowed on this volume of poetry is one of the most striking signs of the decay of literary taste, and even of critical capacity, in France. That the *Figaro* should aver that nothing greater has appeared since Dante is perhaps not much. The *Figaro* represents the opinions of the boulevard, and does not shine by its moral elevation. But that the *Temps*, the most earnest of all the Parisian journals, should give its all but unreserved admiration to one of the most cynically immoral books we have seen for a long time—that M. Sarcey should find no poet to compare with M. Richepin but Homer and Victor Hugo—this is astounding. And the critics who pronounce these judgments hardly deign to recognize a thinker and a poet such as Sully Prudhomme. As a matter of fact, in this volume, in which he throws mud not only on all that is called divine, but on his father and his mother, on man, on life, on Nature, on reason, M. Richepin shows himself after all only a clever versifier. All this blaspheming rage, this epilepsy of impiety, is but the cold-blooded rhetoric of a writer who hopes to succeed by scandalizing. M. Richepin has plenty of talent; he has style, force, animation, even eloquence; but of thought or imagination he has very little indeed. The idea on which his volume is based—that of the revolt of a Turanian against Aryan ethics—is a mere farce, invented some time ago by his colleagues at the *Ecole Normale*. Some ten years ago M. Richepin brought out a volume of verse, the “*Chanson des Gueux*,” which contained ten times as much real poetry as the “*Blasphèmes*.” He had put his heart into it, and his brains. Into the “*Blasphèmes*” he has put nothing but his cleverness and his thirst for notoriety and a sensation. If, as he informs us, there are three volumes more of the same kind to follow, we may safely predict the rapid exhaustion of a vein which is already so much impoverished.

It is hard on M. Daudet to speak of him in the same breath with M. Richepin; but he too has yielded, in his “*Sapho*,” to the baser tendencies of contemporary literature. One’s gorge rises at this complacent study of the sensual enslavement of a good and somewhat stupid young man by a woman who has known everything she should not, even when the brilliant gifts of the writer compel one’s admira-

tion. Never has M. Daudet been cleverer. He has often been prolix, affected, a word-painter rather than a student of human nature; but here the narrative is rapid, incisive, and vigorous, and the personages stand out in relief as in real life. The two southern types, Uncle Césaire and Aunt Divonne, are finished studies; and if young Gaussein is somewhat washed out and uninteresting, the woman who ruined him is sculptured with the hand of a master. But, even apart from the moral objection which may be taken to Daudet's work, there is something uncomfortable in it from a literary point of view—the curious readiness with which this able novelist keeps changing his style. After beginning with a simple, graceful, agreeable manner—not indeed his own, since we find it in other southern writers, such as Paul Arène and J. Aicard—he allowed himself to be influenced to a most extraordinary extent by that of the two De Goncourts. In “Le Nabab,” and in “Les Rois en Exil,” his style is involved, overcharged, and often pretentious, full of abstractions and technical terms, and wilfully incorrect; he subordinates the natural to the effective. In “Numa Roumestan” and “The Evangelist” we see this influence die away; and in “Sapho” there is no longer a trace of it, and we find instead an evident imitation of the broad, clear, and sober style of Guy de Maupassant, with a sprinkling of phrases from Zola. He could not, it is true, have found a better model than Guy de Maupassant, who is the most remarkable writer of the naturalistic school, and whose last volume, “Miss Harriet,” contains two or three charming stories. But it is singular that a man so original as Daudet, both in his mode of feeling and in his creation of types, has not been able to evolve a style of his own. What distinguishes him, to his advantage, from others of the naturalists, is the sympathy, the tenderness, the human touch, that one never fails to find in him. Depraved as his “Sapho” may be, there is something in her that is good and even noble. Daudet loves humanity. Zola and Maupassant hate and despise it, as Flaubert did. Every page of the little review just published by the leaders of the school, Zola, Huysman, and Caze—the *Revue Indépendante*—bristles with contempt for human nature. It is the same with Zola's last novel, “La Joie de Vivre.” Here, as in almost all his works, there are not only scenes depicted with extraordinary vigour; there is an interesting central idea. His Pauline is one of those feminine natures, all devotion and self-abnegation, which exist only to give themselves. She allows herself to be plundered by her cousin, whom she loves—a weak, nervous, artistic, egoistic creature, always imagining impossible enterprises and persevering in nothing. Then she finds out that he loves some one else, and she helps them to marry. It does not even occur to her that she is being heroic. She tries to bring harmony into the disunited household—for they come to that soon enough; she saves the child of the woman who has supplanted her, and makes for herself a sort of imaginary motherhood by her love and self-sacrifice. We have here the elements of a really fine study, and some of the scenes are finely treated; but not to speak of passages, the coarseness of which makes one drop the book from one's hand, the spirit in which it is written is enough to destroy the beauty of the conception. The very devotion of Pauline is treated as a fatality of her nature; she is devoted just as other people are mad, or epileptic, or hysterical.

Where it is not a disease, it is an animal instinct; there is not a trace in it of the elevation of the conscious moral being. The "*Joie de Vivre*" is a heartrending book. The hatred of life breathes through every page of it.

One is glad to turn from work like this to that of other writers, less powerful, indeed, but healthier and more refreshing—such, for instance, as M. George Duruy, who, in his pleasant and striking story of "*Andrée*," has just made a successful début in fiction. His heroine is an interesting type of girlhood; his little observations on society and the world are particularly bright and true; and his style is fresh, buoyant, and *spirituel*. Such, again, is M. Pouvillon, in "*L'Innocent*," where he touches off with a vigorous hand and with picturesque effect the manners of the peasantry of the South. And such, especially, is M. A. Theuriet in his last volume, "*Tante Aurélie*," which is one of his very best. In his earlier works the plot was good and the life of the small towns was felicitously described; but the characters were not very deeply studied. In "*Madame Heurteloup*" and in "*Tante Aurélie*," on the contrary, we find original types, forcibly drawn, and very taking in their originality. But let the reader beware of being led away by the pretty name of M. E. de Goncourt's last novel, "*Chérie*." It is the story of a girl brought up in Court society under the Empire, with a mind depraved by artificial excitements, who ends by dying because she has set her heart on marrying and cannot. There is plenty of talent in the book, and M. de Goncourt has taken pains with it. There is a good deal of subtle observation spent on the study of the unreal and dissolute life of fashionable society; but with it all there is needless grossness, puerility, pretentiousness, and bad taste. M. de Goncourt says in his preface that he and his brother Jules will have been the originators of three of the great movements of the nineteenth century. They have, by their "*Germinie Lacerteux*," created the naturalistic novel; they have brought the eighteenth century into fashion again; and they have discovered Japanese art. All this may be true, to a certain extent; the question is, Are we the gainers by it? No one can deny that the De Goncourts have exercised a great influence on contemporary fiction; but they have helped to materialize its rendering of character, and to replace the study of human nature by that of the nervous system. It may be well to do justice to Japanese art and to the eighteenth century; but Japanese oddity has spoiled the eye of more than one of our painters, and produced a taste for the fantastic in furniture; and the eighteenth-century mania has had by no means exclusively good results. The passion for gimcracks takes the place of the pursuit of art; and the licentiousnesses of eighteenth-century literature find only too many readers and imitators in our own day. If the De Goncourts have enriched our language with some refinements of expression and construction, they have, at the same time, injured and distorted it, and impaired its characteristically French qualities of simplicity, clearness, and precision.

Unfortunately, our literary taste is impaired, not only as to the form, but as to the substance, too. We must have everything peppered. Happy the writer who lives far enough apart from the world of letters to keep his sense of the beautiful fresh and unspoilt. This has been

the good fortune of the great Provençal poet, F. Mistral. He lives at Maillane, a small southern town, and there, far from the madding crowd of Parisian life, he has produced three masterpieces, "Mireille," "Calendau," and "Nerto." They are not, it is true, quite free from artificiality, for they are written in a dialect which is neither the real Old Provençal nor the modern *patois*, but a combination of the poet's own; but for genuine inspiration and creative genius he ranks with the highest. As one reads him, involuntary comparisons spring up in one's mind with the great poets, Homer, Theocritus, and Dante. His last work, "Nerto," takes us back to the fifteenth century, and gives us a pure and passionate love story, relieved against a background of mediæval civilization, the pontifical Court at Avignon, and the life of the great lords of the South of France. It is a fresco painting, laid on with marvellous ease and vividness of colour; it is poetry fresh sprung from the source, and drawing its inspiration alike from Nature, history, and inward emotion.

Mistral is mainly an epic poet; but we have other writers who have caught the spirit of our popular lyric poetry, the expression of simple and natural feelings in tones of quiet melancholy or of artless mirth. Some of the prettiest pieces in A. Theuriot's "*Livre de la Pays*" are of this sort; and G. Vicaire has just published a volume of "*Emaux Bressans*" as sweet and wholesome as the smell of a bunch of wild flowers. M. Vicaire sings his own country of La Bresse; he sings its glorious landscapes, its pretty girls, and its fat pullets; and he sings them in words full of life and colour, to measures which remind us of our popular songs.

Besides all this fiction and poetry, several remarkable works of another kind have lately appeared. Amongst them is the second volume of Amiel's "*Journal Intime*." We have already spoken of the singular fate of the Genevan Professor who could not bring himself to publish anything during his lifetime except a few little volumes of verse, because he felt too keenly the immeasurable distance between his ideal and anything he could achieve towards the realization of it, and who left behind him in his private journal a book of exquisite literary taste and expression, combining extraordinary powers of description with philosophic profundity of thought. The second volume can hardly produce such a sensation as the first, because it is but a continuation of the same thing; but its psychological and moral interest is perhaps even greater. While Amiel was yet young he seems to have been perfectly content with the metaphysical reveries which were sapping his power of action and production; but as time goes on the tragic sense of life having been a failure, of unfulfilled possibilities, and unused gifts of heart and mind, steeped everything he writes in a peculiar melancholy. He had spent his life in meditating a work he had never accomplished, in dreaming of marriage without ever making up his mind to marry, in a search for truth which had brought him no final satisfaction; and now age was upon him, and disease, and death. He wrote to the last; he resigned himself with the meditative acquiescence of a sage and the emotions of a Christian; he tells us all his sorrows, his conflicts, and his courage. What interests us so deeply in Amiel is the curious combination of distinctively Christian feeling with intellectual scepticism, tending towards pantheism.

It would be impossible to find a loftier moral nature, a tenderer conscience, a mind more imbued with the sense of sin ; and yet the whole of his intellectual convictions tend to the negation of this idea. He remains to the last a Buddhist in theory and a Christian at heart.

M. Renan, for his part, contrives to reconcile his ethics and his philosophy. If there is something of the Buddhist in his profound sense of the nothingness of things, he is far enough from it in his optimistic temper. To the Buddhist life is tragic. He sees in it disease and evil, poverty and death ; and he endeavours to teach man to cure himself of the malady of existence. M. Renan, on the contrary, feels that life is good, and hopes it is always going to be better ; his morality is a purely æsthetic morality ; duty is not in his eyes a painful conflict against evil, but the free and happy development of the human individuality. Every strong original type of humanity is delightful to him, be it Marcus Aurelius or Francis of Assisi. His new volume of "Religious Studies" contains, amongst other things, a fine study of the hero of mediæval religious life ; a long memoir on Joachim de Flore, a mystic heresiarch whose doctrines were mixed up with those of St. Francis ; and a paper on Buddhism which places us abreast of recent discoveries relating to that most widespread of all religions, and to the philosophic conceptions which underlie it. The book has all M. Renan's finest qualities, his ample and varied style, his marvellous erudition, and his exuberance of thought.

If there be a mind in absolute contrast with those of Renan and Amiel, it is surely that of M. Guizot. Not only does he believe that truth exists, but he is quite certain that he has got it ; and this certainty spurs him to action. Very different views may be taken of M. Guizot's political career, but it is impossible for any one who reads the "Letters" just published by his daughter to refuse him the respect and admiration due to the elevation of his character and the disinterestedness of his life. M. Guizot was not a profound or original philosopher ; but he had the gift of generalizing, and of seeing everything from a high and noble standpoint. He is always most of all a moralist. Politically this may have been a disadvantage to him ; but the unswerving moral purpose shown in every act of his public and private life does honour to his character as a man. Add to this a striking simplicity and tenderness of heart, and it will be seen that there is no want of attractiveness in this austere figure of the statesman and the man of learning.

Another newly published correspondence is the "Letters of Mallet du Pan." They are purely political papers, addressed by that eminent publicist to the Emperor of Germany during the last months of the Convention and the Directory. Mallet du Pan was a large-minded and very learned man, of moderate opinions, whom the excesses of the Revolution had driven into the ranks of the refugees, but whose connections in France kept him well informed as to what was passing there. The clear-sighted pessimism with which he regards the condition of the country in many ways contrasts oddly with his optimistic illusions as to the return of the Bourbons. He is a better judge of events and of the passions of the multitude than of the characters of individual men. Here his personal antipathies cloud his judgment. He takes Bonaparte for nothing more than a worthless charlatan, and

keeps assuring the emperor of his imminent discredit and defeat. Who could have guessed that the charlatan was so soon to be the imperial correspondent's son-in-law? These letters are some of the most precious documents we have belonging to the end of the eighteenth century. They give a vigorous analysis of the ravages produced by Jacobin ideas; and M. Taine, who has written a valuable preface to them, finds that they confirm a good many of his own impressions.

Another interesting book on the same period is M. Bardoux's "*Pauline de Beaumont*." Mme. de Beaumont, a woman of keen sensibility, and unusual mental capacity, had seen nearly all her family perish on the scaffold; and separated from her unworthy husband, and ruined in health and fortune, she consoled herself for some years with the friendship of Joubert, and of a few other distinguished minds. Then she came to know Châteaubriand, loved him, and was, perhaps, the inspirer of some of the finest portions of his work, and came at last to Rome to die near him, having given her whole soul to that magnificent egoist, who, six months later, found another lady to supply her place. Thanks to the numberless unpublished papers to which M. Bardoux has had access, and above all to the letters of Mme. de Beaumont herself, we have here not only a charming portrait of this noble woman, but a picture of literary life at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

Books like this of M. Bardoux's, like those of Amiel and Renan, and the "*Nouvelles*" of Bourget, and the Letters of George Sand, the fifth volume of which is just out, are a feast for the fastidious few; they do not stir the masses like "*Sappho*," of which the fiftieth edition is announced on the covers of the first; or like "*The Prussian Secret Police*" of Victor Tissot, which for the last fortnight has been furnishing the press with material as abundant and almost as substantial as the great, insoluble, overwhelming problem of Prince Victor's separation from his father. M. Tissot's book, written with his usual force and inventiveness, is a clever mixture of facts drawn from German sources (such as "*Stieber's Memoirs*," "*The Recollections of Wolheim de Fonseca*," &c.) of ante-chamber gossip, both German and French, and of absurd inventions. The influence of these books is deplorable. With thinking men, what is false in them discredits what is true; while, with those who do *not* think, what is true in them serves to wash down a whole mass of falsehoods. On every point on which my personal acquaintance with the facts allows of my verifying M. Tissot's statements, I find them inexact or erroneous. Besides, when one comes to think of it, one shuts the book and asks, "What then?" If M. Tissot wants to excite indignation against the Prussians, why does he put this motto to his book:—"Soubise," said Frederick the Great, "has a hundred cooks and only one spy. I have a hundred spies and one cook." Of the two, Frederick was in the right, and Rosbach justified him. But I suspect that M. Tissot, who is a Swiss, cares less about injuring Prussia than about going on turning over national rancours to his own profit; and he knows very well that the Germans have no great objection to books which give them an excuse for declaiming against the injustice, the violence, and the flippancy of the French.

Père Didot's book on "*The Germans*" is the very opposite of



M. Tissot's. The eloquent Dominican has visited Germany, and was very much struck with what he saw there, especially at the Universities; and he records his impressions in what is practically an enthusiastic defence of intellectual Germany. He has judged, I think, somewhat too hastily, and been the victim of some illusions. Looking closely at his work, one finds in it many little points which are incorrect; but as a whole it is true. He has perceived that the higher education in Germany is no mere mechanism, but a living thing, part and parcel of the national life itself.

French science is mainly represented by eminent men, trained either in the *Ecole Normale* or the *Ecole Polytechnique*, and by outsiders who belong to no official body. German science is exclusively academic; all outsiders are what the Germans call laics—they count for nothing. Again, the strength of German science consists in its numbers, the heavy battalions it can move, the enormous amount of work produced, of facts accumulated, of ideas started. In France we have mostly generals, with very few soldiers to follow them; and whilst the new military law is preparing to annihilate our little intellectual army altogether, death is already picking off some of its leaders. M. d'Haussonville was not by profession a savant, but a politician. He was a representative of the old noblesse, who had utilized his enforced leisure under the Second Empire to produce some valuable historical works written in a good literary style—"The History of the Union of Lorraine with France" and "The Church and the First Empire." M. Mignet, on the other hand, without having ever belonged to the professorial staff, was a professed historian, who had made his fortune in a literary career. With a mind of wonderful perspicacity, equally at home in unravelling a diplomatic question and in laying bare the springs of individual character and action, and in the matter of style a finished artist, M. Mignet has left one great work which is the admiration of the learned, "The Negotiations relative to the Spanish Succession," and a number of smaller books which everybody knows, the "Epitome of the History of the Revolution," the "Antonio Perez and Philip II.," "The Story of Mary Stuart," and others. While the world of letters has sustained these two great losses, science has suffered not less cruelly. M. Dumas, who may be regarded as the second founder of French chemistry (Lavoisier being the first), had finished his work, and had been for some time resting in his glory amidst universal respect, and following the labours of his successors with a benevolent sympathy which he did not always show to the same extent while he himself was still producing; but M. Wurtz was cut off by sudden illness in the very midst of his life and work. In him the atomic theory loses its foremost champion, organic chemistry one of its creators, and teaching and research a man of inexhaustible activity and splendid powers of expression. M. Berthelot remains the only great name among French chemists, since the public has ceased to class M. Pasteur with the chemists and counts him henceforward among the physiologists.

M. Pasteur's fame, as was lately shown in Edinburgh, now eclipses all other, and justly so, since his discoveries in relation to the virus of certain diseases will probably form the starting-point of a complete revolution in the art of healing. If, as he anticipates, he should be

able, by means of inoculation, not only to make dogs themselves impervious to hydrophobia, but actually to prevent the development of the disease in a man already bitten by a mad dog, it will be the greatest discovery of the century, and will place M. Pasteur, for this alone, among the chief benefactors of the human race.

In the theatrical world there is nothing much to speak of. Richepin's translation of *Macbeth*, which Mme. Sarah Bernhardt has just been playing at the Porte Saint Martin, has been dashed off in a hurry, and its pretence of rough and literal renderings fails to conceal the carelessness and inaccuracy of the whole thing. M. Bisson's "*Député de Bombignac*" is a poor burlesque unworthy of the *Théâtre Français*, and M. Meilhac's "*Duchesse Martin*," while it has the daintiness which distinguishes all his work, is but a sparkling trifle. A great ado has been made at the *Opéra* over M. Gounod's "*Sapho*," as if it were a new thing; but it is only a retouching of one of his earliest operas, and by no means a happy retouching either, for every one of the new insertions is a blot on the original score, the freshest, the most passionate, the most genuinely inspired of all M. Gounod's works. The *Théâtre Italien* contents itself with its great singers, Maurel, Gayarré, and Mdlle. Nevada, and has given us not a single good novelty all the winter.

But, if the theatre has gone to sleep, the exhibitions have been open. It is hard work to keep up with them. You run up against them on every side, and, to say the truth, you end by being horribly weary of all this clever, empty, tricky modern art. It is chiefly the exhibitions got up by the clubs and the annual exhibition at the *Palais de l'Industrie* which suffer from this plethora of pictures, and from the comparison which is forced upon one between such *pots pourris* of work of all kinds and of every degree of merit, and the collections, few and choice, offered by some private exhibitions. At the *Salon*, when you have once looked round and seen that there is nothing unusual this year, when you have satisfied yourself that the influence of impressionism is on the whole decreasing, though it has found some new victims, such as M. Besnard; when you have admired a few good portraits, such as that of M. Robert Fleury, by his son, and enjoyed a few delightful landscapes, such as those of M. Damoye and M. Hamesse; when you have looked with interest at M. Gormon's large picture of "*Hunters of the Stone Age returning from the Chase*," and when, in the sculpture gallery, you have stood a little while before Delaplanche's "*Sleep*" and Falguière's "*Nymphe*," you can go comfortably away without the least wish to come back again. It was quite otherwise with the exhibition of drawings at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*. You could not go there without staying for hours at a time, and turning in again and again. There you found yourself in presence of the most characteristic and unpremeditated thoughts of the great masters, from David to Detaille. In these water-colour drawings, not done under the public eye,—these studies which the artist keeps as private documents—he puts out his best, and deepest, and truest self. Even the fame of Ingres will have gained by this exhibition, which contained a series of black lead portraits by him. Prudhon, Millet, Meissonier, and Lhermitte shared with him the honours of this little museum of treasures. Meissonier sent chiefly sketches and studies.

Two months later he opened an exhibition of his own at Petit's, which has been the artistic event of the season. It contains a hundred and fifty paintings, some of them almost unknown to the picture-lovers of the present generation. There is "La Rixe," which belongs to the Queen of England; there is "La Barricade," lent by a Belgian amateur; there are pictures which have never been exhibited before, one of them a superb allegorical painting representing the siege of Paris in 1870-1871. It is far from being a complete collection of his works, yet it does give a very complete idea of the artist's career. His genius culminated between 1850 and 1860. It is at that period that his touch is at its lightest, melting and at the same time solid, his style at once broadest and most delicate, and his work the most instinct with life and spirit. But the work of later years, if it has not the same eclipsing charm, has enough to fill us with wonder and admiration. Far from resting on his laurels, M. Meissonier, especially since 1870, has sought out new paths, has undertaken more important works, has tried new and unexpected chords of colour, whether in transparent tones, as in his "Corps de Garde de Gardes Françaises," or in sombre tints, as in the masterpiece of last autumn, the "Madonna del Bacio." None of our painters has equalled M. Meissonier in conscientiousness and in reverence for his art, and he has his reward; if his hand has not all the nimbleness of thirty years ago, he has lost nothing in force or originality; he still creates; he is still young; and he commands undiminished interest; while most of the others, after the first ten years or so, go on producing only to weary us by incessant reiteration.

Not far from the gallery where M. Meissonier is admitting us to all these good things for the benefit of the "Hospitalité de Nuit," M. Munckaczy, the Hungarian painter, is exhibiting at M. Sedelmeyer's his famous picture of "Christ before Pilate," with a companion picture "The Crucifixion." I do not think the new work equal to the former. There is not the same unity of composition or salience of colour; and the type of the Christ is less original. But, notwithstanding this inferiority, it is still a work of great beauty. There is a noble pathos in the group of holy women round the foot of the cross; the executioner, whom M. Munckaczy has been so ill-advised as to make the centre of his picture, is a startling specimen of brutality and indifference; and in the faces of the Jews who compose the crowd of bystanders the painter has shown a thorough acquaintance with the Jewish character. It is a mistake to exhibit these works by themselves and not in the Salon of the Champs Elysées. There might, no doubt, be a certain loss of effect in taking them out of their isolation and away from the somewhat theatrical surroundings with which M. Sedelmeyer has furnished them; but they are strong enough to bear comparison, and in this year's Salon they would certainly have shone with a splendour all their own. The French schools of to-day have no colourist to compare with M. Munckaczy. Henner's painting is perhaps of still more exquisite quality; but it is monotonous in its effects; and besides, M. Henner's poverty of imagination is enough to wear out his most thoroughgoing admirers. M. Sedelmeyer has started the idea of making himself the regular publisher, so to speak, of some four or five painters exclusively. In addition to Munckaczy, who is his most important client, there is Charlemont, a first-class Austrian

portrait painter; Pettenkofen and Jettel, two very original landscapists; a Tchèque, named Brosik, who is a really earnest historical painter, far superior to the Polish Matejko; and a clever Italian imitator of Meissonier's, Tito Lessi.

Another good private exhibition was that of Raffaelli, the painter of the outskirts of Paris and of the workmen and small householders who inhabit them. Raffaelli has sometimes been confounded with the impressionists. As a matter of fact he has nothing in common with them. His drawing is very careful, and his painting somewhat dry. He is distinguished by the delicacy of his landscape, and, by the overpowering truthfulness of the brutalized or abject types he prefers to paint. His theory is no less opposed to that of the impressionists than his execution. For the impressionists any subject is good enough. It is only a question of reproducing something in Nature as exactly as possible; it is not necessary to put any soul into it. Raffaelli would have nothing painted but what is characteristic; the painter is to be a thought-reader. In the dissertation with which he has prefaced his catalogue he identifies the beautiful with the characteristic, and poses as the inventor of a new ideal, which, by a needless barbarism, he calls "*Le beau caractériste*"—the characterizing beautiful!

Shall I speak of those other tragedies and comedies which have been acted outside the theatre, and which all Paris has been to see? These little agitations are so fugitive that in a month's time every trace of them is lost. For nearly a week nothing was heard of but Mrs. Mackay, the American millionairess, who destroyed a marvellous portrait of herself by Meissonier because he had not flattered her to her liking. The whole Parisian press took sides for or against Mrs. Mackay. Even she, however, had to make way for Campi, who had murdered an old man, and died on the scaffold without revealing his real name. The Intransigent journalists, on the look-out for a paradox to amuse themselves with—though they are most of them *blasés* enough to be impervious to any known amusement—took up the cause of Campi, as representing the revolt of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. All these things have their interest in Paris, and especially on the boulevard between the Madeleine and the Porte St. Martin. Outside those limits it all seems very artificial and very absurd.

G. MONOD.

# CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

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## I.—MODERN HISTORY.

THE most remarkable instance of intellectual activity at the present day is undoubtedly afforded by Leopold von Ranke, who in extreme old age had the courage to undertake no smaller task than a Universal History. An English translation of the first volume of this important work has appeared almost simultaneously with the fourth volume in German. We are glad that the translation has been undertaken by so competent an historian as Mr. G. W. Prothero,\* who says in his preface that "it depends on the reception of this instalment by the public whether the translation will be continued." It is much to be hoped that the enterprise will be encouraged to proceed. The task of translation is laborious and meets with little acknowledgment. But the translator of Ranke deserves to be recognized as a pioneer of the scientific study of history. No historian has ever had so large a grasp as Ranke of the fundamental principles of history, or has laboured so assiduously to disentangle from a mass of details the permanent elements of human progress. He is not content with merely following the process of national development, but traces the interconnection of human affairs. After working at this problem in the history of Europe, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the veteran historian resolved to devote his declining years to formulating his results. The value of his work cannot be over-estimated. A mind trained in historical criticism and a judgment practised in historical discrimination have been set to extract from the records of the past history of mankind the active principles of human progress. The result is a clear sketch, drawn by a firm hand, and full of suggestiveness. It is impossible within our limits to give any account of such a work. The first volume, which has been translated, extends to the fall of Greece. The fourth volume, which has just appeared, reaches from the founding of Constantinople to the rise of the Romano-German kingdoms, as Ranke calls them.† In it the author deals with a period which peculiarly calls for his mode of treatment. The great conceptions which have given their form to modern States—the conceptions of culture embodied in the Roman Empire, the religious ideas of the Christian Church, and the free spirit of the German tribes—all meet and react upon one another. The antagonisms, the transformations, the reconciliations of these elements are depicted

\* "Universal History. The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks." By Leopold von Ranke. Edited by G. W. Prothero. London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

† "Weltgeschichte." Von Leopold von Ranke. 10ter Theil. Das Kaiserthum in Constantinople und der Ursprung romanisch-germanischen Reichen. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 1883.

with such dignity as to give a dramatic interest to the process of historical analysis. Probably no other part of the work will be found so luminous as this, which shows how the foundations of modern Europe were laid.

It is a great step from a Universal History to works on English localities. Two such books have recently appeared, which deserve notice for different reasons. Mrs. Roundell's "*Cowdray*"\* is a good example of the interest which centres round an old historic house, and Mrs. Roundell has made it tell its tale to good advantage. No great historical event took place at Cowdray, nor were its owners men of remarkable character; yet any one who follows their fortunes will feel that he has learned much of English life in the past, and has more vivid impressions than he would have gained from a more serious history. In marked contrast with the spirited book of Mrs. Roundell is Mr. Armstrong's "*History of Liddesdale and the Debateable Land*."† Mr. Armstrong has dealt with a part of Great Britain which is rich in history and legend. He has made a careful collection of documents, and has sought out every record dealing with his subject. But he has made no effort to present this mass of information in an intelligible form. He has adhered so closely to the special districts of which he treats that we are left without any clear conception of the state of the Borders as a whole. Mr. Armstrong has let slip an opportunity of dealing with a most interesting subject.

In the wider field of historical literature England has not been very productive during the last few months. The publication by Mr. Gairdner of the late Dr. Brewer's introductions to his "*Calendar of State Papers*" will call general attention to their importance. Dr. Brewer not only arranged and extracted documents, but he saw their bearing and importance. It was natural for him, when full of his subject, to give expression to the general results of his researches. In the form of introductions, buried in large volumes of the *Calendar*, he really wrote a most valuable history of the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. No period of modern history is more obscure than the early part of the sixteenth century. The copiousness of literary material has rendered the task of the critic difficult in the extreme. The rapid growth of nationalities, the interconnection of European politics, and the constant intrigues of diplomacy give a bewildering sense of sudden life and uncertain movement. Dr. Brewer, with the documents before his eyes, has caught the enthusiasm inspired by contact with great plans. The period over which his labours extended, from 1509 to 1530, has embraced the career of Wolsey,‡ who is practically the hero of Dr. Brewer's volumes. He stands out, for the first time, in due proportions, as the first of England's statesmen, in the modern acceptance of the term. Dr. Brewer shows us the tide of English life, and guides us through the politics of Europe. He shows us how Wolsey raised England from a third-rate power to a

\* "*Cowdray: the History of a great English House.*" By Mrs. C. Roundell. London: Bickers. 1884.

† "*History of Liddesdale, Eakdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debateable Land.*" By Robert Bruce Armstrong. Part I. From the Twelfth Century to 1530. Edinburgh: Douglas. 1883.

‡ "*The Reign of Henry VIII. from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey.*" By the late J. S. Brewer. Edited by J. Gairdner. London: Longmans. 1884.

position of commanding importance. He shows the strange current of events which brought about the breach with the Roman Church, and makes intelligible the complex character of Henry VIII., which must always remain one of the most wonderful in history. Dr. Brewer writes with strong individuality of style and expression. His work never flags, because it is penetrated with the movement of the age, which has entirely mastered him by the greatness of its issues for the future. His work is a worthy memorial of the arduous labours of a student's life.

A little book by Mr. Picton, "*Lessons from the Rise and Fall of the English Commonwealth*,"\* deserves notice as affording an excellent example of the way in which historical knowledge can be used for teaching political lessons. It consists of lectures addressed to a popular audience, dealing with modern problems from the point of view of an advanced Liberal. We do not propose to criticize Mr. Picton's political opinions; but it is impossible to read his utterances and not see in them the sobering results of historical study. There is a largeness of view, a distrust of partial methods, and a conception of the organic unity of society which are too often absent from political teaching. Mr. Picton has put forward in a striking way the results of a precocious experiment, which required more moral force to maintain it than the English people as a whole possessed.

It is rather remarkable that in the course of the last few years the reign of Queen Anne and the political career of Bolingbroke should have attracted so much attention. It seems to show a desire to understand more clearly our system of party government, which is being so sorely tried. A new writer, Mr. Harrop, has made a valuable contribution to this subject.† He has set himself to trace in the policy of Bolingbroke, the last effort of the monarchical system to reassert itself at the expense of parliamentary government. His book is carefully written, and his criticism of Bolingbroke's policy is just. He has recognized the merits of Toryism as Bolingbroke conceived it, and has tried to judge it in reference to the events of its own time, and not to subsequent developments. He has made a decided contribution to our knowledge of the mode in which parliamentary government was established. But we cannot say that Mr. Harrop's book is light reading. He has little capacity for formulating clearly the results of the process which he is tracing, nor has he much facility of expression. As a criticism of Bolingbroke the book is too long; as a history of the time it is too short. The absence of dates, of headings, and other helps to the reader, makes it perplexing to a reader who is not familiar with the times.

Mr. Harrop forms a great contrast to Mr. Schuyler, whose "*Life of Peter the Great*"‡ has the merit of succeeding in giving a most readable and vivid account of a character and state of society which are difficult to realize. Mr. Schuyler has aimed at writing a full and clear narrative. He has chiefly used Russian sources, and consequently has reproduced before us the life of Russia, and has set his hero in his

\* "*Six Lectures*." By J. Allanson Picton. London: Alexander & Shepherd, 1884.

† "*Bolingbroke: a Political Study and Criticism*." By Robert Harrop. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1884.

‡ "*Peter the Great. A Study of Historical Biography*." By Eugene Schuyler. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1884.

own surroundings. Mr. Schuyler is a biographer more than a historian. He does not look much either before or after, but gives a picturesque account of events. He does not even pause to reflect on the character of his hero, or on the results of his separate measures. But he makes Peter a living person both in his public and his private life. If he does not throw light on any of the political problems of the time, he certainly gives an admirable picture of their surroundings. He leaves others to speculate on the results to Russia and to Europe of the high-handed doings of the great Tsar; but he shows us the impetuosity, the brutality, the good sense, and the industry with which he laboured at his projects of every kind. We see how Russia ceased to be Oriental, and became European; but we see also how impossible it was that the conversion should be other than superficial. As a biography, Mr. Schuyler's book is excellent: it is written with a fulness and carefulness that will secure it an abiding reputation.

In French literature we may notice the completion of M. Perrens' "*Histoire de Florence*,"\* which in six volumes has only reached to the beginning of the domination of the Medici in 1433. It is needless to say that a book on such a scale is the result of long research, and is largely concerned with the whole of Italian history. It is founded on a careful criticism of authorities, and has devoted much attention to the origin of Florentine institutions. But we feel as if the spirit of Florentine life had evaporated in the process of this long analysis. M. Perrens shows more erudition than does the Marchese Capponi; but we feel as if he does not after all tell us so much that we wished to know. While we agree in the abstract with most of his views of Florentine politics, we lose the sense of Florence as the heart and head of Italy. Italian history is difficult to write, because the contribution of Italy to Europe is hard to define. Its political condition bears some resemblance to that of ancient Greece; yet its history does not illustrate in the same way the great permanent lessons of political science. Its development was not so rapid nor so sharply defined, and was traversed by many extraneous elements. While we respect M. Perrens' labours, we think that a briefer and more vivid sketch would have served its purpose better than his careful analysis.

Italy is continually fruitful in the publication of new documents. Chief amongst those which have appeared lately are the unedited writings of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II.† Though the published writings of Æneas are sufficiently voluminous, yet anything from his pen is valuable. He was the earliest man of letters in the modern acceptance of the term, and is always observant and lively. The historical value of the present volume consists in the publication of suppressed passages from his "*Commentaries*," which Pius II. wrote during his pontificate, but which were not published till nearly a century after his death. The editor, through deference to the dignity of the papal office, suppressed many of the biting sayings, the good stories, the free comments on the morals of his time, and the remarks on the characters of his cardinals, which Pius II. did not scruple to commit to paper. We now have a rare

\* Tome Sixième, Paris. Hachette. 1883.

† "*Æneæ Silvii Piccolomini Sententiæ, quæ postea fuit Pius II.*" Part-Max. Opera Inedita. Descript J. Cagnone. Roma. 1883.



collection of amusing details of papal life and of contemporary manners brought together in a small compass. The history of the Papacy at the end of the fifteenth century is further illustrated by the publication of the "History of Sigismondo dei Conti of Foligno," who was one of the Apostolic secretaries under Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Julius II.\* Sigismondo is too much of a Latinist to be very useful as a historian. He is so much impressed with the dignity of history that he rolls on without any sense of proportion, and does not tell us the details which we most wish to know. But though he has no special merits and shows no individuality in his writing, he is a valuable addition to the sources of Italian history.

A useful addition has been made to the number of Italian periodicals in the form of a *Rivista Storica Italiana*, which is to be published quarterly.† Its editor is Professor Rinando, who is aided by Signors Fabretti, Vallari, and Dedeval. Italy already abounds in historical journals, which are for the most part busied with the publication of provincial or local records. The new *Rivista* seems to aim at being a guide to the treasures scattered through these various collections. It does not propose to publish new documents, but to give an account of all that is being done, at home and abroad, towards the illustration of Italian history. In fact it will be the organ of those who are working at the construction of Italian history and the criticism of the records, which are being so industriously published by others. If it is strong enough to withstand the archaeological tendency of Italian research and keep to the ground of history, it will do a useful service to foreign students.

Germany has lost no time in producing the first-fruits of Pope Leo XIII.'s appeal to history in defence of the Vatican. Historical students probably admitted at once the grounds for that appeal, and had long wondered at the silence of Roman Catholic writers. Father Bolan's "Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae"‡ are a valuable contribution to the history of the beginnings of the Lutheran movement from 1521 to 1525. They consist of documents from the papal archives, some of which have been partially published before. Now that they are collected and given in full, they present us with the papal side of the diplomatic struggle between Germany and the Roman Court, in which Luther was one of the instruments which Germany used for her own purposes. Most important among these documents are the letters of Alexander, the papal legate, who felt the gravity of the situation and the resolute temper of the German people, yet who felt the difficulty of moving the Roman Court to redress the practical grievances under which Germany suffered. The general tendency of the study of these documents will be to turn attention from the doctrinal questions raised by Luther to the extortionate system of the Roman Curia. Probably Luther's movement owed its success to the despair which men felt of any amendment in the papal administration, which had become intolerable to the awakened intelligence and the reviving national life of Germany. At all events this

\* "Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, dal 1475 al 1510." De Sigismondo dei Conti de Foligno. Roma. 1883.

† "Fratelli Bocca." Torino.

‡ "Two Fasciculi." Pastet: Regensburg. 1883-4.

aspect of the subject has not met with due consideration. A document of another sort, contained in these volumes, is of some importance to students. Father Bolan publishes a brief of Leo XIII., dated 1513, and subscribed by twenty-two cardinals, which contains the result of an inquiry into the legitimacy of Cardinal Guilio de Medici, afterwards Clement III. The testimony brought before the pope and cardinals sufficed to convince them of the reality of a marriage between Guilio's parents, and he is therefore pronounced legitimate. Whatever may be thought of the importance of this document in the way of proof, it at all events frees the cardinals from any charge of ecclesiastical irregularity in electing Clement VII.

M. CREIGHTON.

## II.—FICTION.

THE critical estimate of the languid and colourless little sketch left us by Anthony Trollope\* has surely been overmuch affected by the attention with which we all listen to the last word from an old friend. It would be an ungracious critic and an ungrateful reader who should grudge that old friend a warm and partial attention, and the few words which are all his posthumous work demands naturally expand into a reminiscence of more characteristic work. He may be regarded in some sense as a successor to Thackeray. In some respects the change from Thackeray to Trollope is like the change from Fielding to Thackeray. Thackeray dealt with much the same themes as Fielding, but the necessities of our time compelled him to make them decorous; and a picture of life, as men see it, is changed in more than mere decorum when it is made decorous. Trollope carried this change a step further: he brought his view of life still nearer what we may call the female view. Both of them describe men and women, and both of them are read by men and women; but still we may say, on the whole, that Thackeray writes for men and women, and Trollope for women. Of course there is a much greater descent in the second than the first comparision. Thackeray will be read wherever English fiction is read: he chronicles a phase of English life. Fine satire has something of the same interest that true poetry has, both are rooted in what is permanent in our nature. Such pictures as Trollope's, on the other hand, owe their interest to the fact that what is represented is familiar, and fade like cut flowers when it becomes strange. But among those who amuse a generation, and do no more, a high place must be accorded to their author. His view of life, if not elevating, is always pure and healthful, his moral influence is on the side of whatever is gentle and true, and in some respects it is touched by a certain originality, and makes us feel compassion where his predecessor would have had no lesson but scorn. And surely to say this of one who has made hours of languor and pain pass lightly, and refreshed the wearied brain with a momentary oblivion of its problems, is no

\* "An Old Man's Love." By Anthony Trollope. London: Blackwood. 2 vols.

slight praise. He shows us the half lights of aspiration in worldly natures, where Thackeray would have represented nothing but worldliness. If an individual opinion might be hazarded against what we believe to be the qualified verdict, we should say that the same power which has won general sympathy for so many fictitious examples of the mingled weakness and loveableness of human nature has left its trace in the portrait of a great man. Certainly the imagination which created so many characters who might have found their motto in the line of an old poet, "God and the world we worship both together," was well fitted to put before the average reader some picture of the life of Cicero, and at any rate the effort may be mentioned here as a typical specimen of the kind of intellectual sympathy to which much of his undoubted success was owing. It is disappointing to have to say all this apropos of a story which in no way illustrates it. There is some interest and some pathos in the description of the lonely disappointed man and the fair flush of hope that comes with the young girl whom he takes to his home in charity, but this interest fades at its opening, and the pathetic suggestion of baffled age and triumphant youth is marred by the working out of the story, which exhibits baffled age in a very unlovely light, and triumphant youth in a very uninteresting one. Mr. Trollope apparently wanted to give a version of *Old Robin Gray*, in which Robin should appear as the hero; and by bringing back Jamie before the marriage instead of after it, he does actually enable his "old man" (who by-the-by is only fifty) to surrender the hand of a woman whose heart he knows himself not to possess, after a great deal of hesitation and ungraciousness. But what most strikes the reader is the strangely exaggerated estimate of the generosity in this surrender betrayed by the author. Surely no generous nature, man or woman, would hold another to an engagement which he or she was aware was one of duty merely. It must be confessed, however, that if Mr. Whittlestaff were generous the story would be more commonplace even than it is. The real interest is much less in his relation to his betrothed ward, than to an old housekeeper, who combines a strong jealousy of the interloper with indignation at what she feels her desertion of him in a manner that is really original and distinct, and she stands out as the only life-like character in the book. Anthony Trollope can well afford to have more than one of his progeny dismissed to oblivion. If we cannot say that "his death eclipsed the gaiety of nations," his life was one that sensibly increased the sum of innocent entertainment in his own generation and the one beneath it, and we part from him as from one who had, among other merits, the interest of forming a link between the present and the past. No writer is more contemporary; he brings down his dialect and costume to the very fashion of the hour; and yet in a certain sense no writer is more old-fashioned. The problems of our day might, for any influence on his page, be the problems of a thousand years ago. It is not merely that they are never stated or discussed there—the men and women whose fortunes he follows are beings who have never come into the most remote contemplation with them. This is one of the reasons why what he writes is the most effortless reading in the world. It will make him less interesting to a future generation, but it has won him great popularity in his own.

We have called him a successor to Thackeray. We could not speak of any single writer as in even the same sense a successor to him. It is rather curious, and forcibly illustrates what has been just said of his detachment from the problems of our day, that all second-rate writers are more inclined to follow in the footsteps of our greatest genius than of one who seems to have struck out exactly the right path for second-rate fiction. One or two writers suggest themselves as successors in his own line of art. Mr. James Payn may perhaps be mentioned among an elder generation. Among the younger we may fairly reckon the brilliant young author,\* who adds to much of Trollope's power some qualities in which he was lacking—an amount of wit indeed which we could not parallel in any contemporary writer. Humour, which he possesses also, is far commoner. We may pay his second novel the rare tribute of saying that it will not disappoint the expectations raised by a book that took the fiction-reading world by storm. The central idea of the plot—a stolen manuscript—is confessedly not original, and many of the situations are sufficiently familiar in fiction, yet the sparkle of the story is enough to give it the flavour of originality, not perhaps originality in a very deep sense, but in the sense of a general effect of freshness and life that one hardly knows how else to describe. Two criticisms have to be made before the conscientious critic can feel the custom-house has its due. From a literary point of view it must be regarded as a defect in a novel that it should be about a novel. Art in any form is not a suitable object for itself. Perhaps this may be thought hypercritical, and we must confess that, as a canon of criticism, it would condemn some works that have taken their place in the literary world, but it is brought home to the readers of "A Giant's Robe" by the fact that the novel which gains the hero his social fame, and which has been really entrusted to him by a friend who is supposed (of course falsely) to have been drowned at sea, must have been rich in just those qualities to which "A Giant's Robe" can make no pretension. This is an unquestionable flaw; a writer should reproduce the interest he describes. But while the critic is forced to allow this, it is not a consideration that will disturb the pleasure of the reader. The circumstances which surround Mark Ashburn with a prestige, and win him a heart to which he is not entitled, are all possible, and described with much liveliness; and the position of the impostor is painted with a vividness which will come home to many who have never appropriated the manuscript of a dead friend, but who know what it is to some extent to live on respect and admiration which they feel themselves liable to forfeit at any moment by the revelation of their own littleness. It is the special interest of fiction to disentangle the vague feelings which intermingle in ordinary lives from their confusing surroundings, and translate them into the definiteness of circumstance; and many a dwarf who has worn "the giant's robe" for some loving eyes alone, will recognize a true parable in this picture of one who had to be stripped of it in the eyes of the world. But this brings us to our second objection. When the intellectual giant appears we all applaud the generosity with which he refuses, for the sake of the woman whom

\* "The Giant's Robe." By F. Anstey. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

he and the dwarf have both loved, to unmask him ; but when he goes on, like the bishop in the "Miserables," to tell lies in defence of the thief, we feel that the author has floundered into a bog of mawkish sentiment that is un-English and unmanly. The fall is the more provoking because the true moral of the "Giant's Robe" is a high one. That love, however gained, is something holy, that even the hypocrite and the impostor, if he has once been admitted into that sacred domain, cannot be cast forth from it, however he may be otherwise punished—this is one of the most elevating lessons the writer of fiction can teach, and it can be taught by him alone. But it cannot be taught truly unless it is coupled with the opposite lesson—reverence to love is incompatible with defiance to truth. However, we are perhaps leading our readers to a wrong point of view for appreciating this sparkling fiction. We hasten to assure them that while they could not read a single page without smiling at some humorous touch, or re-reading some clear cut epigrammatic sentence, or gliding over a stretch of lucid easy narrative, they might read 400 pages without discovering that it had such a thing as a moral, and apart from our critical microscope, they might even finish it in the belief that it was guiltless of anything of the kind.

We must exactly invert that tribute in turning to two other novels which we would contrast with the two just mentioned, both of them (and we might have added to their number) being a witness to the hold that the ultimate problems of life have even on the mind of a generation that has pronounced them insoluble. That convenient and dignified summary of the ordinary novel reader's objection to any exertion, which takes shape in the theory that the most important of all questions should be excluded from the most widely read of all kinds of literature, might be refuted (if it needed any refutation but being clearly stated) by the mere titles of some of the most interesting novels of their day. "The New Abelard"\* has the misfortune—so we must consider it on the whole, though the reminiscence is a compliment—to remind the reader of one of the most impressive and original productions of a great writer of our time, George Sand's "Spiridion." The Rev. Ambrose Bradley recalls, in outline, the pathetic and striking figure of the young monk, bereaved of his faith, yet powerless to quit the prison, as he comes to feel it, to which his faith alone has consigned him, and in which no external compulsion retains him. Perhaps the fiction which "The New Abelard" will most recall to an English reader is Mr. Froude's early work, and the resemblance, at least, answers the same purpose, for we mention these names to justify Mr. Buchanan's aim: his execution is a different matter. The novel is not so powerful a one as the "Nemesis of Faith," and of course it has nothing like the power of "Spiridion," yet it is a book which few readers will leave unfinished. Its great want is more distinctness. "Spiridion" is an eloquent exposition of that phase of mystic Deism which George Sand believed to be at once the belief from which Christianity started, and the goal of the highest modern thought. "The Nemesis of Faith," if reminiscences of its first appearance may be trusted, is a warning against that early association of Christianity with Morality which tends to overwhelm

\* "The New Abelard." By Robert Buchanan. 3 vols. London Chatto & Windus.

both in a common shipwreck. We are unable to put Mr. Buchanan's meaning into any similar statement, and could make no summary of its general impression which some single passage would not confuse. He shows us that Ambrose Bradley's power to resist temptation was weakened by the loss of his faith; but we are left in some doubt whether this is Mr. Froude's lesson over again—whether he means to exhibit the slackening of all moral power that comes with the loss of *any* religious conviction, true or false, or whether he means merely to show the connection of true convictions with moral strength. From one passage, and from the whole drift of the book, we should take the last to be the true meaning, but it is surely inconsistent with the following extract from Ambrose Bradley's account of his own heresies, as contained in a letter to the Bishop of Dark and Dells, which leads to his giving up his living, and still more with the tone of the Bishop's answer, which appears intended as an exhibition of ignorant bigotry. Surely the quotation must be meant to represent the meeting point of a new Renaissance with that which is permanent in the faith of the past. "The teachers of the new knowledge," writes Bradley to his scandalized Bishop, "have unroofed our Temple to the heavens, but have not destroyed its foundations. The God who thundered upon Sinai has vanished into air and cloud, but the God of man's heavenly aspiration is wonderfully quickened and alive. The historic personality of the Founder of Christianity becomes fainter and fainter as the ages advance; but, on the other hand, brighter and fairer grows the Divine Ideal which rose from the ashes of that godlike man. Men reject the old miracles, but they at last accept a miracle of human idealism. This being so, how does it behove a Christian minister, eating the Church's bread, but fully alive to her mortal danger, to steer his course? Shall he, as so many do, continue to act in the nineteenth century as he would have acted in the fifteenth, or indeed in any century up to the Revolution? Shall he base his teaching on the certainty of miracles, on the existence of supernaturalism, on the evil of the human heart, the vanity of this world, and the certainty of rewards and punishments in another? I do not think so! knowing in his heart that these things are merely the cast-off epidermis of a living and growing creed, he may, in perfect consciousness of God's approval, put aside the miraculous as unproven if not irrelevant; warn the people against mere supernaturalism, proclaim with the apostles of the Renaissance the glory and loveliness of *this* world—its wondrous scenes, its marvellous story as written on the rocks and in the stars, its divine science, its literature, its poetry, and its arts; and treading all the fire of Hell beneath his feet, and denouncing the threat of eternal wrath as a chimera, base his hope of immortality on the moral aspirations that, irrespective of dogma, are common to all mankind." Surely this is intended to be the eirenicon of a new creed, as unquestionably the protest of the Bishop is an expression of whatever is effete in the old one. If we are mistaken—if Mr. Buchanan means this for the language of heresy—his moral loses distinctness and does not gain truth. There would, by this time, be no such thing as cultivated unbelief, if Christianity shone forth with any *external* witness to its own renovating power. While we are obliged to confess that of two parents whose tears fall on the same coffin

you shall not be able to tell which believes in "the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come," and which regards that hope as an idle dream, we cannot hope to track that conviction as a redeeming any more than a consoling power. However, after the numerous novels occupied exclusively with the petty complications which delay the marriage of this young lady to that young gentleman, some readers will feel it a relief to come upon one which deals with interests that are common to humanity, and "The New Abelard" undertakes that task with some important requisites for success, and discharges it not unworthily.

We may say the same of the story\* we have set by its side as resembling it in its theme and point of view. It will not attract a single reader who is on the look out for an entertaining novel, and many who are prepared for the kind of interest which the story does possess will be repelled by a certain old-fashioned stiffness in the style and conception, reminding one of the days of Keepsakes and Annuals, and of the religious story popular fifty years ago. Nevertheless, there is in the book a high and pure moral and a distinct conception of character. The peculiarity of dialect makes the *dramatis personæ* seem at first monotonous, but they are in reality strongly individual, and surprise one with their inconsistencies just as real human beings do. There are very few of them. An undergraduate, startled in a wild life by the sudden death of a friend, goes through that change which is generally described as conversion, gives up a worldly girl with whom he is passionately in love (the Valley of Sorek was the home of Dalilah, hence the name of the book), and for some years testifies, by an austere and self-denying life, to the reality of the new impulse which occupies him. An atheistic acquaintance, seeking to deliver him from what he honestly believes to be a baleful superstition, brings him and his Dalilah together, and has the satisfaction, which his natural goodness of heart embitters, of seeing the fall of this poor would-be Samson. There is something powerful in the way in which the reader is made to feel both the reality and the untrustworthiness of his religious fervour, and the character of the atheist, Graham, is not less strongly and definitely conceived. The writer seems to see clearly a truth which it requires much courage in a Christian to recognize—that from some points of view atheism has a certain moral advantage. Graham is represented as in many respects the best man in the book—a description surely implying no small tribute to the fearlessness of a religious writer. The end of the novel is more commonplace. The atheist is conducted to the threshold of Christianity, and the Christian bequeaths him as a sacred charge to his saintly ward. But the whole story is far from commonplace. We are not sure how far its sombre character, its sustained seriousness, and the peculiar old-fashioned dialect in which it is written, may prevent its attaining any general popularity, but we are certain that it is a work that shows imagination and moral insight, and we shall look with much anticipation for another from the same hand.

Mrs. Oliphant's striking tale† embodies many of the qualities of

\* "The Valley of Sorek." By Gertrude M. George. 2 vols. London: George Redway.

† "The Wizard's Son." By Mrs. Oliphant. 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

both the contrasted pairs of novels which have just been noticed. She is a wonderful writer! Only last spring we had to notice a character study that had many of Miss Austen's merits, and some to which Miss Austen could make no pretension. Now we have an essay in dealing with the supernatural, which we can compare to nothing but what she has written herself. Mrs. Oliphant gave us, in "Lady Mary" a sketch that was unique in originality and power. It made one feel, as we have heard it said, as if the experience of what we call Death had to her been matter of recollection. She was doubtless aware of the effect she produced, and meant to work up the sketch into a picture; while in changing a ghost to a wizard, and giving him as his animating impulse the worldly ambition which he could only exercise vicariously, as the mystic despot of his race, she has provided quite enough variation on her original theme to secure eager readers for its repetition. But it is surely one of those cases where the very notion of turning a sketch into a picture is a mistake. The thought that we carry with us the low tempers that we have nourished here into regions where they lack their objects, contains the germ of a hell awful as Dante's (and practically the wizard, though apparently he has not died, is an inhabitant of another world), but a story weaving up this idea with sketches of light contemporary society is like a single frame including scraps of design from *Punch* and from Michael Angelo. A story dealing with the supernatural should either be short, or it should carry the reader to a time so remote and among *dramatis personæ* so little familiar that there should be no room for the jar we feel in turning from every day associations to what is weird and strange. In the closing scene of the romance, where the lovers penetrate to the wizard's tower and find the mysterious visitor has a well-furnished room to himself, his awfulness seems to vanish into absurdity; the discovery seems to provide all that has been felt weird and supernatural with some vulgar explanation, and though it is not so, and the wizard vanishes in mystery, one still feels that the spell is broken which should have held us to the end. When all this is said, however, "A Wizard's Son" remains not only an interesting story, but a striking parable. It recalls, in some respects, one of the most powerful poems of our day, or of any day, where the poet imagines a vision of the judgment past, and the judged one condemned to an eternity of unchangeableness. "The filthy shall be filthy still." It is impossible not to regret that Mrs. Oliphant has spoiled her parable with the introduction of so many pages that have no meaning, except to make it into a three-volumed novel; but even so, she cannot spoil it. The vision of the weak youth, dragged into profligacy by a low companion, beckoned into a smooth worldliness by the spirit of his ancestor, and saved by a pure love, will remain, in spite of such interludes as his London season (some part of which seems to us even a little vulgar), as one of her most powerful creations; and from a moral as well as a literary point of view, it is the most courageous attempt she has made. She needs nothing to produce a really great work but more sparing use of her power of producing light social pictures; but we fear these, after all, are a part of what gives her her popularity; a great mistake, as it seems to one of her readers, but a mistake against which it would be presumptuous to say more.



We have very inadequate space left for American novels, but must notice a charming little story\*—a couple of hours' reading—which, though it is in one sense a mere love story, yet has made us ask ourselves if the new movement for education of women has not at last taught novel writers that there is something in women's lives besides the love that ends in marriage. The character of the New York belle, who inspires a passionate attachment in both the village friend and the young clergyman who was prepared to be the lover of the former, is more like life than the conventional representations of life, and the contrast between the importance to them of the visit which, "only an incident" in her life, gives each of theirs its whole colouring, strikes us as repeating some of the subtle unsuspected pathos of actual experience with a kind of power that is rare in fiction. There is always, in any actual relation, something surprising, something that seems, from some point of view, unnatural, which it demands a faculty akin to genius to put into coherent words. "Only an Incident" presents this natural unnaturalness with a force that strikes us as very happy. The story leaves the reader with just that sense of a changed atmosphere, a dim sense of half-forgotten things revived, a touch as it were of music in the air, which belongs to the much abused word *pathos*, and which, amid all the excellences of the fiction of our day, is surely the one most entirely deficient. Our time is too unreserved, too imitative, too explanatory for one of the best influences of fiction, and we are inclined to overlook flaws in any production that possesses it. Two things will be likely to lead the reader to do "Only an Incident" an injustice—the slender little story is prefaced by a rather pompous Dedication, and begins with a scene in which there is a good deal of bad taste and some vulgarity. But there is nothing else in the book like this; on the contrary, there is a great deal of real humour in the delineation of the little society of the American country town, though, perhaps, the writer, not having yet discovered her actual power, makes rather too much of it; but if she is careful to avoid the besetting sin of our day—if she will always remember that lesson of Schiller's "by what he omits, show me the master in style"—we shall hope for the production from her of something that more serves the purposes of fiction, that more tends to bring it near its elder sister, Poetry, and estrange it from its vulgar pert acquaintances of the street and the club-room—than much that makes a good deal of noise in the world.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

### III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

**BIOGRAPHY.**—Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, in the preface to his two bulky volumes on "The Life and Times of William IV,"† explains one of his main aims and methods. Books of Memoirs and Recollections are constantly appearing which contain scraps of information about eminent personages. "It is certainly a gain," he says, "to have such

\* "Only an Incident." By Grace Denis Litchfield. G. Putnam's Sons.

† London: Tinsley Brothers.

little sketches rescued from oblivion, and it is with this view that the reader will find here most of what is amusing and interesting in the books of Lords Brougham, Campbell, Broughton, of Raikes, Greville," &c. It may not be right to blame a book for not being other than it aims at being, and there is certainly much readable matter in Mr. Fitzgerald's book; but it is too largely distended by miscellaneous quotations, and it is put together carelessly and with little idea of making any critical estimate of its materials.—Colonel Brackenbury's "Frederick the Great"\* is the first of a series of short military biographies undertaken by Messrs. Chapman & Hall. The specialty of these biographies will be that they will give particular attention to the military qualities, tactics, and achievements of the great commanders selected for treatment, and that they will therefore be written, as was necessary, by men who are themselves distinguished in the profession of arms. The series begins very happily in the present well written account of Frederick. The author thinks Frederick's strategy inferior, but that "on the field of battle he was for the most part superb."—Mrs. Pitman's *Life of Mrs. Fry*† appears very timely at the moment when society is marking its deep debt to her by the erection of a memorial church in her old garden at Plashet. An excellent idea of her noble life and work can be got from Mrs. Pitman's simple but impressive narrative.

TRAVELS.—Mr. Hughes's nephews being, through the losses of their father, thrown upon their own resources at the very outset of life, resolved one after another to betake themselves to prairie farming in Texas, and their letters home are now published with a straightforward preface by their uncle, under the title, "Gone to Texas."‡ They will be very useful to all who have any thought of emigrating; for they contain precisely the kind of information about the details of the pioneer's life which it is always so difficult to obtain; and, being written without any view to publication, their statements may be taken as absolutely trustworthy. But the book is one of much\* and indeed of touching interest for all readers. There is something exhilarating in the constant pluck and energy and resourcefulness with which these English boys wrestle with and overcome the tough conditions of their new lot. Altogether, it is one of the freshest and best accounts of ranche life we have got.—In "Round the World"§ we have a successful emigrant, who is able to put off his harness, realizing one of the young dreams that helped to spur his mettle while his harness was on. Mr. Carnegie having "made his pile"—and a very tall one—treated himself, in 1878, to use his own expression, to "a tour round the Ball," and he has worked up the notes he then took into the present goodly volume. He still observes, however, the diary form, which has advantages for his free and unconventional style of treatment, though it occasionally involves him in odd anachronisms. Among his reflections at Omaha, for example, on Sunday, October 20, 1878, is a sound rating to Lord Tennyson for "disguising himself as a British peer," and descending to sit "next the last great vulgar brewer" in the House of Lords.

\* London: Chapman & Hall.

† "Elizabeth Fry." By Mrs. E. R. Pitman. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

‡ "Gone to Texas: Letters from Our Boys." Edited by Thomas Hughes. London: Macmillan & Co.

§ "Round the World." By Andrew Carnegie. London: Sampson Low & Co.

But these are trifling faults in what is a genuinely good and entertaining book. Mr. Carnegie says his friends are divided as to whether it is better than his former book. We think it decidedly better. He has tried to understand the different peoples and phases of things he has seen, and whether he speaks of politics or religion or social life, he always shows a vigorous and independent common sense, and writes in a clear, straightforward and lively way. Moreover, there is a careless air about the whole, from which we might infer that he could yet give us a better book still.—Mrs. Pringle, of Yair, accompanied her husband on a visit of inspection which he undertook to the Church of Scotland Mission on the Zambesi, and now writes an account of her experiences.\* Her book, of course, does not add to our geographical or ethnological knowledge, but it is a readable and not uninteresting record of a passing traveller's impressions of Zanzibar, Mozambique, and the River Shire. A good deal of useful information, too, is naturally given about mission work there.—The annexation of Merv has, as Mr. Marvin says, wiped out Central Asia. It has made a prosaic Russian province of the old borderland of unknown dangers and intrigue, and the adventures of Vambéry, MacGahan and O'Donovan cannot now be repeated there or perhaps anywhere else. Mr. Marvin gives us in his new book† a very readable and popular account of these and other recent, if less romantic, travels in that region. Some of them, like Burnaby's Ride to Khiva, Macgregor's Survey of Khorassan, and Valentine Baker's visit to the Perso-Turcoman frontier are already more or less widely known; but others, especially the expeditions or missions of various Russian officers, will be entirely new to English readers. The work all through will be found instructive.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The task of editing "Scottish History and Literature,"‡ the posthumous work of his friend, has been carefully done by Dr. James Brown. With some peculiarities of style, his introductory biographical sketch is worthy of the author of "The Life of a Scottish Probationer." John Merry Ross was well known as editor of the "Globe Encyclopædia," and of a portion of Milton's poems. But it is on the present handsome volume of four hundred pages that his name and fame are most likely to depend. It is an admirably easy, and yet a trustworthy, analysis of the Scottish nationality, in its ethnological, religious, political, and literary aspects, from the ninth century to the Reformation period in which John Knox was the central figure. Though claiming to be a Celt himself, and magnifying the proportion of Celtic blood in the northern kingdom, he is thoroughly aware of the beneficial and mastering power of the Anglic and Norman elements on the Scottish nation. The *perfidum ingenium Scotorum* he ascribes to the original Irish source, but he well knows the use of the bridle which the infusion of other races put upon it. Being of this Celtic temper, his discussion of the War of Independence and its heroes ought to rationalise the wilder patriotic views. His

\* "Towards the Mountains of the Moon: a Journey in East Africa." By M. A. Pringle. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons.

† "Reconnoitring Central Asia." By Charles Marvin. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

‡ "Scottish History and Literature to the Period of the Reformation." By John M. Ross, LL.D. Edited, with Biographical Sketch, by James Brown, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

lukewarm defence of Wallace and Bruce against Freeman and others, shows that he has enough of the scientific historic spirit to allow that Blind Harry and his fellow romancers cannot be accepted as worthy witnesses. The most original part of his book is a detailed criticism of such poets as King James, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lyndsay. Through the slight veil of Scottish dialect English readers will easily perceive that for quantity and quality of poetry the centuries before the Reformation were remarkably rich in Scotland. The fault of Dr. Ross's mixture of history and literary criticism is that it takes an easy-chair tone, and the suggestion of similarity with the method of some of the bye pieces and lectures of Freeman continually recurs. What historical weight there is, lies in the generous appreciation of all the elements which have gone to make up the most composite people in the world. That a patriotic Celt or Scot of the Scots sees any room at all for reasoning the case of England's chronic claim of feudal superiority, shows that a change has come over the spirit of the northern irreconcilable dream. For this lead towards greater national sympathy, though against his expressed predilections, Dr. Ross's book deserves a place on the historical and literary shelves of the student's library, while its readableness promises for it a general popularity. The late Mr. W. R. Greg was a very thoughtful and able man, and although four of the five review articles which constitute the new series of his "Miscellaneous Essays"\* are more than thirty years old, and deal with political situations long since gone, they can still be read with interest and advantage. The two papers on France—one written during the second Republic and the other after the establishment of the Empire—are particularly remarkable for grasp and insight, and their lessons are in great part applicable to the country to-day. The article on "England as It Is" disproves, by an appeal to the evidence existing at the time, the pessimistic views, still largely current, as to the influence of material progress on the condition of the people; and the paper on the employment of Asiatic forces in European wars is a vigorous defence of the experiment made by Lord Beaconsfield in 1878. Mr. David Anderson's "'Scenes' in the Commons"† is an amusing and freshly-written account by an eye-witness of some of the explosive experiences which have marked the present Parliament. The Bradlaugh scandals, the obstructive tactics of the Irish and the Fourth Party, the suspensions and the long sittings are all explained and described, their outs and ins unfolded, and the principal characters who figured in them are neatly hit off. We do not know where to look for a better description of the House and its ways than in the first chapter: "What the House of Commons is like;" and the short personal sketches of the principal members in the chapter on "Men of Light and Leading" are very just and happy. Mr. Justin Huntly McCarthy, the newly elected M.P. for Athlone, devotes himself to a wider field, and writes the history of England during the present Parliament.‡ He really gives us, however, no more than the Parliamentary history of the four years, together with some obituary notices of the

\* "Miscellaneous Essays." Second Series. By W. R. Greg. London: Trübner & Co.

† London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

‡ "England under Gladstone, 1890-1894." By Justin Huntly McCarthy. London: Chatto & Windus.

distinguished persons at home or abroad who died in the period. No other phase of English history is so much as looked at, and it would have been better to have left these notices out and sent the book forth as what it is—an excellently readable and fair account of political agitation and Parliamentary work under Mr. Gladstone. Mr. McCarthy has inherited much of his father's interesting narrative style, and his book is a valuable chronicle of the period.—Dr. Valpy French's "Nineteen Centuries of Drink in England"\* is a work of much research into the beverages, drinking customs, drinking vessels, &c., in use in this country at different times since the Roman invasion, and into the various efforts that have from time to time been made by Church or State to control or prohibit the use, sale, manufacture, or importation of strong drink. It is a storehouse of interesting facts never brought together before. The author completely disproves the idea of the elder Disraeli that the English were comparatively sober before the time of Elizabeth, and first learnt to drink in the Netherland wars, and shows that drunkenness was a special national vice for a thousand years before that date.—Goethe was one of the best as well as most voluminous of letter writers, and we therefore welcome the selection from his early letters,† which Mr. Edward Bell has just edited for Bohn's Library, accompanying it with a short biography of the author and suitable explanatory notes.—Mr. A. W. Kerr writes a good business-like account of the development of Scotch Banking‡ from the private banks of the Couttses down to the national corporations of the present day.

\* London : Longmans, Green & Co.

† "Early and Miscellaneous Letters of J. W. Goethe." Edited by Edward Bell. London: G. Bell & Sons.

‡ "The History of Scottish Banking." By Andrew W. Kerr. Glasgow: D. Bryce & Son.

NOTE.—With regard to a passage in the last number of this REVIEW, remarking on the scantiness of political matter in the Princess Alice's Letters, we are requested to state, that it has been intimated to Miss Gladstone that it has always been Her Majesty's habit to avoid politics as much as possible in private correspondence with members of the Royal Family.

## GOETHE.

### I.

GOETHE seems to be rising once more above the horizon. He is the youngest of the world's great authors; the latest who has laid a claim, that seems in a fair way of being allowed, to a place above the rank of merely national authors. The books that belong to the whole world alike are few, and even of these some have owed their universal acceptance to an accident. Fewer still are the authors who have so written that their personal character, their way of thinking and feeling, becomes a matter of perpetual interest, not only in their own country and age, but in every country where men study and in every age. Goethe appears to belong to this very small group. If he is not yet formally canonized, he has long been a *Bienheureux*. If little more than half a century has passed since his death, the first part of "Faust" has been before the world three-quarters of a century; and of his first brilliant appearance in authorship the centenary is several years behind us. When we consider not only the period through which his fascination has lasted, but also the reactions it has surmounted and the vitality it exhibits, we may see our way to conclude that his fame is now as secure as any literary fame can be, and that it will only yield to some deep-working revolution of thought—which, perhaps, it would be rash to pronounce impossible—some twilight of the gods, in which not only Goethe but also Shakspeare and Dante should fall from heaven.

If great authors are to be compared to stars, we may say of them that in the earlier stages of their immortality they do not take their place as fixed stars, but disappear and reappear with periodicity like comets or like planets. Goethe has indeed passed out of this stage in his own country, where the reaction which Börne and Heine represented was never very serious, and where the latest cry is that

the tide of admiration cannot be resisted; and that it is as vain now to exclaim impatiently "Goethe und kein Ende!" as it was for Goethe himself to exclaim "Shakspeare und kein Ende!" at the beginning of the century. But his European fame is less settled than his national fame, and so the reappearance of Goethe before our public at the present time is a sign worth noting. It marks a new stage in his posthumous career. His English prophet, Carlyle, is gone; the generation that listened to Carlyle and studied Goethe under his advice is passing away. "Another race hath been, and other palms are won." And now we ask again, "Was it all true that Carlyle told us? Need we still study this foreign Goethe?" It might be some relief to be told that the fashion is past and need not be revived. For it is not much in our habits to study foreign literature. There is actually only one foreign poet who has influenced us at all profoundly or lastingly, that is Dante. Are we bound to concede this very exceptional honour to Goethe also?

Some obvious considerations might tempt us to hold ourselves excused. Carlyle used to hold up Goethe as a light in religion and philosophy; a guardian who marched before us as a pillar of fire to show the way out of the scepticism of the eighteenth century into faith and serenity. But is not this a view difficult to admit or to understand now that the eighteenth century, with its Voltaires and Fredericks and French revolutions, has receded so far into the distance; now that so many new forms of scepticism have appeared, and so many new ways of dealing with scepticism have been suggested? And if the nimbus of prophecy has faded from about his head, if we look at him again without prepossessions, as Scott or Coleridge looked at him in his own lifetime, and see in him only a distinguished literary man, the author of certain plays, novels, songs and epigrams, of certain fragments of autobiography, criticism and description, does any ground remain for paying him a homage different, not merely in degree but in kind, from that which we render to other great literary men who have adorned the nineteenth century—to such men, for instance, as Scott or Coleridge themselves, or as Byron, or as Victor Hugo? Assuredly there is no danger that the author of "Faust" will not take rank with the highest of these men. But do his works justify us in raising him far beyond that rank, into the small first class of the select spirits of all time? Why rank him, for instance, with Shakspeare? It may be fair, perhaps, to say that "Faust" would deserve rank, and even high rank, among the Shakspearian dramas; but then "Faust" stands alone among Goethe's works. What other compositions of the first class can he produce? Is it "Hermann und Dorothea?" That, no doubt, is very pretty and perfect. "Iphigenie" is very noble, "Tasso" very refined, "Götz" very spirited, but "Egmont" is somewhat disappointing, and almost

all the other plays are unimportant, when they are not, like "Stella," absurd. The pathos of "Werther" is obsolete; and is not "Wilhelm Meister" dull in a good many parts, nay, perhaps everywhere except where it is redeemed by the exquisite invention of Mignon, or by the vivacity of the disreputable Philine? Do not even Germans sometimes acknowledge that they cannot read the "Elective Affinities"? And who can make anything of the second part of "Faust," or the second part of "Meister"? When we praise Shakspeare, we are not obliged to make so many abatements. Among his plays very few can be called failures, and a dozen at least are undoubted masterpieces. But can Goethe hold his own even against Scott in abundance of imagination? To produce his few masterpieces how much effort was bestowed? What a task of self-culture did he impose upon himself? How many large designs did he conceive and abandon? What has become of his "Cæsar," of his "Mohammed," of his "Prometheus," of his "Ahasuerus," of his great religious epic, "Die Geheimnisse," of his national epic on "Bernhard of Saxe Weimar," of his epic on "Wilhelm Tell," of his great trilogy of plays illustrative of the French Revolution? Of the trilogy we have a single play, "Die Natürliche Tochter," of some of the other works more or less considerable fragments, of some not a trace remains. Meanwhile Scott, taking life easily and making no parade of effort, pours out his poems, ballads, romances and novels without stint, finishes whatever he begins, scarcely ever fails to satisfy both himself and the whole world; and though he had a life shorter by twenty years, has left behind him a far greater mass of literature which is still amusing.

Against such objections as these what is Goethe's case? First, then, it may be admitted that Goethe, though he produced a great deal, was not one of those artists whose career is one easy and continuous triumph. The truth is that his circumstances did not admit of this. Artists are like generals, of whom some find an army ready-made, and therefore win a succession of victories, while others are reduced to prove their genius by the skilful use of insufficient means. An artist is no more to be estimated by counting his successful works, than a general simply by counting his victories. But was not Goethe one of the most fortunate of artists? Had he not long life, easy circumstances, and most generous patronage? Nay, in one respect he was among the much-tried artists who correspond to such generals as Washington or William III., generals to whom victory is difficult, because they have to make the armies they fight with.

It is often affirmed that a great poet is the outgrowth and flower of a great age, and this is true of a certain class of great poets. They live in the midst of great men, and within the rumour of great deeds; they use a language which has been gradually moulded to poetic



purposes by poets who have been their precursors and whose fame they absorb. Appearing at the right moment, they reap the harvest which has been sown by others. Subjects are waiting for them, style and manner have been prepared, and a public full of sympathy and congeniality welcomes them. Such poets are not like William III. or Washington, but rather like Frederick, who inherited an unrivalled army created by his father, or like Napoleon, who wielded all the prodigious military force created and trained by the Revolution. Both Shakspeare and Scott may be said to belong to this class. The first is the normal product of the Elizabethan age, which has filled his imagination with its great deeds and the great changes it has wrought. Scott too had, in the first place, the advantage of models, in whose steps it was safe to follow, since Shakspeare himself and the great novelists had created the style and smoothed the path for him, and since in two centuries of a flourishing English literature there had grown up a common understanding between the authors and the public. But, moreover, the teeming imagination which furnished out Scott's poems and romances was also in a certain sense the result of fortunate circumstances. It was not the mere accident of a gifted nature, but the result of local and family associations. In the brain of the Borderer the wild life of his ancestors survived as a perennial spring of ballad poetry and romance. That brain was like a haunted house upon which the strange deeds of a past generation have left their mark. He said himself that he had "a head through which a regiment of horse had been exercising ever since he was five years old." All the turmoil of the blood which is put to rest by the security of a settled civilization, and which had lingered longer on the Border than in any other region so near the capital seats of civilization—all the intense passions, prejudices, and superstitions which make the stock of the romancer and ballad-writer—belonged to Scott, not simply because he was a genius, but mainly because he was a Borderer, because he was a Scott.

Such a case as that of Scott, which is corroborated by the later instances of Hawthorne and Rossetti, teaches us that we ought to distinguish two kinds of poetic imagination. We often speak of the poet as if he drew his inspiration necessarily from Nature, as if he had only the sources that are open to all, but a peculiar talent of using them, a power of seeing in Nature more than others see. These examples show us another kind of poetic imagination, which may be equally powerful and which strikes us also as genuine, but which does not work upon Nature. It presents images which the poet himself does not think of as real or even as symbolic of reality, which he does not regard seriously, and yet it presents these images again and again, presents them most vividly, and seems unable to present any others. Often we can trace that in these cases poetry is a survival of conviction, belief in the second generation, hereditary

sentiment. Some of those who watched Rossetti at his work thought they discovered that he did not regard his own imaginations seriously; and, indeed, what other opinion can one form of the "Song of the Beryl," or the "Ballad of Little Brother?" Similarly, Mr. James remarks of Hawthorne that it would be a great mistake to infer from the constant recurrence in his romances of the ideas of sin, retribution, and the stricken conscience, that Hawthorne himself was under the influence of such sombre ideas, the truth being that he was an easy-going, contented, and comfortable man. But Hawthorne's puritanic ancestors took these ideas seriously, and Rossetti's Italian ancestors in like manner furnished the beliefs which in their secondary form suggested Rossetti's pictures and poems. Of all artists it is Scott who is richest in this kind of inherited sentiment. The shrewd, good-natured, somewhat worldly Scotch lawyer lives in a world of grandiose thoughts, opinions, sentiments, convictions, out of which he composes at his ease a whole literature; and yet if you ask him what he thinks of these thoughts, opinions, sentiments, and convictions, he can only smile and evade the question. "Superstition," he says candidly, "is very picturesque, and I make it at times stand me in good stead, but I never allow it to interfere with interest or convenience." They were serious enough to his ancestors, these ideas of clannish devotion, of chivalry, of witchcraft, and demonology; but to him they have come simply by inheritance. All he knows is that when he unlocks the ample chambers of his imagination he finds them there, that they work up into capital stories, if hardly fit for practical use, that in short they are the old furniture of the house in which Nature has placed him.

The poets who have a great fund of such inherited sentiment are the fortunate poets, who create easily and abundantly. A poet is more fortunate still when the fund of sentiment he inherits is not obsolete to his reason, and when it is richly supplemented by strong and fresh sensations furnished by his own age. If to all this he add from his own genius an original power of insight into Nature and the universe—then we have the Shakspeare, who, though, as Goethe says of him, the life of whole centuries throbbed in his soul, yet is at the same time himself, since he is inspired by his own age as much as by the past and looks forward with eagerness to the future, and since he gives out from his original vitality as much as he receives whether from his ancestors or from his contemporaries.

Now Goethe does not belong to this fortunate class. He did not come into a great poetic inheritance. When we inquire whence came his imaginative wealth, we are obliged to conclude that, in the main, he must have collected it himself. So far from being the growth and representative of a great age, or the result in literature of the silent nobleness of many generations of his countrymen, this great artist grew out of a people which had been sunk for a hundred

years in an imaginative impotence as well as in a national and political nullity. The citizen of a declining imperial town, in a country where, as he himself complains, the citizen-class universally wanted personal dignity, in an age when Germany had fallen behind France and England, was destitute of literature, and had suffered its very language to fall into decay, and among the upper classes into disuse; he found no poetical atmosphere about him, but had to struggle with a reign of prosaic mediocrity that reduced him to despair. The stagnation was no mere temporary evil. An Englishman who finds, as Gray did, that he has fallen on a prosaic age, can shut himself up with Shakspeare and Milton, and forget the poverty that surrounds him in "the pomp and prodigality of Heaven!" But in Germany the poverty was of old standing; Goethe saw no great poetic luminaries a century or two behind him. For Milton he had only Hoffmannswaldau, for Shakspeare only Gryphius and Opitz. He rejects such models, and throughout his career we find him leaning on no German predecessors but Hans Sachs, whose merit he rediscovered, and the old Middle German poet of Reineke Voss. And as Germany furnished him with no models, so she afforded few subjects. The Middle Ages were then little explored and little relished. With one vigorous effort Goethe rescues from oblivion the heroic name of Götz v. Berlichingen. But he can do no more. He makes an attempt to revive the memory of the hero of his patron's house, Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, but, as we might expect, his imagination recoils in horror from "the miserable Iliad," so he calls it, of the Thirty Years' War. And what could the later period of Germany offer to him? That which makes history poetical—namely, nationality—was wanting there. Only in his own boyhood, when Fritz beat the French at Rosbach, did German history strike out a momentary spark of the fire which warms the poet.

The strange course which German affairs had taken for many centuries, and which had led to the ruinous disaster of the Thirty Years' War, produced pitiable effects upon the manners and ways of thinking of the people. There was a sort of dwarfishness—he himself calls it childishness—in the generation before Goethe, and in his own generation there was a painful consciousness that almost all that constitutes manhood, that self-respect, independence, patriotism, had been lost and needed to be rediscovered. They felt the loss most distinctly when they tried to write, for then they perceived that the true and right style in literature would not come to them. They could but helplessly imitate French models, and their imitations wanted the drawing-room elegance which made the chief charm of those models. When they tried to throw off the French yoke, and to speak with German frankness and simplicity, they found that instead of vigour they achieved only violence, and that their pathos turned into a miserable whine. It is this unfortunate style that our

fathers ridiculed in the "Anti-Jacobin" (where Goethe himself is ridiculed), and that still displeases us when we read "Werther." To throw it off was all the more difficult, because of the want of native models of a better style. When we grew tired of Pope's couplets, we had only to revive an earlier taste; but Goethe and his contemporaries were forced to go to other countries for models. They began by calling in Shakspeare; then they devoted themselves to the imitation of the ancients; then came the turn of Calderon, Hafiz, and the Sakontala. German literature became rich beyond all other literatures in translations and adaptations; but these, however precious, seemed always foreign and far-fetched acquisitions. We see the insurmountable difficulty that Goethe had to contend with, the want of the proper soil for poetry to grow in, and of the proper atmosphere to nourish it, when we remark that after all that he and others could do, German literature seems still, in comparison with other great literatures, somewhat pale, somewhat academic, and wanting in character.

In these circumstances, it was impossible for Goethe to rival Shakspeare in achieving, with triumphant ease, masterpiece after masterpiece. He had to begin by making his way out of the slough to firm land. His first works could not but be faulty, as, in fact, they are overstrained, mawkish, at times ridiculous. When this stage was passed, he would run the risk of seeming too little spontaneous, too much under the influence of foreign models. And throughout he would be under the necessity of putting forth great effort, of schooling himself with the most assiduous vigilance; and it was to be expected that he would sometimes fail, and that he would make many plans which he would afterwards find himself unable to execute. On the other hand, in this struggle with difficulties he might achieve certain great results which are not achieved by the happier genius. Peter the Great was not a very successful-general; he was terribly beaten by Charles XII. at Narva, terribly beaten by the Turks on the Pruth; nevertheless, he created modern Russia. Something similar may be said of Goethe. "Werther" is morbid, the "Gross-Cophta" is tiresome; but modern German literature is itself in a great degree the production of Goethe. There is much felicity in the compliment which Byron paid him when he dedicated "Sardanapalus" to "the illustrious Goethe, who has created the literature of his country and illustrated that of Europe." This may seem an exaggerated expression; there are indeed few even of the greatest writers of whom it can be justly said that they created the literature of their country. Yet a very recent critic speaks almost as strongly when he writes of the publication of the first collected edition of Goethe's works, which began in 1788 (when the poet was not forty years of age), and was followed almost immediately by five volumes of new writings:—

"It is a mere historic fact that since its appearance by far the greatest part

of what till then had been considered, and at that time was still considered, genuine poetry, has continually fallen more and more into oblivion, and what poetry appeared afterwards, written by others, stood so evidently under the influence of this new sunrise of beauty, that even the most powerful and original of the new poets, even Schiller, could not convey the full impression of his greatness and individuality till he had made a loving study of Goethe's poetry and genius, and so recognized his own difference from Goethe, and, at the same time, his deep agreement with him." \*

But this, after all, concerns Germans rather than ourselves. For us the question is, What do his works contain? and not, What effect did they produce in Germany when they first appeared?

Let us try then to describe the kind and degree of the merit, which by every nation alike, and not by the Germans only, has been recognized in Goethe, and has been acknowledged to be such that it can never be forgotten. It would be possible to meet the lazy and superficial objection which I have been combating by an argument of the same superficial kind. By simply reckoning up Goethe's literary achievements, and comparing them, as an examiner might do, with those of other literary men, it may be shown that he is entitled, as it were, by marks to a place very near the top of the literary list. Besides the five or six consummate works, which by universal consent are above criticism, it may be affirmed that his songs are the best in the world. Heine at least, no bad judge of songs and no over-indulgent critic of Goethe, thought so. Further, he may be called the greatest of all literary critics. And lastly, though he did not write formal essays, yet in the qualities of the essayist, in subtle and abundant observation of human life, in the number and value of his wise remarks and pregnant sentences, he is by far the greatest writer since Montaigne and Bacon. Even if we look no deeper, it is matter for astonishment that the most tender of lyrists, and one of the most inventive and sublime of dramatists, should be found discussing in "*Wilhelm Meister*" the duties of landowners, and the details of the management of a theatre, with a hard common-sense worthy of Johnson. In truth, however much men may differ about the merits of particular writings of Goethe, yet his literary greatness in general is so striking and so undeniable, that his fame is not in any way bound up with that of German literature. Those who do not relish the German genius in general, who find it wanting in clearness or manliness, must and do make an exception in Goethe's favour.

But to get a clear view of Goethe's genius we must not compare him with others, nor show that he is equal to this author in this, and superior to that author in that, nor must we try him by the common standard, and consider how often by that standard he succeeds and how often he fails. Rather we must understand how he differs from other writers, what an exceptional personality he has,

\* A. Schöll, "*Goethe*," p. 124.

and accordingly what an unusual standard he sets up for himself, and elects to be tried by. If the variety of his works is remarkable, their unity is more remarkable still ; it is unique. And if his power strikes us, if at times he is thrilling or overwhelming, his reserve, his reticence, his abstinence are still rarer than his power, and the level flats which at first disappoint us in his works are found to have an interest of their own.

I have spoken of the hereditary sentiment which makes so large a part of poetry, nay, which almost exclusively composes the poetry of many poets. A vast proportion of the poetry that is in the world is not serious. It expresses not what the writer really thinks and feels, but what haunts his brain, the fancies that come to him unbidden, and these are usually an echo of former beliefs. The serious thoughts of one age *walk*, as it were, as the poetry of the ages that follow. Quite different and much less in quantity is the poetry that arises from a fresh original contemplation of Nature, the poetry which, though perhaps symbolical in form, the author is prepared to stand by as substantially true. There is not much in any age of such poetry, and it is seldom well received. For the public is much more under the dominion of hereditary sentiment than even the poets ; the public desires to find in poetry the old commonplaces, and resents being cheated of them. But it is incomparably more valuable, and in fact is the vital element which alone keeps poetry alive. Wordsworth supplied it to England in Goethe's age. Now hereditary poetic sentiment, I have remarked, was wanting in Goethe's age and country. He was driven to be original, and being thus driven he became the avowed enemy of the conventional style, "the mortal enemy," as he loves to say, "of all empty verbiage." He takes poetry very seriously indeed. It is not enough for him that a poem is eloquent or high-sounding, or that it is popular ; not enough even that it acts on the feelings, that it draws tears or excites enthusiasm. "Touch the heart !" he exclaims, "any bungler can do that !" According to him poetry must be *true*, and he presses this principle with such rigour, that he seems to withdraw the art from popular judgment altogether. In short, all the work of reformation that was done in England by Wordsworth was done at the same time for Germany by Goethe. It was done not indeed more faithfully and in the face of less opposition ; but it was done with far wider intelligence, and with far profounder results. But that it should have been done at all, adds another great title to those high and various pretensions which Goethe puts forward. The Shakspeare was at the same time the Wordsworth. The great creator who imagined Faust and Gretchen, who certainly could not say with Wordsworth "to freeze the blood I have no ready arts," is nevertheless as vigorous a reformer, and holds mere popularity in as sovereign contempt, as Wordsworth himself.

Wordsworth went without popularity, and it may strike us as natural

that such a serious view of poetry should not commend itself to the multitude. To the multitude, indeed, it seems pedantic and almost self-contradictory; for is not poetry a pleasure, a natural recreation of the spirit, and what can be more perverse than to sophisticate it with reasoning? Was Goethe then unpopular also? The history of Goethe's reputation, and of his popularity in Germany, is long and interesting. I shall return to it. Meanwhile, it is to be said that certainly he suffered no such neglect as Wordsworth. Some of his works were vastly popular. He began with the greatest popular triumph that has been witnessed in German literary history. The reception of "*Götz*" and of "*Werther*," was similar to that of the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*" and the first canto of "*Childe Harold*" in England; and as Goethe was the author of both works, his fame after their appearance was like that of Scott and that of Byron taken together. About 1775 he was by far the most popular poet, not only living, but that had lived, in Germany. Had Goethe been only a Scott, or only a Byron, or only a Scott and Byron in one, he would have taken his fortune at the flood, and poured out during the next twenty years a series of chivalrous romances, and another series of domestic tales of love and suicide. Certainly at that time it could hardly have been expected that he would appear as a vigorous reformer of taste. Again, in the middle of his career, his "*Hermann und Dorothea*" was enthusiastically received, and of course the First Part of "*Faust*," which, in its complete form, did not come before the world till Goethe was fifty-nine years of age, had an unbounded popularity. But in the long intervals between these great triumphs he often passed into the background, was often almost forgotten, or was believed to have been spoiled for literature by the distractions of Court-life. Even when his fame was solidly established it became the custom to say, and Coleridge repeated it in England in the only passage in which Coleridge ever spoke of Goethe, that his writings did not, and never would, go to the heart of the German people as did those of Schiller, and that there was a certain coldness about them. Other critics outside Germany have charged him not only with coldness, but even with dulness; M. Schérer, for example.

On this question of dulness we must distinguish. Goethe had a long old age. Perhaps we ought to consider that the "*Westöstlicher Divan*," which appeared in 1819, marks the close of his really vigorous authorship. But he lived and laboured for twelve years after this date. In the productions of those twelve years, no doubt much is languid, and we can only say in apology that the writer is old, and, especially when we speak of the second part of "*Faust*," that admiration and flattery have caused him to overrate the importance of his writings. But if we find dulness in the writings of his vigorous period, it must be due to another cause. Dulness, when we

attribute it to a writer, is after all a relative term ; it expresses only a want of correspondence between the mind of the writer and that of the reader. The writer finds something interesting, and therefore enlarges upon it, but the reader does not find it interesting. To *that* reader therefore *that* writer is dull ; but it is equally true that the reader seems dull to the writer. On which side the dulness actually resides depends upon the question, whether the matter which actually does not interest the reader ought to interest him. When Wordsworth's readers pish and psha at his stories of humble life, and protest that they take no interest in them, Wordsworth answers : But you ought to take an interest ! It is not quite nor always, but it is partly and at times, the same with Goethe. What you call dulness he calls seriousness. Wilhelm's interminable description of the puppet-show in the first book of "*Wilhelm Meister*" puts Marianne to sleep ; that is, the writer knows well that he is writing what plain people will find dull, but to himself, since he is seriously inquiring into the philosophy of the drama, these things are interesting and seem to deserve close attention.

Of all imaginative writers Goethe is, perhaps, the most serious ; not the most solemn, nor the most passionate, nor the most earnest, but the most serious. He is absolutely bent upon grasping and expressing the truth ; he has no pleasure in any imaginations, however splendid or impressive, which he cannot feel to be true ; on the other hand, when he feels that he is dealing with truth he seems to care little, and sometimes to forget altogether, that it is not interesting. This is highly characteristic of the man who took almost as much interest in science as in poetry, and could perform with infinite assiduity the tasks of a practical administrator. When we consider indeed the methodical and practical seriousness of his character, what surprises us is not so much that his writings should here and there be heavy, as that he should have continued through a long life to be a poet, and a highly imaginative and brilliant poet. What was rather to be predicted of such a nature was, that after a poetic youth he would find the serious business of his life either in science or, in administration.

Literature is perhaps at best a compromise between truth and fancy, between seriousness and trifling. It cannot do without something of popularity, and yet the writer who thinks much of popularity is unfaithful to his mission ; on the other hand, he who leans too heavily upon literature breaks through it into science or into practical business. Goethe was often in danger of seeing his art thus give way under him ; when he says that but for Schiller's sympathy he does not know what would have become of him, he seems to mean that he was on the point, at the moment when Schiller came to the rescue, of abandoning poetry for science. He is always so near to reality, and examines it with such penetrating eyes, that it is a problem how



he can remain a poet; for is poetry possible without something of illusion? Yet he remains a poet to the last. Business could not make him dull, nor science sceptical; even when old age was added to both, he might lose something of his force, but his imagination remained warm and glowing. The second part of "Faust" may show signs of decay, but assuredly it is not prosaic. On the point of disappearance, this great orb of poetry is surrounded by a fantastic pomp of form and colour. Nor, on the other hand, does he ever become a mere cold realist. If he accumulates details it is not in the spirit of a Defoe, or for the mere pleasure of producing illusion—for the generalizing tendency, so far from being weak, is almost excessive in him; but because, like the inductive philosopher, he is eager for facts and desires to have the broadest basis for his conclusions.

This taste for facts is not only to be perceived in the minuteness of particular descriptions, but in the whole character of his plays, novels and poems, and it explains how they may often seem dull, and sometimes may really be so. Seriousness and dulness may easily in literature be mistaken for each other. What is uninteresting as fiction may be highly interesting when it is regarded as fact; and in Goethe's works much more is fact and much less is mere fiction than the reader is apt to assume. His most famous work, "Faust," is not that which is most characteristic of his genius. He there revels in quaint and audacious invention, quite contrary to the habit, contrary even to the cherished principles, of his mature life. The truth is that "Faust," though it was finished and published late, is in its conception a youthful work. He was long disposed to regard the commencement he had early made as among the crudities which in his second period he had outgrown. For many years it lay untouched, and when, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, he turned once more to "these northern phantoms," as he calls them, it is with misgiving and repugnance. But a tide of mediævalism set in, by which, in spite of himself, he was carried away, and the First Part of "Faust," published in 1808, was Goethe's concession to the romanticist fashion—a sort of opportunist abandonment of his mature convictions and return to an earlier style which he had deliberately renounced. Many misconceptions of Goethe have resulted from the habit of estimating him by this exceptional work. In his other works it is a general rule that they are founded in a remarkable degree upon fact. "Götz" is a dramatized memoir, so is "Clavigo." "Werther" was constructed by combining what had passed between Goethe and Lotte Buff with the circumstances of Jerusalem's suicide. "Tasso" is a picture of Court-life at Weimar; and in the relations of Tasso to the Princess, we see a reflection of those of Goethe to Frau v. Stein. In "Wilhelm Meister," it is known that the "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul" are substantially the

memoirs of Fräulein v. Klettenberg, to which Goethe has made some additions. Much of this novel also is autobiographical. In the first book there are many pages which might almost as well have appeared in "Dichtung und Wahrheit." The very name of the hero is explained when we find Goethe in his early period, and when his enthusiasm for Shakespeare was at its height, harping upon William as the name of his guardian genius. When we find his songs, in like manner, suggested in almost every case by some real incident and some real feeling, we begin to perceive that Goethe regards poetry and literature generally in a way peculiar to himself. He brings it into a much closer connexion than other writers with actual life and experience. We perceive the full force of his own statement, that all his works taken together made up a great confession. With this clue in their hands, the commentators have traced the origin of a vast number of incidents and characters which otherwise would have been held, as a matter of course, to have been invented by Goethe. Thus in the little play, "Die Geschwister," we meet again with the Frau v. Stein. The story of "Stella" has been traced to the circle of Jacobi. In "Wilhelm Meister," numberless identifications have been made. The prince in whose honour the players perform the masque of "Peace," is Prince Henry of Prussia, the pedantic count is Count Werther, the countess is the sister of Minister Stein, and so on without end. Such identifications are unimportant in themselves, but they throw light upon the working of Goethe's imagination. They show us in what a singular degree real life furnished him not only with material, but with inspiration. He has himself told us that his only way of getting rid of the experiences which pressed upon him, was to put them in a book. Many poets set a wide gulf between the real world and the world of their imaginations; most, perhaps, receive from life one or two strong and fresh impressions, which they afterwards mix with a large amount of traditional commonplace; few but regard reality as an influence more or less adverse, more or less disenchanting. To Goethe, reality is the sole source of poetry; in his works, so much poetry, so much experience.

Only a very great genius can venture to be thus matter-of-fact, and the greatest genius will not always handle such a method successfully. He who habitually turns his own life into poetry, who lays before the public whatever has chanced to make a deep impression upon himself, will at times—especially when, like Goethe, he is not writing for a livelihood—write what cannot possibly be interesting to others; and Goethe has written many pages tiresomely precise, which no one, if they had been written by any ordinary writer, would care to read, and many more which, if not wholly unimportant, seem at least not important enough. More usually he is not in reality dull; but he is, in his prose writings at least, what those who read lightly

and for mere amusement call dull. Such readers can make little, for instance, of "Wilhelm Meister," a novel with few incidents and only one or two strongly-marked characters—"a menagerie of tame cattle," Niebuhr called it—but full of discussion, strangely laboured and minute, on matters more or less practical. It is as uninteresting to most plain people as Wordsworth's "Prelude," and much more prosaic. Goethe has not in this instance made a mistake; he has only given the rein to his realistic and serious genius. But the majority of mankind are not serious, and if they enjoy realism, it is not realism of this kind. He aims at no illusion, and his minute descriptions are seldom humorous. He appears as a philosophic realist, studying life that he may become wise, and describing it that he may make his readers wise. Alas, for ninety-nine out of every hundred of them!

If he had not once or twice, especially in "Faust," had the good luck to light upon a fable interesting to all the world, and so once or twice charmed, like Shakspeare, the many and the few at once, Goethe would have remained, at least outside Germany, a writer little known and only prized by a curious reader here and there. As it is, his universal fame brings into notice pieces which have no superficial attractions, and makes men study closely other pieces which they would have passed over lightly. Once admitted as a classic, he reaps all the benefit of his seriousness. For his works bear examination if only they can attract it. Those who read them at all will read them over and over. Here is literature which nourishes; here are books which may become bosom friends. Here are high views put forward modestly, grand and large ideas which will not disappoint those who try to reduce them to practice; precepts which are not merely earnest, but, what is so much rarer, serious.

He makes his Tasso say of Clorinda, Armida, Tancred, and the rest, what sounds strangely when applied to them, "I know they are immortal, for they *are*." (*Ich weiss es, sie sind ewig, denn sie sind.*) Of Goethe's own characters this might very fairly be said, and it is a remarkable saying. He, one of the great poetic creators, hardly believes in what is called the creative imagination at all. According to him, if a character is to be such as will bear examination, it must not be invented, but transferred from real life. The very play from which the maxim is taken illustrates it. Tasso at Ferrara is in reality Goethe at Weimar, not indeed Goethe as he was, for he had precisely the balance of character which Tasso wants, but as he was tempted to be, as he feared in the first years of his Court-life to become. How consistently in all his works he acted on the same maxim his commentators have shown, and those who assume to be his critics should be careful to remember. Perhaps Goethe does not impress us quite as Shakspeare does, whose plays are so full of latent thought, who reveals so much on close examination which is wholly unsus-

pected by the ordinary reader, that an experienced student of him gives up fault-finding in despair. Goethe, on the other hand, seems quite capable of making mistakes; still there is such a fund of reality and of actual fact in his so-called fiction that criticism of it may easily be rash. Thus Coleridge, in the curious passage which is his sole manifesto on the subject of the greatest writer of his age, finds fault with the character of "Faust," which he calls dull and meaningless. It is indeed not quite easy to understand "Faust," as it is not easy to understand "Hamlet." But Coleridge himself more earnestly than any one forbids us to lay the blame of the obscurity of Hamlet's character on Shakspeare. And there is at least a probability that Faust's character too will bear examination, because Faust is no mere imaginary being, but is in fact Goethe himself. If inconsistency has crept in, it is the consequence of a questionable practice which Goethe had of keeping his designs so long by him that his hand altered during the progress of the execution.

Goethe then is not in the same class as Scott, first, because he wants the rich fund of traditional sentiment which came to Scott by right of birth; secondly, because he has a much more abundant supply of what may be called new poetry—that is, poetry derived at first hand from Nature, which is as a spring chillingly cold, yet so pure and refreshing! He is not like Scott, but rather like Wordsworth and Shakspeare compounded together. But before our conception of him can be complete, we must recognize another great quality that he possesses.

Goethe is a perfect Solomon for proverbs; they pour from him in floods. He has such an abundance of them to communicate, that he is often at a loss where to find room for them, and puts them recklessly into the mouths of personages who cannot reasonably be credited with such a rare talent for generalization—the practical Therese, the tender and unhappy Ottilie. The knack of coining pregnant sentences is so remarkable in him, that when we see it so strangely combined with a lyrical talent and a love of natural science, we are irresistibly reminded of the ancient description of Solomon, which says that he "spake of trees, from the cedar which is in Lebanon to the hyssop which springeth out of the wall; also he spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five." He is a sage as truly as he is a poet, and never, unless in Shakspeare, has such another combination of the generalizing with the imaginative faculty been witnessed. But when we examine his wisdom, we find that it is much more than a mere instinctive habit of observation combined with an unrivalled power of expression. His sentences are not mere detached fragments, or momentary flashes, of insight. They are the coherent aphorisms of a sort of system of philosophy. He is not merely a sage, he is even a philosopher. His wisdom, though it is not presented in scholastic

form, has unity about it, and is calculated to influence, nay, has deeply influenced, philosophic students. We have had, in recent times, several literary men, who, without being philosophers in the academic sense, yet claim to have something to say and to contribute something original to philosophic discussion. And the most specialized philosophers may well listen with respect, as Mill listens to Wordsworth, to men of exceptional sensibility, who see the universe in a light peculiar to themselves, even when such men are without learning, and cannot command the proper philosophic expression for their thoughts. Goethe looks at the discussions of the school from the outside, and regards them rather with derision than respect, as the readers of "Faust" do not need to be reminded. He continued through life to regard the new systems which sprang up around him with something of the same sceptical indifference which he had shown in youth to the Collegium Logicum. Of all the great philosophers, perhaps, only Spinoza produced much impression on him. Yet he is a philosopher in a higher degree than any other literary man, and has produced a deeper impression than any literary man upon thinkers and students. Though in the modern sense we hesitate to call him a philosopher, yet in the old sense, and in the highest sense of the name, few of the recognized philosophers have nearly so good a title to it as he. For to him philosophy is not merely a study, but a life; it is not summed up in thinking and classifying and constructing systems, but extends to all departments of activity. And it would be difficult to name the philosopher who has devoted himself with more methodical seriousness than Goethe to the problem of leading, and then of teaching, the best and most desirable kind of life. He conceives the problem in its largest possible extent. From prudential maxims in the style of Johnson, he rises to more general precepts on the choice of a vocation, pouring out a fund of wisdom peculiarly his own on the mistakes men make about their own aptitudes; then he dwells more particularly on the life of the artist, a subject till then scarcely noticed by moralists, but treated by Goethe with the greatest comprehensiveness; then he rises to morality and religion. On all subjects alike he is serious; on all subjects perfectly unfettered. He has the advantage of a vast experience, for he has practised every art, tasted every literature, informed himself about every science, turning away only from quite abstract studies, mathematics, logic, and metaphysics; and beside all that can be acquired from study, society, and travel, he has managed a theatre and governed a small State. He has the coolness and shrewdness of the most practical men; but he has none of the narrowness, none of the hardness, to which practical men are liable. On the contrary, he is full of tender sympathy, and he has also infinite good-humour.

Had Goethe appeared as a thinker and philosopher only, he would

have been similar to Bacon. Can we say that he would have been at all inferior? His observation extends over wider provinces of life; he is more honest, more kindly. His faculty of style is at least equally great. There is a certain similarity too in the scientific pretensions of the two men. Both professed to be discoverers, and the claims of both have been denied; but what seems clear is that both had a prophetic sense of the tendency of science, a profound and just instinct of new scientific developments at hand.

I do not speak here of what may be questionable in Goethe's speculations. I do not raise the question whether his influence may not have been in some respects harmful. The question in this article is simply of the extent or magnitude of his influence.

What an imposing total do we arrive at if we add together all the qualities that have been enumerated! The creator of the literature of his country, the author of the freshest lyrics, and of one of the grandest dramas, the high-minded literary reformer, disdainful of popularity, who kept his works free from rhetorical falseness, the unrivalled critic and observer; this man is also the teacher, and at the same time the example, of a great system of practical philosophy.

Scarcely any man has been to any nation all that Goethe has been to Germany. When we think what he did, we are irresistibly led to inquire what he was. He, himself, in "*Dichtung und Wahrheit*," showed that the key to his writings is to be found in his biography. His countrymen have taken the hint with German docility, and followed it up with German industry. It has been said that the life of Louis XIV. might almost be written from day to day, and we begin to know Goethe's life with the same minuteness. The revelation certainly heightens our sense of his greatness. If we look merely at the fulness of his life, at the quantity of action, sensation and thought comprised in it, if we try merely to reckon up how much work he did, we are lost in amazement, and admire more than ever the rare quality, the freshness and exquisiteness of so much of that work. Our conception of Goethe is completed when we add to all the numerous and various excellencies shown in his writings, that in the man himself as he lived and moved, there was a spring of vitality so fresh ("a heart as strong as a mountain river"), that the mere story of his life without any help from strange adventures, the mere narrative of his undertakings, travels, plans, conversations, loves and friendships, is fascinating.

- J. R. SEELEY.

(*To be continued.*)

## LEO XIII.

Leonis XIII. Carmina. Collegit atque italice interpretatus est Jeremias Brunellius. Udine, Tipografia del Patronato, 1883-4. Scelta di atti episcopali del Cardinale Gioacchino Pecci. Roma. Tip. dei fratelli Monaldi. 1879.—Leonis XIII. Acta. Romæ. Ex typographia Vaticana. 1881.—Discorsi del Sommo Pontefice Leone XIII. ai fedeli di Roma e dell' Orbe. Vol. I. 1878-82. Roma. Tip. Ghione. 1882.

### I.

**G**IOACCHINO PECCI, son of Count Lodovico Pecci and of Anna Prosperi, was born on March 10, 1810. He entered the Church at eighteen, became a priest at twenty-seven and a prelate at twenty-eight, and was at once appointed to Benevento, and then to Perugia; in 1843 he was nominated Archbishop of Damietta, and went into Belgium as Nuncio; in 1846 he was made Bishop of Perugia, in 1853 Cardinal, in 1877 Camerlingo of the Church, and on February 20, 1878, after a conclave of only thirty-six hours, Pope. He presents in his own person a complete and splendid example of what an Italian priest may become under favourable circumstances. A member by birth of the lesser provincial nobility, a man of good natural capacity and of high culture, an admirable Latin and a good Italian writer, devout in spirit and rigidly orthodox in opinion, a sincere and entire believer in the past and future of the Church and in the importance of its influence on society even in the present day, accustomed to command, familiar with the habits and methods, as well as with the international relations of the Court of Rome—advancing year by year in experience, in dignity, in authority—such was Cardinal Pecci when the final election of the Conclave made him Pope. Now let us inquire what in the present condition of the Papacy such a Pope has in six years been able to effect.

### II.

A somewhat curious impression is left on the mind by a general survey of his Pontifical acts and utterances. The Church which he directs seems to him by turns to be pursuing one unbroken march of victory and expansion, and to be so storm-shattered and foe-beset as

to have little time yet to live. His first Act is that of March 4, 1878, in which, completing the work begun by Pius IX., he reconstitutes the episcopal hierarchy in Scotland. In the preamble, no less than in the Act itself, the Papacy shows its old consciousness of universal and paramount authority.

"From the supreme summit of the Apostolate"—thus runs the preamble—"to which, by no aid of our own merits, but by the Divine goodness so ordering it, we are now lately elevated, the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, did not cease to cast their eyes, as from the peak of a high mountain, over every part of the field of the Lord; that whatsoever in the lapse of years might most conduce to the maintenance, the order, and the consolidation of all the churches they might not fail to discern; and hence, in so far at least as it was given them from on high, they were chiefly solicitous both everywhere among the nations to create new episcopal sees, and also to restore to new life those which by the attacks of time had been impaired."\*

To the restoration of the Scotch Sees, in particular, he finds himself encouraged by three considerations: first, the state of the Church in that country, and the daily increasing number of believers and of labourers in the Lord's vineyard, of churches, missions, religious houses, and other institutions of a similar kind, together with a corresponding increase of temporal support; secondly, the liberty allowed to Catholics by the illustrious British Government; and thirdly, the urgent representations made to him by the Apostolic Vicars, and by very many persons, whether of the clergy or the laity, eminent both by their birth and virtues.†

In the same fulness of Papal power, and with a solicitude which seems to spring from a real and deep religious interest in the countries to which he addresses himself, he creates, on May 28, 1878, the diocese of Chicoutimi in Canada; on June 21 the Apostolic Vicariate of Kansuh in China; on July 31 he converts the Apostolic Vicariate of Monte Video into a bishopric; on September 13 he cuts off a tract of territory from the See of Constantine and annexes it to that of Algiers; on December 20 he divides the diocese of Beverley to make a new diocese of Leeds, and in September of the next year makes the Church of St. Anne its cathedral; on January 20, 1880, he raises the Vicariate of Cracow into an episcopate, and gives it a new territorial definition; on May 25 he halves the diocese of Yucatan in Mexico and forms that of Tabasco; on July 29 he divides in the same way the archiepiscopal See of Santa Fe de Bogota, in

\* "Ex supremo apostolatus apice, ad quem, nullo meritorum nostrorum suffragio, sed divina sic disponente Bonitate, nuper evecti sumus, Romani Pontifices Prædecessores nostri universas Domini ægri partes, quasi de montis vertice, nunquam destiterunt, ut quid Ecclesiarum omnium conditioni, decori, et firmamento labentibus annis magis conveniret, dignoscerent; ac proinde, quantum quidem Ipsi ab alto datum fuit, quemadmodum novas ubique gentium erigere episcopales sedes, ita eas quæ temporum iniuria perierant, ad novam vitam revocare solliciti in primis fuerant."

† "Per multi, sive ex clericis, sive ex laicis, generis nobilitate ac virtutem laude spectati viri."



New Granada, and forms the diocese of Tunja; on July 5, 1881, he constitutes an episcopal hierarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina; on September 30 he reduces the number of the Portuguese bishoprics and remodels their territorial distribution.

These acts of ecclesiastical authority were carried out, either—as in England—without any communication with the Government, or else—as in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in Algeria, and in Portugal—with the knowledge of the Government, indeed, but not in any way by means of its sanction or authority. The redistribution of the archdiocese of Algiers was undertaken, he says, at the request of the then President of the French Republic, Marshal MacMahon; the creation of the hierarchy of Bosnia and Herzegovina was of the Pope's own initiative, by the favour of the Emperor—nothing more; the reduction of the Portuguese bishoprics was requested by the King of Portugal after discussion by a common council of bishops and Ministers, the Pope consenting not very willingly, but none the less it was carried out by his sole authority, and no one disputed his exclusive right of action in the matter. Finally, on the 25th of November 1881, the Republic of Uruguay asked for a diminution and alteration of the feasts of the Church, and the Pope accepted the petition and decreed the change.

### III.

In former times civil governments contested the right of the Church to create Sees and institute feasts by its own sole authority; or, if they allowed the exercise of such powers, they put forward in every possible way their claim to be consulted and to have their wishes taken into account. The Pope therefore is now using, and using without opposition, a fuller authority than formerly; and he is doing this not only in the relations of the Church with the State, but in the internal affairs of the Church itself. In constituting the Scotch hierarchy, he commands the bishops (*volumus ac jubemus*) to keep the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* informed by constant reports of the state of their respective Sees and of the flocks committed to their care; and he abolishes all the ancient privileges and customs of that Church. The dissensions between the Bishops and the Religious Orders in England in 1881 are silenced, and the points in dispute decided, by his supreme authority, and for this he receives the humble thanks of Archbishop Manning. If the English bishops wish to found a Catholic institution, in which studious youth, after completing the college course, may carry on its further education, they ask and receive the Pope's approbation of the scheme. The bishops of the Chaldaic rite elect as Patriarch of Babylon—or rather they pray the Pope to elect for them—Peter Elias Abolionan, Bishop of Jezireh, and the Pope gratifies

them. The Archbishops of Nicosia and Adana and the Bishop of Erzeroum apply to him to obtain the restoration of their rights from the Ottoman Government, and—"from the justice of the Sultan," as he says—he does obtain it. He puts an end to the schism which had broken out among the Chaldean Catholics of Mesopotamia: with the aid of the English and French Ambassadors at the Porte he settles in favour of the Mansilian Catholics of the Syriac rite the controversy between them and the Jacobite heretics: he extinguishes the Armenian schism altogether, and those who had promoted it return to the obedience of the Church. The Apostolic Vicar among the Gallas tribes in Africa writes to him immediately after his elevation to the Holy See, and he writes back confirming his powers and fanning his zeal. The Christians of Shoa appeal to him, and he not only confirms them in the faith and charges them to conform their lives thereto, but writes to the king of that African region, exhorting him to embrace the Christian faith. Never, therefore, has the Pontifical authority in matters relating to the Church itself been greater or more active than it is to-day.

## IV.

Nor does it confine itself to dealing with purely ecclesiastical affairs. On January 3, 1881, Leo XIII. writes to the Archbishop of Dublin about the discontents in Ireland. It has been the habit, he says, of the Roman Pontiffs, when Ireland became too passionate in the defence of her rights, to allay her ardour by admonition and exhortation—which perhaps is not altogether true. He reminds him that already, so far back as June 1, 1880, he had given strict injunctions to the Irish bishops generally; and that, later on, he had assured the Irish bishops who came to Rome to visit the tombs of the Apostles that he wished all possible good to their countrymen, but that it was not lawful to disturb the public peace.\* And expressing as usual his high esteem for the English character, he adds, in his usual magnificent Latin:—

"Such a manner of thinking and acting accords most perfectly with the precepts and institutions of the Catholic Church; nor do we doubt that it will also be advantageous to the interests of Ireland. For indeed we rely on the justice of the men who hold the supreme power; in whom, assuredly, it is common to find great practical experience combined with political wisdom. It may far more safely and easily be brought about that Ireland may obtain the things which she seeks if she avails herself of those methods only which the laws permit, and avoids all causes of offence."†

\* "Testati quidem sumus nos Hibernorum causa omnia cupere; verumtamen illud etiam adjunximus, perturbare ordinem non licere."

† "Talis in sentiendo agendoque modus institutis præceptisque Ecclesiæ Catholicæ maxime congruit; neque dubitamus, quin ipsæ Hiberniæ rationibus sit profuturus. Et enim æquitati confidimus virorum, qui summam imperii tenent: in quibus certe magnus esse solet rerum usus cum civili prudentia coniunctus. Multo tutius ac facilius fieri poterit ut ea, quæ vult, Hibernia consequatur, si modo via quam leges sinunt,

These counsels he repeats on August 1, 1882, in another letter, addressed to the Archbishop of Dublin and to the other Irish bishops, in which he praises them for the resolutions passed at their Synod in Dublin, and, emphatically reasserting his confidence in the English Government, admonishes the clergy to conform in all things to the decisions of the Synod, amongst which he approves and supports by fresh arguments that one especially which refers to leagues and conspiracies. "Expediency," he says, "is to be guided by justice; and it is to be seriously considered that it is a shameful thing to act unjustly in however just a cause. Now justice, as it is far from all violence, so is it especially averse to clandestine societies, which, under a show of vindicating the right, end for the most part in disturbing the equilibrium of public affairs."\*

He therefore prays the Irish people, "for the sake of the Catholic name, and of their country, to have nothing to do with such societies, which can avail nothing in furtherance of their legitimate demands, and which often lead into crime those who have been carried away by their seductions." He returns to the subject on January 1, 1883, in a letter to the same Archbishop, the main purpose of which appears to be—after expressing approval of a pastoral of the Archbishop's—to lay down a rule for the conduct of the minor clergy, who were mixing themselves up with political agitations; for he charges the bishops to give leave to take part in public meetings "in which affairs of State are hotly disputed" only to those ecclesiastics "in whose wisdom they have the greatest confidence, and who, from their age and practical experience, excel in prudence, counsel, and authority, who may therefore, better than any others, lead the excited multitude to what is just and right, may combat the fallacious arguments of the unscrupulous, defend the principles of duty, and make themselves the best champions of the better cause."†

Finally, in May 1883, Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda—writing, no doubt, by order of the Pope—informing the Irish bishops that the Parnell Testimonial Fund cannot in any way be approved by the Congregation, since, "whatever may be thought of Parnell and his opinions, it is at any rate certain

utatur, causasque offensionis evitet." In the Constitution of May 8, quoted above, he adds, after alluding to the flourishing condition of the Catholic Church in England: "Cujus quidem rei laus non exigua tribuenda est Britannicæ gentis ingenio quod prout constans et invictum est contra vim adversam, ita veritatis et rationis vocem facile flectitur, ut prout vere de ipsis dixerit Tertullianus, *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subiecta.*"

\* "Verumtamen honestate dirigenda utilitas est; ac serio considerandum, causam quantumvis iustam turpe esse tueri non iuste. Abest vero iustitia cum ab omni vi, tum maxime a societatibus clandestinis quæ per speciem vindicandi juris illuc ferme evadunt, ut rerum publicarum permoveant statum."

† "In quorum potissimum sapientia confiditis, et in quibus maturior ætas ac usus rerum afficit ut prudentia, consilio, et auctoritate præsent, ideoque possint præ ceteris concitata multitudo ad recta et honesta ducere esse, fallacibus improborum judiciis occurrere, officii rationes tueri, ac defensores esse optimi optimarum partium."

that many of his followers adopt a course of action wholly different from that which the Pope in his letters had advised and declared to be alone legitimate; and since, moreover, the money is obtained by threats, and for a bad end."

It may be said that the English Government begged the Pope to make these declarations, thinking that they would be of use in calming the minds of the Irish Catholics. Perhaps so; and it certainly would have been a reasonable wish. But the Pope's own instincts would have inclined him to make them, without any such influence.

## V.

It must be admitted that his natural temper is of the most tolerant. In the very first year of his Pontificate, on December 24, 1878, he wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne expressing his ardent desire that all disputes might be adjusted, and that the great German nation might—saving the rights of the Church—reap all the benefits of a durable peace; and on February 24, 1880, he himself made the first step towards an understanding with the Prussian Government by informing the same prelate that he would allow the names of the priests appointed by the Bishops to the cure of souls to be notified to the Government before canonical institution. This is a somewhat different temper from that of Pius IX., who in 1877 had called the Emperor of Germany another Attila! In 1880, when a new storm broke out in France against the religious Orders, Leo XIII. welcomed the proposal of the French Government, which promised to arrest the dissolution of the Orders if their members would make a declaration professing themselves adverse to mixing in any political movement, and affirming that they had never belonged to any party—a declaration which, after all, was not sufficient. We may notice also, in this connection, his writing on August 3, 1881, to the Archbishop of Mechlin, Cardinal Deschamps, to soothe the dissensions among the Belgian Catholics, which had sprung from the extreme opinions and pretensions of some of them. "The various controversies," he said, "on public matters which excite men's minds in Belgium do not conduce to harmony;" and he goes on to observe that, though no one could be more desirous than himself that the whole of human society should be conformed to the Christian model\* and filled with the power of Christ, yet "all Catholic persons who wish to labour successfully for the public good must keep before their eyes, and steadily pursue, that well-considered mode of action which in such matters the Church is accustomed to employ; which, while defending with inviolable firmness the integrity of the divine doctrines and the principles of equity, . . . yet takes just account of circumstances and times and

\* "*Humana societas christiano more componatur.*"

places; and often, as will happen in human affairs, it is obliged for a time to tolerate certain ills which could hardly, if at all, be removed without opening a way to still graver evils and perturbations." And he adds, "Moreover, in discussing controverted points, they must be careful not to transgress the bounds prescribed by charity and justice, nor yet lightly to accuse or bring into suspicion men who in other respects adhere to the doctrines of the Church, and especially those who in the Church stand high in dignity and power."\* He also alludes to the violence of a part, at least, of the Catholic press, and wishes it to be restrained.

One of the main objects hitherto pursued by the Pope has been to raise the standard of education among the clergy; and perhaps one of the best ways of judging of his character is to observe the means chosen by him for this purpose. In one of those Encyclicals in which it pleases him to deal broadly with a subject of great social interest—the Encyclical of August 4, 1879—he discourses at some length of Christian philosophy, and of the benefits which society may look for from a sound philosophical system; and he goes on to say that "the doctors of the Middle Ages, whom we call the Schoolmen, undertook and carried through a work of vast dimensions—that of gathering in the rich and plentiful harvest of doctrine diffused throughout the ample volumes of the Christian Fathers, and laying it up, as it were, in one place for the use and convenience of posterity."† But this work appears to him to have been best accomplished by Thomas Aquinas. This man, he says, with his keen, receptive mind, his ready and tenacious memory, his unswerving love of truth, his absolute integrity of life, and his extraordinary resources of knowledge, human and divine, "like the sun, warmed the whole world with the heat of his virtues, and filled it with the radiance of his doctrine."‡ He believes, therefore, that the study of St. Thomas will furnish the Catholic clergy with the best—nay, with invincible—weapons wherewith to overcome all assaults on the Catholic doctrine; and hence he recommends and requires that in all the schools of the clergy it should be restored and revived. And by the study of St. Thomas he means the study of St. Thomas' own writings, or of the writings of those of his followers who have not in any point departed from his teaching, and who have not, imagining themselves to be greater than he, mixed up their own ideas with his.§

\* "Neve temere insimulentur vel in suspicionem adducantur viri ceteroquin Ecclesiæ doctrinæ addicti, maxime autem qui in Ecclesiâ dignitate et potestate præcellunt."

† "Segetes doctrinæ fecundas et ubera, amplissimæ Sanctorum Patrum voluminibus diffusæ, diligenter congerere, congestasque uno velut loco condere, in posterorum usum et commoditatem."

‡ "Orbem terrarum calore virtutum fovit, et doctrinæ splendore complevit."

§ "Ne autem supposita pro vera, neu corrupta pro sincera bibatur, providete ut sententia Thomæ ex ipsis ejus fontibus hauriatur, aut saltem ex iis rivis, quos ab ipso fonte deductos, adhuc integros et illimes decurrere certa et concors doctorum hominum sententia est."

Towards this object—that of making St. Thomas Aquinas supreme in the schools—the Pope has not ceased to labour. On October 15 of the same year he wrote a letter to the Prefect of the Schools, Cardinal Antonino de Luca, in which, after congratulating himself on the reception everywhere given to his Encyclical on the subject of Christian philosophy, and the general agreement with it, he relates what he has already done in several ecclesiastical colleges in Rome to enforce the teaching of philosophy according to the spirit and principles of the angelical doctor; orders that an academy of St. Thomas shall be established in Rome for the purpose of expounding and propagating his doctrine; and says he has determined that a new edition of St. Thomas' works shall be brought out, with careful and complete annotations. He gives the order for this edition in a *motu proprio* of January 18, 1880, assigning for the purpose 300,000 lire from the Papal exchequer, and providing that the remainder of the cost shall be defrayed by the Congregation of the Propaganda, which shall repay itself by the sale of the edition, and apply the surplus proceeds to the publication of the best works relating to St. Thomas.

The Pope's letters to the Bishops who have best seconded him in this design have, during all these years, been many and ardent. He writes, on March 13, to the Bishop of Augusta; on April 3, to the Bishops of Ventimiglia, Savona, and Albenga; on September 11, to the Archbishop of Camerino; on November 30, to the Archbishop of Genoa; on December 25, to the Archbishop of Mechlin; on January 15, 1881, to the Bishop of Pavia; on February 5, to the Archbishop of Fermo; on March 18, to the Bishop of Crema; on the 26th of the same month to the Patriarch of Venice; on April 14, to the Archbishop of Cosenza; on May 16, to the Bishop of Clermont; on July 11, to the Bishop of Budweiss, in Bohemia, and on the 14th to Cardinal Schwarzenberg, the Archbishop of Prague; on August 3, to the Archbishop of Mechlin again; and so on. Nor is it to be supposed that these have been the only ones. Every thought of the Pontifical heart dilates and broadens to embrace the world. He is the only power in existence whose inherent and essential obligation it is to go on incessantly acquiring and extending over all civilized and even all barbarous nations an intellectual and moral ascendancy.

Meanwhile, on August 4, 1880, the Pope had proclaimed Thomas Aquinas the celestial patron of the schools; and on November 4 he issued the laws and regulations for the Academy instituted in his name and inaugurated in the following May.

The institution is conceived in no narrow spirit. He wishes it to be useful not only in those matters which especially pertain to it, but "to foster and promote the knowledge of all those things which men are accustomed to study, . . . since, if ever in any time, cer-

tainly in this, necessity itself obliges us to make use of the severest discipline in the investigation and discovery of truth, and thoroughly to eradicate from the minds of men the errors which have there found place." He hopes that, "from the wisdom of the elders, sedulously cultivated, some effectual force of better things may opportunely flow into the manners of men and the institutions of the State."\* Wherefore, he desires all Academicians to consider diligently what is the present attitude of men's minds towards the different doctrines—what new things are springing up, what truths are now especially assailed, for what purposes, and by what means; and he lays great stress on their making themselves acquainted with what is being published in other countries. Finally, he orders the publication of the proceedings, in which are to be inserted theological and philosophical notes, "weighty, and befitting the wisdom of Rome."† For which purpose, and for all the other requirements of the Academy, he assigns a certain sum by way of endowment.

## VII.

It is clear, from his founding this institution, and from his anxiety for the improvement of clerical education, that Leo XIII. acts in a spirit more in conformity with the times, has a greater respect for learning, and expects better things from it, than some of his recent predecessors. First as Bishop, and now as Pope, he appears to base his strongest hope of a revival of Catholicism on the belief in its social usefulness, past and future, which the clergy, by their moral and intellectual influence, must infuse into the laity. In his opinion, whatever good there is in modern society, whether secular or religious, is due to Catholicism, and it is Catholicism that must provide the remedy for its actual ills and dangers. This is not, indeed, a new idea for a Pope; but there are two things about Leo XIII. which are not quite so customary—one, the faith he has in expressing and enforcing his views; and the other, the breadth of argument and magnificence of language with which he does it. Abundant evidence of this is to be found in some of his solemn addresses to the Catholic world from the very beginning of his Pontificate. The first of these is the Encyclical "*Quod apostolici muneris*" of December 28, 1878. In this he faces the most terrible problem of our times—Socialism. He traces its origin, its diffusion, its force, to the revolt against the Catholic faith in the fifteenth century; the object of which, he says, was theoretically this,—by discarding all revelation and overthrowing all supernatural authority, to give free course to the researches—or rather the

\* *Atque illud fore speramus, ut ex sapientia veterum studiosè culta vis quædam optimarum efficiens opportune influat in mores hominum, in instituta civitatis.*

† "*Graves illos quidem, et romana sapientia dignos.*"

bewilderments—of unaided reason; and practically this also,—by consigning to oblivion the rewards and penalties of an eternal future, to confine the eager desire of happiness within the narrow limits of the present life. He strips Socialism of every show of Christianity. The Socialists, he says, never cease re-asserting the equality of all men amongst themselves, and hence they maintain that no reverence is due to majesty, nor obedience to the laws—except only such as are dictated by them at their own good pleasure. But, according to the gospel, the equality of men, on the contrary, consists in this—that, partaking all of the same nature, they are all called to the same supreme dignity as sons of God, and together, since they are predestined to one and the same end, must be judged in conformity with the self-same law, to receive punishment or reward according to their deserts; but the inequality of rights and powers emanates from the same Author of nature, “of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named” (Eph. iii. 15). The abandonment of this doctrine—which is the Catholic doctrine—by some modern States is the cause of the prevalence of the factions by which they are assailed; and the means of suppressing such factions is to return to the recognition of this principle. Wherefore the Pope exhorts princes and peoples no longer to despise the aid afforded them by the Church.

Of the Encyclical “*Æterni Patris*,” in which he expounds and defends the social utility of Christian philosophy, I have already spoken; but I have not yet quoted, and I certainly must not omit, the Encyclical “*Diuturnum*” of June 29, 1881, on civil government. In this he begins by declaring that the war so long waged against the divine authority of the Church has resulted in the utmost danger to society, and especially to all political authority. He alludes to the assassination of the Czar, and the threats of the most abandoned men against the other sovereigns of Europe. He believes we should not have come to this but for the doctrines lately invented as to the origin of public authority, and the contempt poured upon the virtues of the Christian religion. He confutes the errors of those who pretend that all power springs from the people, and proves, by the testimony of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers of the Church, that the right of government (*jus imperandi*) must derive from God as its natural and necessary source. He shows how much both of dignity and of security this doctrine lends to the civil power, and argues that the severity of laws is unavailing without the protection of religion. He therefore urges all princes and others who have the direction of public affairs not to repulse and despise this protection which has already been repeatedly offered by him, that so they may be in a position to profit by that abundance of bounties which the Church provides; and he bids them remember that things were quiet and prosperous enough so long as the civil and ecclesiastical



powers remained in cordial agreement. He ends by earnestly commending it to the Bishops to do everything in their power to avert the dangers and misfortunes which threaten human society.

The Encyclical "Arcanum" of February 18, 1880, while its purpose is somewhat more restricted, has the same didactic character. In it he expounds the Catholic doctrine of marriage, and combats the errors of those who would divest the marriage of Christians of all its sanctity, and withdraw it from the jurisdiction of the Church. And here again he exhorts all princes to maintain the ecclesiastical marriage laws, and to avail themselves of the help of the Church against those evils which are overwhelming civil society; and he charges the Bishops to take heed that the faithful be not seduced into severing from these laws.

In such Encyclicals, addressed to the whole world, the Pope assumes the attitude of a universal teacher of the nations, rather than that of the head of a religion who, in the name of that religion, commands those who profess it.

#### VIII.

The same order of mind which he shows in discussing the immediate social applicability—not to say indispensability—of Catholicism appears under another form in the care he takes to defend the Catholicism of the past from the charges urged against it, and to vindicate its share in some of the happier events of European history. Thus, in his letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Sicily, in April, 1882, he explains the principles of law and policy on which the Popes acted in calling Charles of Anjou to the throne of the two Sicilies, and argues that, in spite of the accusations made against them in newspapers and elsewhere at the time of the Sicilian Vespers anniversary, they were not to blame either for their conduct respecting Sicily, or for the massacre which ensued and which freed the island from the Angevin dominion only to subject it to the Aragonese. In making this defence, he admits an historical criterion not often accepted by a Pope. "It would be a great mistake," he says, "if, in judging of things which happened six centuries ago, we were never to turn our thoughts away from our own times and manners. Rather we must look at the laws and institutions of those days, and bear in mind especially the law of nations as it was then."

In the same way the celebration of the anniversary of the deliverance of Vienna, on September 12, 1883, gave occasion to a letter addressed on August 30 to the Archbishop of Vienna, pointing out the important part played by the Papacy in that great event, to which it is undoubtedly due that Christianity was not crushed by Mohammedanism in central Europe, and that the Moslem power was not only arrested in its advance, but was driven back and began to

decline. He attributes to Pope Innocent XI. the alliance concluded between the Emperor Leopold and John Sobieski, and describes him as having also in great part furnished the necessaries of war, encouraged the timid, obtained by his prayers the Divine assistance, and finally not only secured but augmented the fruits of the victory.

It is, no doubt, from his own historical studies that the wish has sprung up to see researches of the same kind pursued by others. It seems to him that history, better understood, might help to revive the credit of the Papacy, and to dispel the prejudices raised against it by some writers both Catholic and Protestant. This idea is the motive of his letter of August 18, 1883, to the Cardinals de Luca, Pitra, and Hergenröther. In this letter he proposes to turn the course of written history, which at present, he says, looks like "a conspiracy of men against the truth." He quotes, as proof of this conspiracy, the calumnies to which the Sicilian Vespers anniversary at Palermo, and the Arnold of Brescia anniversary at Brescia had given occasion; and says it is a main object with these men "to render the Church suspected and the Pontiffs odious; whereas, if the truth were known and uttered, it would be seen that Europe is indebted to them for many benefits." Therefore, in order that history may be brought back to its true purpose, and freed from party spirit—in order that, as he expresses himself, in the words of a Latin author, "there may be nothing false which it dares to say nor true which it dares not, nor any suspicion either of favour or animosity"—\*—he announces that he has already (in the *motu-proprio* of the 9th of September, 1878) ordered that the Papal archives should be utilized as far as possible to promote religion and good discipline, and now he adds that the treasures of the Vatican library—such of them as may be useful for the compiling of historical works—shall be placed at the service of any who may wish to undertake such tasks.† Nevertheless he does not leave them quite without guidance in their work. He wishes the three Cardinals to take to them learned men, practised in history and in the art of writing, to each of whom they should assign, according to his peculiar ability, a subject to treat of. He has no doubt that, by the authority of their office and the reputation of their merits, they will be able successfully to do this; and he reserves it to himself to determine what rules the students are to observe.

\* "Primam esse historię legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis."

† "Decernimus, ut adornandis operibus historicis, quæ diximus, opportuna ex Bibliotheca nostra Vaticana pateat suppellex."

## IX.

So far, I have been describing the ideal Pontiff—the Pontiff moving in a world of principles and ideas, and exercising over a devoted clergy and laity an ample, peaceful, secure, and uncontested authority. But now I must regard him from quite another side, amidst the clash of facts and things, amidst the war of tendencies opposed to his and to those of the Church in the life of secular society. Several times already, in the writings I have quoted, it has been seen that to the Pope himself this conflict appears a serious and even a threatening one. As long ago as his first allocution to the Cardinals, he spoke of the great affliction caused him by the hard conditions which now every where press, not only on society generally, but even on the Catholic Church, and especially on the Holy See, which, despoiled by violence of its temporal dominion, has now been brought to this, that it can no longer enjoy the full, free, and undictated exercise of its powers.

It is clear from these words that, from the very first days of his Pontificate, the views expressed by Leo XIII. as to the necessity of a temporal power for securing the independent exercise of the supreme spiritual authority of the Church, and also as to the means by which she had been deprived of it, were identical with those of Pius IX. ; and if his language is, to begin with, somewhat less hot and harsh, we shall find it, little by little, become quite as much so. Now this conviction is the pivot of the Pope's whole policy with regard to Italy ; and so long as it is so, that policy cannot but remain obstinately hostile. In explaining the relations of Leo XIII. with the different States of Europe, it is with the kingdom of Italy that I might naturally begin. But I prefer to leave it to the last. For, by studying first of all his policy with regard to those other States with which the Church was, or has since come to be, in disagreement, we shall readily arrive at the conclusion that his object has been to reconcile the Church with them, in order that, remaining at strife with the kingdom of Italy only, he might obtain their countenance and aid in settling the controversy in the manner most useful and acceptable to the Papacy. And it will at the same time become clear why and how it is that this policy has not succeeded.

## X.

When Leo XIII. ascended the throne of St. Peter, Prince Bismarck had already begun to foresee that it might perhaps be desirable to make some change in the policy which for five years he had been pursuing in respect of the German Catholics. It is not unlikely that this inclination, which was originally due to the difficulties attending his internal policy, was aided by the attitude which Leo XIII. assumed

from the first towards the German Empire. No sooner was he elected Pope, than he announced the fact to the Emperor (February 20, 1878) in words worthy of Benedict XIV. He appealed to the Emperor's magnanimity to restore peace and repose of conscience to so large a body of his subjects; reminding these, at the same time, that their religion itself commanded them to reverence and obey their prince; and praying God to unite the monarch to himself in the bonds of perfect Christian charity. The Emperor replied on March 24, and Prince Bismarck countersigned the reply; but he only insisted on the obedience due from Catholics to the laws of the State, and congratulated himself on the Pope's recognition and inculcation of this duty. There was some ambiguity in this; and the Pope endeavoured to dispel it in a reply of his, dated April 11, which has not been published, but the sense of which may be gathered from the answer made on June 10 by the Crown Prince, who was then acting for the Emperor during his illness. The Pope must have hazarded the observation that some alterations must nevertheless be made in the laws, unless the obedience of Catholics was to be tantamount to an abnegation of their own consciences; for the Prince replies that, as to the desire expressed by his Holiness to change the laws and constitution of Prussia in accordance with the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, no monarch of Prussia could ever have consented to it, "since the independence of the monarchy, the keeping of which is now for the moment committed to me, as the heir of my ancestors, and as a duty to my country, must suffer loss if the freedom of its legislation were subjected to any power external to itself." Then, setting aside any attempt at an understanding on the question of principle, the Prince offers to treat the immediate difficulty in a pacific and conciliatory spirit. There is here, as yet, no clear and sound basis laid down for negotiations; but there is that softening of temper between the two disputants which is the best preparation for a favourable change in their relations.

It seemed as if the time for an effective change in them had really come when, on July 27 of the same year, it was understood that the Nuncio Masella had arrived at Kissingen two days after Prince Bismarck, and that they had been conferring together. But this exchange of views appears to have come to nothing, excepting that Prince Bismarck went away with the impression that Cardinal Franchi, the Secretary of State, was disposed to make important concessions, and that the Court of Rome would have considered renewal of diplomatic intercourse to be of a paramount importance. Cardinal Franchi, however, died soon after; and it was felt that in him the Pope had lost his best adviser, and that no other man of so large a spirit, and of such reliable experience, was to be found in the College of Cardinals. Certainly Cardinal Lorenzo Nina, who succeeded him

in office, was by no means equal to him; and though the Pope, in giving him his instructions and explaining his own ideas in a letter of August 27, commended to him in noble words, as one of the first duties of the Church, the re-establishment of peace in the noble German nation, the work does not seem to have progressed much in the hands of the new Secretary of State.

But now a fresh and favouring wind set in from another quarter. The German elections of July 30 had sent up to the Chamber in much larger numbers than before the representatives of Catholic views. The financial proposals of Prince Bismarck were alienating from him the National Liberal party, on whom he had hitherto depended, so that he was compelled to seek support elsewhere. It was impossible to carry his point without the aid of a majority, of which the Conservatives of the Centre formed the backbone. In July 1879, Herr Falk, the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship, who had been the leader of the *Culturkampf*, was dismissed, and Herr Puttkammer appointed in his place—Prince Bismarck announcing that he was to spin the same thread, only a little finer; but before long it was found that it would be time to spin another thread altogether.

Still, the difficulty of coming to an understanding was great. In the autumn, Cardinal Jacobini had an interview with Prince Bismarck at Gastein, but it appears to have been ineffectual. It was Leo himself who, as we have already seen, in his letter of February 24, 1880, to the Archbishop of Cologne, said the first plain word; he had conceded that the names of the priests called by the Bishops to the cure of souls should be notified to the Government.\* Yet, even with this, the negotiations which from March to May of the year 1880 were going on at Vienna between the Prince of Reuss and Cardinal Jacobini came to nothing. We hardly know why, for the Prussian Government has said very little, and the Court of Rome has not opened its lips. But, as a matter of fact, what the Prince most looked for from an agreement with the Pope was, that the Centre or Catholic party in the Chamber should second and support him in everything; and on this point the Pope neither would, nor indeed could, make any promises. Prince Bismarck, however, was persuaded he could; and if he could not, what, asked Prince Hohenlohe in his name, in a letter of May 5, was the good of an agreement with the Pope?

Yet, even apart from any such agreement, the Prussian Legislature was constrained to advance by itself along the path on which the exigencies of its own internal policy had induced it to enter. Of this the two laws of July 14, 1880, and May 20, 1882, gave

\* "*Nos hujus concordie maturandæ causa passuros ut Borussia Gubernio ante canonice institutionem nomina exhibeantur sacerdotum illorum, quos ordinarii diocesum ad gerendam animorum curam in partem sue sollicitudinis vocant.*"

ample proof, the Government asking and obtaining the power to use some leniency in the application of the severe laws of 1873 and 1874. Early in 1882 the proposals of Herr Windthorst, the leader of the Centre in the Prussian Chamber, that, contrary to the law of May 11, 1873, the administration of the sacraments should be permitted, and the law for the sequestration of revenues (*Sperrgesetz*) repealed, had indeed been thrown out; but by the law passed in May the Government obtained leave to remit the penalties attaching to the administration of documents by priests not qualified by law. It will be seen that it was in consequence of its own necessities, and of the change in public opinion, that the Government had been led to pacify the Catholics, and to meet, to some extent, the wishes of the Pope. Another proposal of Herr Windthorst had in fact been triumphantly carried in the Imperial Chamber in January of the same year; the Chamber deciding that the ferocious laws of May 4, 1874, by which priests who had infringed the decrees issued against them were condemned to banishment or imprisonment, ought to be abrogated.

In the Prussian Parliament, on the 14th of that same January, the Emperor of Germany, in his speech from the throne, after expressing his great encouragement and satisfaction that the law of July 14, 1880, had made it possible to restore a regular order of things in many parishes and dioceses, had added: "The friendly relations in which we find ourselves with the present Head of the Catholic Church place us in a position to take into account the requirements of public affairs, and to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome." These relations had been interrupted ever since 1872 when Pius IX. had refused to accept Cardinal Hohenlohe as ambassador.

The new ambassador, Herr Schlözer, a man of great tact and ability, arrived in Rome towards the end of the year.

This time, also, the declaration made by the Emperor, that he congratulated himself and the country on the renewal of relations with Rome, gave occasion for another letter from the Pope, dated December 3, 1882. He expressed his satisfaction at the ever surer advance towards a peace between the Empire and the Church, which was his most ardent desire. To which the Emperor replied, asking this only of the Pope—the notification of ecclesiastical appointments to the Government. And the Pope, in return, on January 30, 1883, delivered himself in these words:—

"YOUR MAJESTY,—

"The letter which your Imperial and Royal Majesty transmitted to us in December last by the hands of Herr Schlözer, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Prussia to the Holy See, confirmed in us the long-cherished hope of seeing the religious question in the kingdom of Prussia solved by a complete accord.. The august speech of your Majesty

showing a readiness to put your hand to a revision of the existing ecclesiastical legislation, enables us to discern at no great distance the conclusion of this agreement. For such favourable dispositions we assure your Majesty of our gratitude and satisfaction.

"In pursuance of this, we have caused a note to be written by our Cardinal Secretary of State to Herr Schlözer, which we believe to have been already brought under the consideration of your Majesty's Government. In it we have desired that renewed assurances should be given of our firm determination, already several times expressed, to allow the notification by the bishops of the titular clergy who are to be nominated to parochial benefices. And in order to meet as nearly as possible the views and wishes of your Majesty, we have also professed our willingness not to await the complete revision of the existing laws before providing the required notification in the case of the parishes now vacant.

"We have at the same time requested a modification of the laws which at present restrict the exercise of the ecclesiastical power and functions and the instruction and education of the clergy, since we believe such modifications indispensable to the very existence of the Catholic Church.

"It is absolutely necessary that the bishops should have the power to instruct the ministers of religion, and to form them under their own eye and in accordance with the teaching and spirit of the said Church. Less than this the State itself could not ask for its own functionaries.

"Equally essential to the life of the Church is a reasonable liberty in the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority and functions for the good of souls. It would be in vain for the new titularies to be nominated to the parishes, if they were afterwards to find themselves prevented from acting in conformity with the obligations imposed upon them by the pastoral office.

"An agreement being once established on these points, it will be easy, by the aid of mutual goodwill, to come to an understanding as to the other conditions necessary to a true and durable peace, which is the final aim of our common wishes.

"Meanwhile we pray your Majesty to accept the assurance of our unceasing and fervent aspirations for the full prosperity of your Majesty and of the Imperial and Royal family.

✱

"From the Vatican, January 30, 1883.

"LEO PP. XIII.

"To His Imperial and Royal Majesty,  
William I., Emperor of Germany,  
King of Prussia."

The Prussian Government took yet a further step in the direction thus indicated by the Pope; but they preferred to do so by an independent act of their own Legislature, and not by means of a Concordat with Rome. A Bill was introduced on June 5, 1883, and passed, in July, with modifications which gave it a still more Liberal character. By this law the spiritual authorities were released from the necessity of designating the candidate for a spiritual office, and the State at the same time surrendered its right of refusal in all cases of institution to a cure of souls where the titular could be recalled at pleasure (*ad nutum*), or in the case of coadjutors and supplies; the powers of the Royal Tribunal for ecclesiastical affairs were curtailed; and some of the restrictions imposed by former

legislation on the exercise of purely ecclesiastical functions were removed.

But it probably did not please the Court of Rome that the Prussian Government should have proceeded by way of legislation, and not by way of Concordat. At any rate, be the reasons what they may—and what they are is not so very clear—this law of 1883 has not been regarded by the Papal Court as putting an end to the matter. On the other hand, the Prussian Government does not seem disposed to go any further, and steadily resists the rising demands of the Centre, who wish to embody in the Prussian Constitution the articles which, assured to the Catholic Church, as to other Christian Churches, perfect independence of life and organization, and the repeal of which was the beginning of that *Culturkampf* which has now struck its last stroke. Leo XIII., therefore, has not yet succeeded in establishing that firm peace with Germany which was the basis of his intended policy; and it is, perhaps, less easy for him to secure it now than it was two or three years ago. For, two or three years ago, Prince Bismarck was not quite at ease either as to the foreign or the internal policy of Italy; while at the present moment he is absolutely content with the former, which he has brought completely under his yoke, and from the latter he has nothing just now to fear. German diplomacy has many times oscillated between the Papacy and the kingdom of Italy, approaching the one as it receded from the other, and leaning to this side or that according to the needs and opportunities of the moment, and according to the impression intended to be produced on the one hand or on the other.

# XI.

But if Germany, even before the elevation of Leo XIII., had entered on a course which might, sooner or later, have led to some sort of peace or truce with Rome, France had started off in quite an opposite direction. The kind of *coup d'état* by which Marshal MacMahon had, on May 16, 1877, dismissed the Jules Simon Ministry, and called the Duc de Broglie to form a new one, had been reversed by the elections of October 14 and 28. On November 13 a vote of the Chamber had compelled the Conservative Cabinet to resign. The "Ministry of Affairs" which succeeded it on the 23rd scarcely held out a month; and, much against his will, the Marshal had at last to accept a Ministry composed of députés and senators of the Left, under the presidency of M. Dufaure. His policy had had a precisely opposite effect to what he had intended; it had only increased the violence of the movement it was intended to restrain. This movement, which he had hoped to check, and which he now found stronger than himself, sprang from the determination to main-



tain the Republic, and at the same time to combat the influence of the Catholic clergy, which was believed to be altogether hostile to it. In fact, the vote of May 4, which had led to the dismissal of M. Jules Simon and the events which followed, had expressed the opinion of the majority in the Chamber that the Government must prepare to use all the powers of the law against the intrigues of the clericals, who were imperilling the peace of the country at home and abroad. Jules Simon, in the debate which preceded the vote, had spoken of the Pope's "captivity" in the Vatican as an exaggeration and a falsehood, and it was this expression in particular which had stirred up the anger of the Marshal, and of the Conservatives and Clericals who were misleading him. They little guessed how much worse things were in store for them than the Government of a Jules Simon.

Meanwhile the Dufaure Ministry could not maintain itself without going further with the current than the Marshal either could or would go. During the first year of the Pontificate of Leo XIII. (1878), it held on as best it might. But the elections to the Senate on January 5, 1879, were even more favourable to the Republicans than they themselves had hoped, and this turned the scale. On the 30th of the same month the Marshal resigned, rather than assent to the decrees relating to the army commands, which M. Dufaure, in order to meet the wishes of the majority, presented to him. He was succeeded the same day by M. Jules Grévy, who dismissed M. Dufaure, and chose his first Ministry from the Left Centre, with M. Waddington as President, and M. Jules Ferry as Minister of Public Instruction. With M. Ferry the war against clerical influence really began. So early as May 3 he proposed a law depriving the Catholic Universities of the most important privileges granted them by the law of July 12, 1875, by which they were created; and on May 20 he brought in another, which, by determining the certificates of competency required from elementary teachers, suppressed the right of the Bishops to issue letters of obedience, conferring the faculty of teaching on the religious orders. Retaining his place in M. Freycinet's Cabinet, which succeeded that of M. Waddington on December 29, M. Ferry found it necessary to provide some new gratification for the anti-clerical spirit; for the Freycinet Ministry was a farther concession, a farther retreat before the advanced guard of the Republican party, who were growing more and more masterful and importunate; and, in France especially, the more progressive you are, or profess to be, the more you show the force of your convictions by wreaking them on the priests and the monks. On the other hand, French Ministers, in order to stem the tide of opposition, find it convenient first of all to throw overboard the priests and the monks, hoping thus to avoid severer shocks. Accordingly, on March 29, 1880, began the issuing

of decrees against the non-authorized orders, and the dissolution of the Order of the Jesuits:

Leo XIII., in a letter of October 22 of the same year to Cardinal Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, gives an account of what he had done to avert the storm. He praises the resistance offered by the Archbishop and the other French prelates to the decrees of the Government, and states that he has already, through his nuncio, repeatedly remonstrated against the dispersion of the Jesuits—"men whose charity, learning, and peculiar care for the education of the young the Apostolic See has long known and justly esteemed." Remonstrance being useless, he had permitted the members of the confraternities to make the declaration of which I have already spoken; but the permission had availed nothing, and the Government had persisted in its design. As a matter of fact, the execution of these decrees, which was not effected without opposition and violence, had led to the fall of the Freycinet Ministry in September; and on the 22nd of that month a new Ministry was formed, of which M. Ferry himself became chief, retaining the portfolio of Public Instruction; and the execution of the decrees against the other unauthorized orders was at once proceeded with. The Pope admitted that he expected worse things still. "Meanwhile," he concludes, "though the war rages furiously, and fiercer struggles are before us, it is our office to defend everywhere, with an invincible steadfastness of constancy, the institutions of the Church, and to maintain with a lofty and intrepid spirit the rights committed to our trust."

The prophecy was fulfilled. The war went on, and grew fiercer as it went. In France no one thinks of giving up a struggle till its very extravagances have at last produced a reaction. But what good offices in particular the Pope has rendered to moderate or compose these animosities is not precisely known. In June of this year he wrote at great length to President Grévy, who replied very briefly, preferring, apparently, to keep out of a dispute which it belonged to his responsible Ministers to deal with and decide. In an Encyclical to the French bishops on the 8th of that month, the Pope refers to this letter, in which he had deplored "all those occurrences in France which tend to prejudice the salvation of souls, and to impair the rights of the Church." Still, it may be inferred from the Encyclical itself that he sees no way to avert this injury or to recover these rights. The Encyclical contents itself with general expressions and exhortations. He is anxious that the accord between Church and State in France should continue at least *de jure*. His tone is extremely temperate, and he counsels prudence. "It was a wise decision," he says, "to make that agreement, and it was the work of a man who well knew how best to provide for the interests of the people. Wherefore, even were other reasons wanting, this motive alone, which

then (in the time of the First Consul Napoleon) impelled us to make terms of peace, should now impel us to maintain them. For the public mind being everywhere inflamed with the desire of new things, in so uncertain a prospect of the future, it would be a rash and perilous thing to sow new seeds of discord between the two Powers, and to interpose obstacles which must hinder or retard the beneficent influence of the Church."

It certainly would, but these seeds of discord which the Pope refrains from scattering are being scattered by others in his stead; and while the Pope feels himself compelled to stand on the defensive, others are rushing to the onset. His words have an accent of timidity and embarrassment. He fears and shuns the separation of Church and State; and the evidence that the old paths are closing up is not enough to urge him to strike boldly out into a new one.

## XII.

Yet this Encyclical also shows that there is just now a truce between the French Government and the Papal Court. And no wonder. So long as the country continues to be governed by a group of reasonable men, they will always know how to value the support which the clergy can give them at home, and also the help which their policy may obtain from Catholicism in those African and Asiatic regions in which, while forbidden to act in Europe, France is trying to extend her influence and dominion. The Republicans who are now in power, and who during these last years have committed so many sins against the Roman Church, now find themselves menaced on the right hand and on the left. If, to ingratiate themselves with the one party, they have dissolved communities, deprived parish priests, taken away the catechism from the schools, and so forth, they now feel it necessary to soothe the anger of the other side, so that, if they cannot be friends and allies, they may at least be not quite such bitter enemies. On the other hand, the clergy have no great faith in the more moderate Liberalism of the Orleanists and Bonapartists; they remember old wounds received in the house of these friends; and if they could find a *modus vivendi* with the Republic, they would resign themselves, in the hope of better times and sounder conversions. And thus, while M. Ferry, instead of advancing, seems willing to stand still or even draw back, the Pope is furthering these favourable dispositions by the studied moderation of his words and the reasonableness of his claims.

In Belgium, on the contrary, the relations broken in 1880 have never been resumed.\* Belgium is at present under just such a Government as the Orleans Government would be in France—a

\* This article, it will be seen, was written before the recent elections in Belgium, and the consequent proposal to renew diplomatic intercourse between Belgium and the Vatican.—Ed.

Government of Moderate Liberals ; and this is precisely the party which the Church believes to be most steadily hostile to her, and with which she is least ready to come to an understanding. Every one remembers how, when the Ministry introduced in the Belgian Chamber the Law of July 1 on Elementary Instruction—a law by which, as the Pope observed in his allocution of August 20, great offence was done to the doctrine and rights of the Church—the Belgian bishops offered a strenuous opposition, while the Pope appealed to the King. Whereupon, complains the Pope, the Belgian Ministry requested him to censure the bishops for their conduct, “and to blame them for that for which they were rather to be commended.” The Pope refused, though he counselled the bishops to use moderation ; and the Ministry at once dismissed his nuncio.

Nor is it likely that this state of things will be altered except by a change of parties in the Belgian Government ; and this does not at present appear very improbable.

## XIII.

It is in Russia that the moderation of the Pope seems likely to bear the most lasting fruit. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne (April 12, 1880), the Pope wrote to him, expressing his good wishes for his prosperity, which he trusted God would fulfil, reminding him of the hardships to which Catholics were subjected in his dominions, and praying God to inspire him with better counsels, and unite him to Himself in perfect charity ; and he did not fail to point out that “the Catholic religion, in virtue of its very office, had always endeavoured to promote the spirit of peace, and to make itself the guardian of the tranquillity of kingdoms and peoples.” When the Czar, so far from prospering, was barbarously murdered, the Pope, in his Encyclical on Civil Government, raised a cry of horror. It is undoubtedly due to this persistent friendliness of attitude that, without any formal re-establishment of peace between the Empire and the Papacy, their mutual relations have become much less strained ; and the Pope has been able to appoint several bishops, and to obtain a considerable mitigation in the treatment of the Catholic Church in that schismatic empire, and more particularly in Poland.

## XIV.

From this review of the foreign relations of the Papacy, it appears on the whole that while Leo XIII. has been at great pains to improve them, has shown in his treatment of them a wary and prudent spirit, and has brought them into a somewhat calmer and more pacific train, yet, from the intrinsic difficulties of the questions to be solved, from the nature of the influences most powerful with the

various Governments, and from the adverse current of modern ideas, the result has hardly corresponded with his hopes and endeavours. But of all the external relations of the Church, by far the most important at present are its relations with Rome itself, and with the kingdom of Italy; and these now remain to be considered.

There are several aspects in which the Pope's conduct with regard to Italy may be viewed, and of these the first and chief is this: What conception does he form to himself of the position in which the Papacy has been placed by the loss of the temporal power, and by the transformation of its capital into the capital of the kingdom of Italy? Now I have already shown that on this point the Pope's views do not diverge in the very least from those of his predecessor. He has never ceased to repeat what he said in his first allocution, that the spiritual Government of the Church cannot act freely without the co-existence of a State of which it must be the head. Whether this State was to be exactly the same as before, or how and within what limits it was to be reconstituted, he has never explained; nor yet has he ever admitted that it was desirable or desired that it should be forcibly restored by foreign arms. He appears to have believed that such a result ought to be and could be brought about by a simple change in public opinion, and he has used all his moral influence to produce this change. He even thinks that a better acquaintance with history would be of use, in leading Europe, and especially Italy, to form a more favourable judgment of the temporal government of the Papacy than has hitherto been formed; and that the recognition of the benefits received from it in the past would stimulate a desire to resuscitate it from its ashes to live for many centuries. To some minds these expectations may seem so illusory that they may hesitate to accept them as even sincere. I, for my part, believe them to be as sincere as they are illusory. They are natural to a mind like that of Leo XIII.

Yet, while the Pope has never swerved from that opinion of the necessity of the temporal power which has placed him in an attitude of permanent hostility to the kingdom of Italy, it may be observed that the singular gentleness which at first marked his expressions has faded out of them, and they have become gradually sharper and more irritated. The reason of this change of tone is sad enough.

On the night of July 13, 1881, the body of Pius IX. was to be transferred, in obedience to orders left by him, from the Vatican basilica to that of San Lorenzo, where it was to be buried. The removal was effected in the night, without pomp, and by arrangement with the Italian police. The Italian police failed in their duty. Less from ill-will, no doubt, than for want of the necessary precautions, they allowed a mob of the enemies of the late Pope and of the Church, and indeed of religion itself—amongst whom was

one deputy—to follow the bier, outraging his memory by all sorts of clamours, and even threatening to throw his body into the Tiber. Further than this the disorder happily did not go; but this was enough to justify Leo XIII. in appealing to all the Cabinets of Europe; and in an allocution of August 4 of that year he drew from it new argument for deploring the position of the Papacy.

"This grievous and atrocious outrage," he says, "has brought the deepest sorrow and distress upon our soul. And since our office constitutes us the avenger of every offence attempted against the majesty of the Roman Pontificate and the venerable memory of our Predecessors, we solemnly protest before you, Venerable Brethren, against these deplorable excesses, and we loudly complain of this wrong, of which the whole blame falls on those who failed to defend either the claims of religion or the liberties of citizens from the rage of the ungodly. From this alone the Catholic world may judge what security remains for us in Rome. It was already openly known that we were reduced to a condition painful and difficult to us, and in many ways intolerable, but the recent event of which we speak has made it yet more plain and evident, and at the same time has demonstrated, that if the present state of things is bitter to us, still more bitter must be the fear of the future. For if the removal of the ashes of Pius IX. gave occasion to the most disgraceful disorders, and to a serious tumult, who can guarantee that the audacity of the wicked would not break out into the same excesses if they should see us passing through the streets of Rome in a manner befitting our dignity? more especially if they believed themselves to have just grounds of offence, because we, constrained by our duty, had been led either to condemn unjust laws decreed here in Rome, or to reprobate the wickedness of some other public act? Hence it is more than ever manifest that under present circumstances we cannot remain in Rome unless as prisoners in the Vatican. Nay, more; whoever gives his mind to certain indications which appear here and there, and considers withal how openly the opposing factions have conspired for the extermination of the Catholic name, may well assure himself that more pernicious projects are being matured, to the injury of Christ's religion, of the Supreme Pontiff, and of the ancestral faith of the Roman people."

Leo XIII., therefore, will remain, as he has hitherto remained, a prisoner in the Vatican, which is the visible protest suddenly resolved upon by Pius IX. after the entry of the Italian troops into Rome. And, indeed, a Pope who does not determine to renounce this attitude within the first week of his Pontificate will never renounce it at all, such are the influences, both Italian and foreign, which close round him as time goes on. Moreover, it is very doubtful what sort of reception the Pope would now meet with in the streets of Rome. The excessive devotion of some would be sure to excite the irritation of others, and the two parties would come certainly to insults, and probably to blows. It may easily be supposed that the Italian Government is not sorry that the Pope does not make the experiment.

And yet it cannot be said that in Rome itself the majority of the old citizens are adverse to the Pope. On the contrary, the municipal elections, in which the Papal Court does not forbid, but rather advises and encourages them to take part, show that the majority are unmis-

takably favourable to him, and to the religious principle he represents. Nevertheless, it would be going too far to conclude that they would be equally contented if the present order of things were altered; it has already created too many interests which are bound up with it. Be this as it may, one of the Pope's first cares is to maintain this goodwill towards himself in Rome; and he believes that the only way really to deprive him of it would be to alienate the Romans from the Catholic faith. Hence, as early as June 26, 1878, he wrote to Cardinal Lavalletta, Vicar-General of Rome, calling his attention to the plots which were being laid on every side against that faith.

"Here, in the city of Rome," he said, "is an unbridled press, and journals issued for the very purpose of combating the faith with sophistries and mockeries, impugning the sacred interests of the Church, and damaging her authority; here Protestant chapels, raised by the gold of Bible societies, spring up, as if to insult us, in the most populous places; here schools, asylums, and refuges stand open to inconsiderate youth, apparently with the philanthropic purpose of caring for their mental culture and material wants, but with the real object of bringing up a generation hostile to the Church of Christ. And, as if all this were not enough, those who by the duty of their office were bound to promote the true interests of the citizens of Rome, have lately decreed the banishment of the Catholic Catechism from the municipal schools."

These words are enough to show what grief the actual condition of Rome and the liberty of worship and instruction permitted by the Italian Government are causing in the heart of the Pontiff. He sets forth at length the gravity of these evils in his opinion, and how impossible it is, "in the midst of this people, perverted by the most signal treachery, for the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Head of the Faithful, to obtain the reverence due to his supreme authority, to fill with dignity his august seat, and to attend in peace and honour to the duties of the Pontifical ministry." Nor does he confine himself to complaints. He charges the Cardinal Vicar to exert himself that not only the parish priests may redouble their zeal and diligence in the teaching of the Catechism, but that new and effectual means may be found to fill the gap left by the fault of others. He calls on the clergy to rouse themselves; on the Catholic associations to come to their aid; on the laity to help, "under the superintendence of one or more priests," in teaching the Catechism; he wishes the schools and oratories reinforced; and for all these purposes he promises to furnish funds, "since it has not escaped him that to succeed in his design the aid of material resources will be required."

To these subjects he has since repeatedly recurred, and especially to that of the schools. On March 25, 1879, he nominated a commission of prelates and nobles to take the direction and superintendence of all the Catholic schools dependent on the Pope, "as well the elementary as those in which primary instruction is imparted, without, however, making any changes in the persons or institutions by which they are at present governed; and to be, as it were, a

common centre from which, so far as existing circumstances admit, all may receive unity and increase."

These efforts of the Pope, to which no obstruction has been offered by the Italian Legislature, have not been without effect. The schools founded or aided by his means have drawn away a large proportion of the scholars from the secular schools created by the communal law; and these communal schools, in order not to be quite deserted, have found it necessary to assure the parents that their children shall receive a sound and thorough religious education. As to the spread of the opinions of the various Protestant sects which have been building churches in Rome, it never was likely to be very rapid or extensive, and it now appears to be less so than ever.

While the Pope has been setting himself with such earnestness to maintain and increase the number of his sympathizers in Rome, he has endeavoured to revive Catholic opinion in other parts of Italy by means of Catholic Associations, which are continually being formed and which have received his warmest encouragement. The pilgrimages of the faithful to Rome have been another means of confirming the loyalty of those who still adhere to him, and of inviting that of others. They have also served to make it plain to Europe that the power of the Papacy is not quite extinct in Italy. Pilgrimages have even been made from other European countries; and they will probably continue to be made, since Catholic agitators seem to lay great stress on them. The Italian Government has done everything in its power—and done it successfully—to provide against any breach of order; and no pilgrim can complain of having been ill received or ill treated on account of his opinions, either in Rome or in any other Italian city. Perhaps, indeed, these pilgrimages, instead of producing the impression expected by the Pope and his Court, may rather tend to convince the pilgrims that the Italian Government in Rome is not quite such a monster of wickedness as the clergy of their respective countries had led them to suppose; and that the Pope, whether he ever goes out of the Vatican or not, is somewhat less oppressed and unhappy than they had imagined.

Yet Leo XIII. has remained as stubborn as Pius IX. in forbidding Catholics—at least such Catholics as trouble themselves about his advice or permission—to take part in public life in Italy, either in Parliament, or in Parliamentary elections. They may belong to the administrative councils of communes and provinces; but there must be no participation in acts which might compromise them with the Usurpation. "Neither electors nor elected" is still the maxim of the clerical party. It is, however, difficult to judge how far, and by how many, this rule is really followed; because in Italy the number of electors who do not vote amounts in some places to half, and in others to a third, of those on the register; and no one is in a



position to say how many of those who abstain do so in obedience to the Pope's prohibition. Enough, that the effect of the Papal policy has been to prevent the force of clerical opinion from making itself felt in the deliberations of Parliament and of the Cabinet ; so that where it might operate, either alone or with others, to make the views and interests of Catholicism prevail or influence in the Legislature or in the general direction of policy and administration, it does not act at all ; and the probability is that a wider and wider gulf will thus open between the guiding principles of the Church and of the State.

Nevertheless, the Pope, like his predecessor, shows less hostility to the King than to the kingdom. Especially at the beginning, he showed that he was willing enough to make himself agreeable to the King and Queen of Italy. Pius IX. had placed the Quirinal under an interdict, and the King and Queen, to their great inconvenience—and more particularly to hers—were consequently obliged to go elsewhere to hear Mass. Leo XIII. removed the interdict. Just lately, on the other hand, the Government having expressed a wish—not a very reasonable one—to place the tomb of Victor Emanuel II. in the centre of the Pantheon, the Pope objected, alleging that such an arrangement was not admissible in a church ; and the Government was obliged to submit, and to content itself with placing the tomb in a side chapel indicated by the Pope. It may perhaps seem strange that two such hostile powers should treat each other, in particular cases, with so much consideration ; but the spirit of compromise is a native attribute of the Italian.

The present Pope, while protesting against the law of guarantees as one which, in his opinion, affords a very insufficient guarantee, if any at all, for the independent exercise of his spiritual authority, has shown just this spirit of compromise, reconciling himself with facts in a way his predecessor never attempted to do. One example of this practical acquiescence is to be found in the *motu proprio* of May 25, 1882, by which he instituted the Vatican tribunals—tribunals competent to decide all controversies which might arise either between the Pontifical administration and those who had dealings with it, or within the administration itself, as to the rights of those who composed it. The Italian tribunals, in an appeal against the Papal administration brought before them by one of its employés, made the mistake of refusing to admit the legality of the jurisdiction created by the Pope ; but while they declined to recognize his jurisdiction, they were not unaware of the danger of proving the validity of their own by pronouncing a sentence which would have to be put in force against that administration. The truth is, that according to a just interpretation of the law of guarantees, the Pope has not exceeded his powers, and he has taken the only means which was left him of setting his own administration in order. But if the Italian Government

itself has not, on the whole, been wanting in tact and prudence, the tribunals, by their nature, have ; and of this the Court of Cassation in Rome has supplied the latest instance by declaring the revenues of the Congregation of the Propaganda subject to conversion into public funds. Here also the Government has made a mistake, provoking a sentence which cannot seem just to the Catholic sentiment of Europe, and which would subject to the narrow purposes of an Italian Legislature a revenue derived from world-wide sources and destined to world-wide ends.

## XV.

And now, at last, we may perhaps venture to sum up, and express an opinion on these six years of Pontifical Government.

It was not to be expected that Leo XIII. should abandon any Catholic doctrine or practice. If his mind is lofty enough to expatiate in the thought of the deeper and more intimate relations which exist between the Church and society, his spirit is so humbly pious as to stoop to prescribe the exact ritual with which the feasts and office of the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin Mary are to be everywhere celebrated, to attach great importance to the proclamation of St. Cyril and St. Methodius as saints of the Universal Church, to announce a jubilee for the purpose of staving off the ills by which the Church is threatened or oppressed, to recall to life and dignity the Third Order of St. Francis, and to celebrate even more canonizations than his predecessor—canonizations, moreover, of persons whose lives do not rise above a strictly ascetic ideal, and who appear, when judged by any but the most purely sacerdotal standard, to have been of no practical use whatever to society, nor even of any very wide or powerful moral influence. In the same way, he has not departed, in his relations with the various States, from the principles which have guided the Church hitherto ; he aims at securing the free exercise of her authority, and the retention of institutions such as the religious confraternities, which he considers necessary to her vigour and expansion. In renewing or ameliorating her foreign relations, he follows the old methods of the Roman Church, adapting his conduct and tempering his principles to the conditions of each State in particular. And, perhaps, in the matter of compromise with France, with Germany, or with Belgium, he would go farther than he has done if he were altogether free to act on his own initiative. But his own temper is more moderate than that of those who surround him, and very much more moderate than that of the Catholic clergy and laity of the countries in question. In the letter of October 22, 1880, to the French clergy, he is evidently defending himself from the charge of having conceded too much in permitting the members of the religious confraternities to make the declaration

already quoted as to their abstinence from political partisanship; his admonitions to the Irish and Belgian clergy show the same spirit; and he addresses similar admonitions to the Catholic clergy of Spain.\*

He seems sincerely desirous to free the cause of religion from entanglement with this or that particular policy. In no country does he appear to have aided or abetted the formation of a party calling itself Catholic, which should take its place among the other political parties, and, by means of various combinations, defend the interests of the religion whose name it bears. He regards such a mode of defence as dangerous, and trusts rather to the safer and more effectual aid which may come from a general and profound revolution in the opinions of peoples and governments. But even here he has found, and finds, great practical difficulties. These Catholic parties exist everywhere, and they everywhere claim to support the Papacy, in order to be supported by it. To refuse to profit by their aid, and not to approve, at least to some extent, of their pretensions, would be to deprive the Papacy of steadfast friends, firmly bound to it by their own interests, or at any rate to cool their devotion; and it is not clear that such a course would serve to gain any new ones. Now these parties are by no means purely religious: they carry along with them a good deal of worldly dross, of ambitions, and even corruptions, of every sort. A faith which seeks to wait only upon God must find itself ill at ease in their company, and yet it cannot separate itself from them.

In [fine, this erudite Pope, with his serious disposition, his scholarly tastes and his literary nurture, has not yet found a language in which to make himself acceptable to the greatest and most active part of his generation, or thoughts which agree to its feelings. The exhibitions of his learning are often magnificent, as is the style in which he clothes it. But, as the saying of it is elaborated in a dead language, so the thing said seems itself to rise and walk in grave-clothes through a graveyard. It is impossible to say whether the Papacy may not discover some new way of adapting itself to a generation truly alive, busy, productive, confident in the future; but the way has certainly not been found for it by Leo XIII. His very admiration for Thomas Aquinas, and his proposal to make his works the principal study of the clerical schools, must drive from these schools any new intellectual movement, such as that, for instance, which was represented—with no lack of devotion to the Church—by Antonio Rosarini and his followers.† It is said that in the celebrated pro-

\* Thus, in his letter to the Spanish bishops (December 1882), he wrote: "*Fugienda illorum opinio prepostera, qui religionem cum aliqua parte civili permiscunt ac velut in unum confundunt acque adeo, ut eos qui sint ex altera parte prope descivisse a catholico nomine decernant.*"

† See his letter of January 22, 1882, to the Bishops of Turin, Milan, and Vercelli.

phesy of the Abate Gioacchino, the motto which represented the present Pope was "Lumen de Coelo," while that of his predecessor was "Crux de Cruce." Without undervaluing Leo XIII. it must still be admitted that the former seems now less true than the latter.

And besides the adverse current of modern thought in every department of science and literature, the political conditions of the time are all against him. In the policy of the various Governments the Liberals have a great and often a prevailing influence. They have not everywhere the same conception of the State, of its rights, its powers, its functions; but of all these different conceptions not one coincides with that of the Catholic Church. The influence of the Church, so far from being desired, is dreaded by them; the aid she offers seems to them dangerous to accept. And, granting that the evils which the Pope complains of in modern society are real, yet, since Catholicism has not prevented their existence, how are we to believe it able, as it professes itself, to effect their cure?

Surrounded by so many difficulties, the Pope, so far, has not made much way. With Italy his policy is at a dead-lock. In France he has to content himself with its barely not breaking down altogether; in Germany there is, perhaps, somewhat more prospect of a favourable conclusion—that is, if he modifies his claims. But the Papal key will not turn in the lock. No single impediment is altogether and everywhere removed. To say the truth—and there is no irreverence in the comparison—I sometimes think of the Pope as the composer of some marvellous piece of music, full of hidden harmonies, the performance of which he is conducting himself. The movement of his arms is imposing and full of expression; it goes with the music perfectly; no performer need blunder, or does blunder, in his part; so great is the respect which they feel for him. But alas! wind and stringed instruments have, all of them one defect—they give no sound. If you watch the leader of the orchestra you expect to hear divine music, and you even seem to hear it; but in fact you hear nothing at all. And so long as the instruments are unchanged—if the dumbness be in them—or the charmed air which refuses to convey their vibrations is not disenchanted, nothing can come of all these stately movements but the labour of making them, nor of this noble composition except the effort of having composed it, and of rehearsing it in vain from day to day.

R. BONGHI.

## TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION IN AMERICA.

**M**R. MATHER'S report\* seems to be the production of a gentleman who entered upon his work with a foregone conclusion which the facts he learnt in the course of his inquiry did not bear out, which, indeed, they contradicted and refuted, but which he could never bring himself to part with. An initial bias set him at the first in a wrong direction, and his preconceived notions hampered him to the end. Accordingly this report presents no clear, synthetic, view of facts in their mutual relations. Certain incorrect assumptions, stated or intimated early in the report, although they are refuted by evidence which Mr. Mather himself unconsciously furnishes, nevertheless infect, so to speak, the general tone of the report, and re-appear here and there to the end, in intimations, if not in distinct affirmation. I shall very soon explain and illustrate what I have now been saying.

Mr. Mather seems, besides the preconceptions to which I have referred, to have laid down a principle for himself in regard to the purpose and method of his report, to which I venture to take an initial objection. "I have not thought it appropriate to the object of my mission," he says (p. 65) "to record in this report my observations of those things in which we are superior to the Americans. The object of travelling in other countries for the benefit of those at home is to learn and not to condemn." So it is that totally false views of the comparative condition of countries come to be circulated on official authority. "To condemn!" What

\* Mr. Mather was engaged by the "Royal Commissioners on Technical Instruction" to report to them as to "Technical Education in the United States and Canada." This paper relates only to the United States, and chiefly to Mr. Mather's observations in regard to the relations between the Public School System and Technical Education in the States.

has a Report to do with condemnation any more than with compliment? The business of a Report is to state facts with impartial accuracy. If those facts show America to be superior to England they must be stated. But if all the points of superiority are stated, and it is also left to be inferred that in other respects the condition of the country visited in regard to the matters under inquiry is equal to that of our own country, whilst, in fact, it is, in many of these respects, inferior, a totally misleading impression as to the whole question is the result. The excellences and the defects of a country's institutions are often the counterparts of each other, are inseparable from each other, and are traceable to a common cause. A nation, like a man, has, to borrow a French expression, the defects of its strong points, of its good qualities. Educational centralization and bureaucracy in Germany, for example, produce, in certain directions, high results which a really free country, like England or America, cannot expect to equal in the same form and kind. But at the same time they produce evil effects, especially in the way of national lethargy, of the repression of energy, enterprise, and inventiveness, of an inert and unselfreliant national character (outside at least of certain free and stirring local communities, that subsist under exceptional conditions), effects which such writers as Riehl, such education commissioners as Mark Pattison, and such critics of German character and national life as "George Eliot," have pointed out with a distinctness and emphasis worthy of the gravest attention on the part of educationists and statesmen. The case of America is the precise converse of that of Germany. There centralization has been unknown; but the people have been self-educating to a remarkable degree, and invention and energy which owe nothing to school-training, but are a part of the intense vitality that burns in every vein of the Anglo-American new world, are doing their work with a sort of victorious spontaneity in every part of the country. England stands in character and in conditions mid-way between America and Germany. In some respects it is in advance of America, in other respects behind it; in some respects inferior to Germany, in many respects superior. But to learn any true lesson intelligently as to the comparative condition of the countries, it is necessary to know how far any superiority in one country is due to institutions or arrangements such as are not incompatible with the necessary conditions of the other country, and can be transferred, so to speak, to that country, at least in principle, and how far such superiority is due to natural circumstances peculiar to the country in which it occurs, and which have no parallel in the other country, or is due to institutions which are possible in the country in which it occurs, but are impossible, perhaps by reason of its very superiority in other and more important respects, in the other country. Whatever superiority

belongs to America over England is due for the most part, not to any institutions or to any political or municipal provisions, but to the circumstances of the country and its population. The lesson which needs to be taught is what points of superiority are due to provisions or institutions in which England may imitate America. But this lesson cannot be taught without such a comparative view of national conditions and circumstances and institutions, and of the manner in which they work, and the results they produce, in the two countries, as Mr. Mather has made no attempt to give. A clear general view of this kind would have been an invaluable guide to conclusions. It need not have been given in much detail; but, in some form, it should have furnished a basis for comparison and inference. If that had been given, the points of England's superiority to America must at least have been indicated. And it would have been seen to how large an extent, in both countries, their respective excellencies and defects are due to causes which are inseparable from the circumstances that belong to each.

I have intimated that this Report starts with a foregone conclusion, and that that conclusion is erroneous, and is in the course of the Report itself unconsciously refuted.

"It is well known," he says, "that the system of education prevalent in the United States differs from the European systems. The results accruing from universal, free, and graded schools can best be measured by a close inspection of the industries of the country, in which the working classes display their knowledge by the fruits of their labour."

"The pre-eminence of the Americans in many branches of mechanical industry, renders it necessary to give a general view of the character and scope of the education in the public schools, as well as to discover what provision has been and is being made for technical and industrial training."

It is here assumed that the results of the public school education of the States are to be found in the industries of the country, and especially in American "mechanical industry." Whereas I shall show, and shall call Mr. Mather as a witness in support of my conclusion, that the public schools of the Union have produced no direct or appreciable results in the organized industries of the country. It is assumed that the working classes have carried into their industries a preparation which they obtained in the public schools. I shall show that the working classes have not been prepared at all in the public schools for any industrial occupation. I shall show, further, that the schools, so far as they have had any influence in regard to industrial labour, have had an unfriendly influence, and that the "pre-eminence of Americans in many branches of mechanical industry" has been due to causes quite outside the schools. Mr. Mather's own facts will be especially valuable in the illustration of this last point.

But before I proceed to make good these statements, let me point

out some of the errors into which Mr. Mather has fallen as to the character and working of the American school system, and which show that, however carefully he may have examined into the working of institutions of technical instruction, he has overlooked some leading facts relating to the American "common schools."

In Part I. of his Report, Mr. Mather proposes to give "a general view of the public schools in cities and counties." In this he tells us that "the course of instruction in the Primary Schools extends from 6 to 9-10 years inclusive; in the Grammar Schools from 10 to 14-15 years inclusive; in the High Schools from 14-15 to 17-18 years." But he does not inform us, and, so far as appears from the whole of the Report he does not seem to be aware, that by Primary Schools in the United States are meant schools in which as yet the scholars have not advanced as far as English grammar; while by "Grammar Schools" are meant schools in which English grammar is for the first time taught, not, however, until the second or third year after entering them, and which give a plain English education, certainly not superior—not, indeed, on a fair average of the whole country, equal—to the education given in the Public Elementary Schools of England to the scholars in the upper standards. I speak with confidence on this subject because I have for many years had the opportunity of specially studying the American public school system, and during two visits to the States, in 1873 and 1876, personally inspecting the best schools in the chief American cities. I may add that in 1873 I visited the Education Department at Washington, that I possess the successive Reports of the Commissioners; and that since my visit I have received all the official publications of the Bureau, including not only the Reports but the circulars of General Information. I may perhaps be permitted to refer to an article on "National Education in the United States," which I contributed to the *Quarterly Review* in April 1875, for detailed evidence as to the scope and range of instruction in the Primary and Grammar Schools of the Union.

Taking New York as a highly favourable example of American public school organization, it will be found that in that city few children enter the primary school till they are seven,—while many remain there till they are twelve, and some till they are thirteen. I myself found a girl of thirteen, not exceptionally dull, in a high class primary school in New York. The primary school includes six grades, and a bright scholar should pass through in three years. In the "Grammar Schools," the ages of the children range from ten or eleven to sixteen or even seventeen, and the course includes eight grades, which a good scholar should pass through in four years. But the children do not begin to learn English grammar till they have reached the fourth grade in the grammar school, which implies



almost invariably that they have been two years at the school, their age being, on an average, not less than thirteen. And it is particularly to be noted that one-half of the children leave school at twelve or thirteen years of age, a fact of which Mr. Mather's Report takes no notice. One half of the children, that is to say, leave school without having reached a standard of instruction at all superior to that which children in our own English elementary schools are required to reach before they can be allowed to go to labour as half-timers, continuing their education for some years afterwards at school. The highest curriculum for the year usually attained in a New York grammar school, the scholars it must be remembered, being fifteen or sixteen years old, includes commercial arithmetic—"percentage, interest, profit and loss"—and square root, but no algebra or geometry. The elementary astronomy of the solar system comes in as a subject, a subject which in good English elementary schools, whether voluntary or school board, is usually taught to children of the upper standards (iv. or v. to vii.) in connection with physical geography. The simple elements of natural philosophy, introduced a year earlier, are explained "with homely and practical illustrations," as in the object lessons of good English schools. Drawing is no necessary subject, and is only occasionally taught. English composition, begun the year before, is carried forward in this last year's course.

There is, indeed, a "new course of advanced studies" for scholars of exceptional proficiency, which, however, very few scholars have been found able to undertake, even at the age of sixteen or seventeen, and as a preparation for college or high school. This course includes—I quote from the "Manual of Discipline and Instruction," drawn up for the use of teachers in the public schools (New York, 1873)—"Reading, spelling, and etymology, continued;" "Arithmetic, continued, with mensuration," "English grammar, continued, with composition," the composition, now for the first time, "to include impromptu exercises." "Practice" also, "is to be afforded in letter writing, with instructions as to folding, directing, &c." The "Outlines of Astronomy" are to be "continued." Algebra appears in this course, and should be carried as far as "Simple Equations." The "Outlines of Ancient and Modern General History" are to be taught—the usual course of history in the highest classes of the grammar schools being limited to that of the United States. Book-keeping, the Constitution of the United States, the rudiments of (Legendre's) Plane Geometry, and the elementary facts and principles of Chemistry, complete the scheme of advanced studies for scholars of seventeen, in this highest syllabus for the year of the New York grammar schools, according to the "new course." In respect to this course, assistant-superintendent Harrison, in his Report for 1872, stated that it was so far in

advance of the general standard of grammar-school attainment that, in a large number of instances, he found scholars of the first or highest grade, instead of pursuing this "*first grade* with the necessary modifications, pursuing the *second grade*, and, in a few instances, the *third grade with modifications*"—i.e., the third grade reduced.

Such is the course of instruction given in the "common schools" of New York. And New York affords, as would naturally be supposed, a superior instance of American school organization. The Cincinnati course includes drawing and a little elementary science ("Object Lessons"), and is more advanced in grammar studies, but is inferior in arithmetic. Boston, like Edinburgh in the United Kingdom, is exceptionally superior in its educational organization. But its chief distinction lies in its school education being more thorough than is common elsewhere and including more often some provision for teaching Latin. Nothing in the way of technical instruction is given anywhere. Science in New York, as we have seen, only appears in a faint trace in the most advanced course—a course, it might be said, for young men or young women. In the City of Cincinnati its rudiments appear to be taught in much the same manner and degree as in the best English elementary schools.

During the last few years education does not appear to have advanced materially, if at all, in the schools of the Union. Indeed, owing to the great improvement in trade, between 1877 and 1883 the school attendance would seem to have fallen off in most parts of the Union. The last Report of the Commissioner of Education (1881) contains repeated complaints on this head. The scholars have left school earlier and attended with less regularity. The complaints relate to most of the leading States, including New York and Pennsylvania.

I must return, however, to Mr. Mather's "general view" of American public schools. How defective it is I have already shown. How absolutely untrustworthy it is, in respect of its particular and positive statements, remains to be shown. "Both sexes," he says, "are in all cases taught together, but the playgrounds are separate." This is much as if a foreign Commissioner, having seen some large mixed schools in East Lancashire, were to inform his Government and his country that "in England both sexes are in all cases taught together." Such an assertion would be equally true with that of this Report. Has Mr. Mather concluded his work without entering a New York Girls' School? The fact is, that in America the controversy as to "co-education" is exceedingly keen, and the ablest opponents of the system are found in New England where such co-education has been more completely carried out than elsewhere. If E. B. Duffey, a Pennsylvanian educationist, pleads for co-education in his book

entitled "No Sex in Education," Dr. Clark, of Boston, in his work on "Sex in Education," very strongly maintains the opposite view. And in New York, as I have intimated, and as is indeed notorious, the vast majority of the public schools are organized on the strictly separate system. "The playgrounds are separate." Usually, no doubt, they are, *when there are playgrounds*. But the implication that playgrounds for schools in the States are a matter of course is an entire mistake. There are scarcely any playgrounds, for example, in New York. Land there is much too costly; and, indeed, throughout the Union playgrounds are rather the exception than the rule.

But perhaps Mr. Mather's most extraordinary statement is that relating to compulsory education. "There is no compulsory law," he says, "in operation in the United States, excepting in the case of children in the district schools among the rural population. This is limited to enforcing attendance for twenty weeks in the year. A half-time system is recognized in the country districts in order to allow the children to assist in the farms."

Now, to begin with, there is, *in our English sense of the word*, no compulsory law in operation anywhere in the States under any circumstances. The last Report of the Commissioner of Education enumerates seven out of the forty-seven States or Territories as having laws of compulsory education. But English readers will be surprised to learn what is meant by these compulsory laws. In the foremost and enlightened State of Connecticut the law is given as follows in the Commissioner's Report:—"All children, from 8 to 14, unless physically or mentally disabled, must attend *some school at least three months in the year, of which six weeks must be consecutive, or else be taught the common school branches at home for an equal length of time*, and such children may not be employed in any business unless they have been taught for *at least sixty days during the year preceding*." For English people to be told that there is a law of educational compulsion in this State, conveys an idea completely misleading. We in this country should call such a law one of educational laxity and indulgence, carried to an unheard-of extreme. It does not so much compel education as permit and sanction the neglect of it. The law in New Hampshire, another New England State, is the same, except that for sixty days it substitutes "three months." In the world-famous State of Maine, the State of the saintly Payson, and now of the distinguished Mr. Blaine, the law is that children "between 9 and 15" must attend school at least twelve weeks, "unless instructed elsewhere." In Nevada the law requires four months' attendance for children between 8 and 14 *not taught elsewhere*. But, oddly enough, the schools in Nevada, in order to obtain State pay, are only required to be taught for *three months* in the year by teachers "duly examined and certified." Massachusetts is, of course, by far the most advanced State in the

Union, as respects education, and in this State the law forbids the employment of children under 14 years of age, who cannot read and write, "unless they have attended school at least *twenty weeks* of the preceding school year." California has on the Statute Book a law which orders children to be sent to school at least two-thirds of the time during which the schools are open. But the law is one which there is no machinery to enforce and for the breach of which there is no penalty provided. Doubtless it is a dead letter.\*

Then what is meant by saying that "there is a compulsory law, in the case of district schools among the rural population, which is limited to enforcing attendance for twenty weeks in the year?" It seems evident that, from the special and solitary case of the comparatively small and every way exceptional State of Massachusetts, he has drawn a general inference as wide as the whole rural population of the States, and all the rural district-schools.

But again, what are we to understand by the "half-time system in the country-districts," of which Mr. Mather speaks? He refers, there is no doubt, to the almost universal custom (which he afterwards incidentally describes) outside the larger towns of the Union, and especially in all farming regions—which of course means throughout by far the greatest part of the territory of the Union—of having only winter schools for the boys, while there are summer schools for the girls. These winter schools are held for periods varying from three to six months—very seldom, however, longer than five months. Such an arrangement is rendered absolutely necessary by the climate and conditions of the country; but to speak of it as "a half-time system" is something fresh. These schools, open only during the winter, are usually taught by men—seldom for more than two winter terms by the same man—the summer schools are taught by women. The engagement is at so many dollars the month, and the teachers, as a rule, are untrained. The winter teacher not seldom, however, pursues his studies during the summer at some college.

Now, the facts being as I have stated, what becomes of Mr. Mather's assertion that the results of public school instruction are to be found in the industries of America? Let us hear how he tries to make this out by instances. "The effect," he says, "of the schools is largely felt in the selection of men for the higher positions. The well-known and able manager of the Edgar-Thompson Steel Works was a public-school boy, but left at the primary stage, about thirteen years old, to work in a machine shop." That is to say, he

\* In Rhode Island there is a quasi-compulsory law, of an indirect and retrospective character, which enacts a penalty for the employment of children between twelve and fifteen who have not attended school at least three months during the year preceding.

left school without having learnt any grammar or mastered more than the four simple rules of arithmetic ; and this fact is given to prove that his public-school education fitted him for a high position !

However, determined to trace back the industrial success of America to the common schools, Mr. Mather makes a further attempt at inference in the next paragraph :—

“The facility to read, write, and reckon rapidly and intelligently has for many years been universal among the native-born working population of America. Upon this foundation much of the present skill and success in the engineering industries has been built. . . . The ‘school age’ extends over a period from five to eighteen years old, including the high school course. The children of the working-classes generally remain up to the completion of the grammar school course in their fifteenth year. . . . In very prosperous times boys have left school at fourteen years and under, tempted by the high wages prevailing, but there is a growing tendency to prolong the school life up to seventeen years of age.”

I have already stated that a large proportion of the scholars in the grammar schools leave for business or work before they are fourteen. For the detailed evidence in proof of this assertion I can only refer to the article in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1875. I have there given the statistics and the calculations which prove the point. As to the statement in the last sentence it is enough to say, as I have already indeed intimated, that the explicit and repeated statements of the highest educational authority in the States—the Commissioner of Education—directly contradicts it, so far as recent experience is concerned. But leaving these points, let me show how Mr. Mather contradicts himself. On the page of his Report immediately preceding that from which I have taken the last extract, I find the following passage :—

“The effect of the public schools, colleges, and universities, supported by taxation of the people, is more marked in general education in the literary branches, than in any special acquaintance with natural science, and in this direction their influence is not altogether a benefit. Too large a class of young people in America of both sexes are seeking pursuits not requiring manual labour. Their education, as given at present in the high schools and colleges, tends rather to unfit them for the active industries of life, in a country where the vast resources of Nature are waiting for willing and trained hands to utilize them. The native-born American hates drudgery, and all the mechanical arts, when pursued without some knowledge of science to employ and interest the mind, while the hands are active, are more or less drudgery. The American boy with his inborn ambition and natural ingenuity would cease to regard manual labour as drudgery if his hand and mind together were industrially trained through the school period. He would then be led into industrial employments by choice, as the readiest means to climb to a higher position in life.

“It cannot be denied, however, that a widespread aptitude to learn and understand has been implanted by the public schools of America. A high degree of self-respect marks the workmen who have passed through the schools, and to those ‘who have it in them,’ the education even of the grammar school, closing at fourteen to fifteen years old, enables self-improvement to be continued by boys of talent and energy without great difficulty, even through private study.”

It is evident that what I have now quoted is not easy to reconcile with the last preceding extract from the Report. True, indeed, to his original error as to the common schools generally, Mr. Mather here would throw the blame of unfitting the rising youth of the country for industrial pursuits on the high schools and colleges, as distinguished from the grammar schools. But, in the first place, the number of boys who go forward to such schools and colleges is altogether insignificant. In the next place, it is in these alone—that is, in a few of the best of them—that anything worthy to be called technical or scientific instruction is given, as indeed Mr. Mather himself notes elsewhere. The attempt, therefore, to lay the blame of unfitting the American youth for industrial occupation on the high schools and colleges is singularly weak and vain. What remains is the fact thus borne witness to by Mr. Mather himself, that the results of the common school instruction of the United States are *not* to be found in the industrial aptitudes or pre-eminence of the people. Mr. Mather's evidence goes to prove that the tendency of the common schools has told in a contrary direction. Without more words, therefore, I leave the two extracts I have given to confront each other, merely noting once again the persevering zeal with which, in the closing paragraph of the second extract, the Reporter still tries to save something from the wreck of his foregone conclusions in regard to the effect of the common school system in promoting the improvement and development of American industries.

The same resolute purpose is amusingly shown in the following passage :—

"All Americans have more or less the mechanical faculty. It is the characteristic of the race. In early times, almost all men and all women were engaged in manual work, and in exercising their wits to avail themselves of the forces of Nature. *To this natural bias the public-school education gave the means for higher development.* The demand for mechanical contrivances to save labour held out the promise of great reward, and the production of cheap patents gave confidence and security. Thus the working-men of America have been educated and brought up under conditions different from those prevailing in Europe."

If, now, we leave out the sentence which I have printed in italics, this passage reads like pertinent and consecutive common sense. But that sentence is a manifest intrusion and incongruity. It is a sort of desperate effort to force the ruling prejudice, the dominant fallacy, into connexion with facts which resist such connexion.

Mr. Mather, it is evident, from some of the passages already quoted—the last in particular—and from several other passages in his report, especially the one I am about to quote, has had clear glimpses of the real secret of the mechanical genius of America, glimpses clear enough to show him, if he would but have candidly opened his eyes, that no special feature of the common school system, no superior quality or peculiar merit of that system, as distinguished from English or Conti-

mental school education, has had anything at all to do with the industrial and inventive faculties of the people.

"The district schools," he says, "in the rural parts of the counties are conducted on the basis of city schools, excepting that the recognized school period is twenty weeks in the year instead of forty. These schools have attracted some special attention in America on account of the general intelligence and aptitude for the industrial arts displayed by the scholars on entering upon employment in the cities. In the New England States especially (Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut), the absolute necessity for children over ten years of age to assist on the farm in the summer months has rendered it imperative to blend school and farm work in such a way that the parents may have assistance while the children's teaching is not sacrificed. The stony and somewhat sterile lands of New England require intense activity, industry, and skill on the part of the farmer to make a living. As hired labour is very dear, he depends on his own household for help. Every kind of work has to be done at home. Blacksmith's, wheelwright's, machinist's, carpenter's, and hydraulic work, become as familiar to the farmer, in a rough and ready way, as ploughing, tilling, sowing, and reaping. All handicrafts, in a greater or less degree, are acquired. The farmer's boy is thus provided with an industrial training of the best kind in and around his home. His wits are sharpened, his perceptions developed; there is a large field for the immediate application of knowledge acquired at school on the one hand; on the other, the school exercises and lessons are more readily understood by a boy or girl having in daily life to deal directly with natural forces and laws. These County or District Schools, associated as they are with agricultural and mechanical occupations, produce better results, as a whole, amongst the artisan classes than the city schools, the attendance at which is for the entire school year of forty weeks. My attention has been drawn to this fact by many employers and educationists, and it has been confirmed by my own observations. It suggests the importance of introducing into the elementary public schools of cities some industrial training. 'Our brightest boys come from the country,' is a phrase which has become very familiar to me in America."

Now when it is remembered that these rural schools, in the very States to which Mr. Mather particularly refers, have always been mere winter schools, kept open in many cases not for twenty weeks (except in Massachusetts quite recently) but for three or four months in the year—that these are the very States whose compulsory laws I have already quoted, laws which show that three months' schooling in a year is popularly regarded as fairly sufficient,—that the schools have never been taught by trained teachers—that the mere literary results of these schools have always been very inferior—and that there has been no technical or scientific instruction at all—it will be seen how instructive and suggestive is the passage I have quoted. But it is an absolute contradiction to the prepossession with which Mr. Mather set out on his inquiries.

The causes, indeed, of American success in mechanical and industrial inventions are not far to seek. Necessity, with its incessant pressure—opportunities, everywhere and always, for the application of inventive ingenuity—unfailing advantage and often great and tempting remuneration accruing from the exercise of such ingenuity—a boundless and

most stimulating field for enterprise—a territory waiting to be opened up of immeasurable capacity and incredible natural wealth and resources of almost every kind—an ease and security, thanks to their patent laws, in making good the fruits of their own invention and enterprise not to be found in other countries—and finally, a liberty of action and enterprise absolutely untrammelled—these, and not the common school arrangements, are the “conditions different from those prevailing in Europe, under which the working-men of America have been educated and brought up,” and which have produced such fruit of industrial invention in the country. Surely it is strange that Mr. Mather should not have learned a lesson so plain as this, with all the evidence which came before his view, and which, with singular unconsciousness of its meaning, he has himself furnished. His case is the opposite of that of the moth that flies round and round the light, and at last flies into it. He circles round and round the light, and after all turns away from it. The worst it would have done for him would have been to show him where he had gone wrong.

Mr. Mather has, in another part of his Report, given an instance which strikingly illustrates his own explanation, just quoted, in regard to the real causes of American ingenuity in mechanical invention, especially in New England. He speaks of Mr. Corliss, the inventor of the engine called after his name:—

“I enjoyed,” he says, “a long conversation with Mr. Corliss, whose modesty is quite equal to his intelligence. He was a public-school boy in a rural district of New Hampshire; afterwards was employed in a store from fourteen up to twenty-five years of age, and had never entered a machine shop until he was married. He had, however, built a bridge across the river of the village, and displayed mechanical abilities which eventually found their proper outlet.”

This suggestive instance could hardly be paralleled, we suppose, in Germany; nor, of late years, in England.

How much, indeed, situation and circumstance, motive and opportunity, need, and the certainty of a good return for the application of the inventive faculty, have to do with the advance of the States in mechanical progress is shown by the fact to which this Report bears witness, that European inventiveness becomes highly stimulated when it is transferred to the Transatlantic field. Any visitor to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876, with its very wonderful display of machinery, might have learned that many great American inventions are, in fact, the fruit of European brains, and especially of English engineering genius. Mr. Mather refers to this fact in the following passage: “Even the science of foreigners,” he says, “when applied here, takes different methods. The Englishman and German become bold and self-confident to a degree only manifested by rare men in Europe.” Truly he says, after referring, though it does not appear with what definite meaning, to “the



methods of education in the recent past" as approved in the results shown in the manufacture of machine tools and every kind of mechanism, that "other influences, such as 'necessity the mother of invention,' and the presence in America of foreign experts, will account for much of the rapid growth in the mechanic arts." The considerations which have now been adduced are amply sufficient to explain the rapid advance of America in industrial science and in mechanical invention. Compared with either England or any other manufacturing country of Europe, the technical schools and institutes of America make a meagre show, especially if we take into account the immense mineral wealth and the large population of the States. And the public-school system has done absolutely nothing for the technical education of the country. But yet, in such ways, and through such agencies as have been explained, the development of American industries has thus far been provided for. The case of America is the direct converse in all respects of that of Germany. And yet America has, no doubt, important lessons to learn from Germany, as respects technical instruction, and before very long may find its advantage still more in studying German methods and agencies. It may be trusted to learn whatever is necessary for its own industrial advancement. Only it can never accept a system of bureaucratic centralization in education, whether ordinary or technical. For it must remain a democratic country of free individualism.

There is one fact connected with the organized industries of America of which Mr. Mather does not seem to have been aware, though his observations again and again graze the very edge of it, and which would have made intelligible and reduced to order some facts that seem to have perplexed him. I refer to the fact that the vast majority of the real wage-earning operative population of the States are foreign born. Mr. Mather, indeed, says in one place that from visiting the workshops, iron and steel works, and various branches of mechanical industry, he had arrived at the conclusion that only one-fourth of the workmen are foreign, three-fourths being native born; and he refers to certain tables in his "Appendix E" as, on analysis, confirming this estimate. Unfortunately the tables throw no light whatever on the subject; no analysis can discover anything from them as to the point in question. They give the relative numbers engaged respectively in agriculture, in "trade and transportation," and in "manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries;" but they give no information whatever as to the birth or race of the workers. It is possible that in the higher branches of artistic industry and scientific mechanics the proportion of native to foreign born may be as Mr. Mather states; but as respects the chief aggregated industrial populations, and the operatives of the country generally, it may be truly said that they are all foreigners. The "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in the American "goodly land" are foreign "Gibeonites."

As Mr. Mather justly says, in a passage I have already quoted, "the native-born American hates drudgery, and all the mechanical arts, when pursued without some knowledge of science to employ and interest the mind, while the hands are active, are more or less drudgery." Accordingly we find that the American is scarcely ever to be found as a mere workman. It has indeed passed into a proverb that the real American never takes off his coat to work. The railway porters, the pointsmen, the navvies on the various railroads of the country, are foreigners; the conductors are American. Call at the pointsman's cottage and you may find him Irish or French Canadian—certainly not American. The porter at the railway station may be Irish or German. The navvy may be English or Irish, or Canadian, or even Italian—he may possibly be German or Scandinavian; American he never is. The factory operatives of Fall River or of Providence, of whose "strikes" we heard so much four or five years ago, may be Canadian, or Irish, or English, it is certain they are not Americans. The pianoforte makers of New York—another "striking" trade—may be German, they are not American. The men employed in the heavy work of the mines and iron works of Pennsylvania—among the Alleghanies or in that "black country" of which Pittsburgh is the centre—are of many different countries, not a few being Belgians, but they are not American. All this was very fully explained in the *Times* correspondence at the time of the great strikes which, after the revival of trade in America in 1879, swept over the country with a force and rage altogether unknown in England, during several successive years, among which strikes that immense and terrible one of the whole body of labourers on the Erie railway in 1881 was one of the most memorable. Mr. Mather, indeed, seems never to have read or heard of these historical strikes, though so recent. According to him, extensive strikes are quite unknown in the States. At the same time he mentions, as if it were an American peculiarity, that some of the largest establishments in the country have not known a strike.\*

Now if these facts are borne in mind, they will, as I have said, explain some points which seem to have perplexed Mr. Mather. He describes, of course, the Boston Institute of Technology, founded by

\* See the *Times*, American news and correspondence for April 3-6, 1880, and August 20-25, 1881. Even as I am revising what I have written above I find a passage in the correspondence of the *Times*, which strikingly illustrates the general view stated in the text. "The House has, without opposition, passed a Bill forbidding the importation and migration of foreigners, being aliens, under contracts to perform labour in the United States. . . . The Bill is prepared in response to a universal demand of the working classes for the prevention of the system of bringing over organized bodies of Hungarian, Polish, and other workmen, whose competition reduces wages."—*Times*, June 21. That is to say, the already naturalized foreign workmen oppose the introduction of any more foreign workmen. The spirit of the "International" largely pervades the working classes of the States, coming, as they do, mostly from the Continent or Ireland. This it is which makes their "strikes," when they become extensive, so exceptionally ferocious. There is less sympathy between matters and men than in England. At the same time the great mixture of nationalities operates to prevent permanent union, and gives a great advantage to the American employers.

New England intelligence and generosity, in that section of the States which has most of English blood and tradition, and is at the same time most thoroughly American, and which is also, as we have heard Mr. Mather explain, the most mechanically inventive section of the States. It is no mystery that at Boston, the chief city and the centre of this section, New England should have provided itself with a noble and highly organized scientific and technical institute for the benefit above all others of its own sons. But Mr. Mather finds it difficult to understand what he describes in the passages I am about to quote, what the general statement I have just made renders easily intelligible.

"It is remarkable that in the great centres of the mining and iron producing district, where also a large amount of mechanical construction is carried on—as, for instance, in Pittsburg (Pennsylvania), Chicago, (Illinois), Detroit (Michigan), Cleveland (Ohio), and Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), so little has been done by the owners of large establishments, or by the town or State authorities, in the direction of technical schools or evening science schools. These industries represent a large proportion of the working population in those large cities, and yet the owners of works have to rely upon the scientific knowledge obtained through many institutions remote from these districts. Pittsburg is lamentably devoid of facilities either in the shape of libraries, museums, science schools, or technical schools, notwithstanding that the manufacturers have enjoyed the benefits of, and accumulated vast wealth from, highly protected industry. There is not even a public library in the city, although there is a population of about 200,000.

"I have not met with any institutions for technical training having any bearing upon the textile industries. The knowledge of chemistry acquired at the various institutions which I have described, is, of course, utilized more or less in dyeing, printing, and bleaching; but there are no schools in which the knowledge of the nature and qualities of fibres, and of the various processes in working up the raw material—silk, cotton, or flax—are taught. In all the manufactures into which taste and design enter the Americans have to rely almost entirely upon European aid. It is intended, however, so I am privately informed, to establish in one of the centres of textile industry a large institution, in which a thorough and comprehensive industrial training will be given in textile manufacturing, together with that theoretical knowledge which is necessary to the production of the highest quality of fabrics."

"This may be accounted for," says Mr. Mather, "by the number of joint-stock companies," and of the great true cause of all that he here describes he appears to be totally ignorant!

I shall confirm and illustrate what I have affirmed as to the general character of the working population of the States, and what I have intimated as to their relations with their masters, by only one passage out of very many which might be produced, taken from the correspondence of the leading journal. One of the delegates sent by the artisans of Paris to the Philadelphia Exhibition made his report as follows:—

"There are, strictly speaking, no American artisans. All the artisans of America are the expatriated of other countries, who have carried their industry thither. In that great American Republic, so much vaunted by our politicians, we found what is seen everywhere at home, the same economical

position for the workman, capital being there as much the master as in France. In America workmen have every possible liberty, and there are more schools than with us, but if negro slavery has been abolished, that does not prevent white slavery from existing in all its rigour. In spite of all the methods of teaching, schools, libraries, and universities, to be found in America, the workman is ignorant. He has every liberty, but he does not make use of it. The reason is that he is forced to work fifteen hours a day in order to live miserably."—*Times*, August 2, 1876.

The space allowed me is now all but exhausted. I will, therefore, only add one further observation. What Mr. Mather may know of English public-school education does not distinctly appear. I should judge, however, that his knowledge of our public schools is hardly that of an expert. As he does not note any of the things in which England is superior to America, but only those as to which English people have "something to learn, not to condemn," it may be presumed that when he mentions special points in American schools, he regards these as points in which America excels England. It is notable, accordingly, that he specially remarks as excellent points in American schools that there are "*never more than forty or fifty scholars* in one class-room, and all are engaged on the same subject," and also that "the method of eliciting from the scholars what they know and understand, by frequent open questioning of the classes and the constant use of the blackboard appeared to give" the scholars "confidence and produce originality of thought and expression." Apparently he regards these points as peculiar transatlantic merits! Meantime he has never come in sight of the very important and suggestive fact that the American common schools are characteristically the schools of a middle-class nation intended chiefly for the children of farmers and store-keepers, while English public schools are characteristically schools intended for the benefit of a vast working-class population.\*

JAMES H. RIGG.

\* Erroneous impressions as to the educational condition of the United States are still so widely spread, that I think it well to give here in a note an extract from the Report of the United States Commission on Education for 1870, relating to Philadelphia, that well-schooled and well-ordered city:—

"It is estimated that upward of 20,000 children not attending any school, public, private, or parochial, are running the streets in idleness and vagabondism. That these poor children should be provided for there can be but one opinion, but to enact a compulsory law for their education, without other essential provisions, would be idle and chimerical."

So it was in 1870, and it remains the same to-day. No compulsory law has been enacted, and the condition of the city, in the respect referred to, is not materially altered. In New York the estimate of the number of children not at school, but littering the streets, ranges from 20,000 to 60,000; but 20,000 is unquestionably a low estimate. Chicago is, perhaps, worse provided with schools than any city in the States. A system of half-time prevails in certain districts of the city, for no other reason than that the schools only half supply the needs of the neighbourhood. In American cities there is no school-census.

## CHRISTIANITY AND THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES.

**I** THINK that an advance of women towards a condition of equality with men is a fact which no competent observer could fail to recognize as characteristic of the history of our time. Every one sees that women are allowed to have more, in the way of powers and opportunities, and to do more, in the way of activity and employment, than they had or did a generation ago. It is obvious also that this movement in advance has not come to a pause, but is still on its way. There are persons who have assisted in obtaining one or other of the concessions which have been made to women, but who dislike extremely the idea of the equality of the sexes. They have treated, perhaps, the particular concession to which they have been favourable as an isolated incident, and have anxiously dissociated it from any general movement. Or they have endeavoured to form and retain some theory of a distinct place which women are made to fill, and with which the idea of equality with men is out of harmony. Every movement which has modified human life has been supported from many motives and on various principles, not always consistent with each other. Apart from any statement of reasons or ideals, it appears to me indisputable that this advance of women has been, as a matter of fact, towards equality with men. I say, towards, or in the direction of, equality. I know of none of the changes, the sum of which makes up the advance in question, which has rendered women less equal, of none which has not made them more equal, with men. Whether we approve of it or not, that has been the actual tendency of the movement; and it may as well be frankly recognized. At the same time it should be observed that to recognize this tendency is a very different thing from laying down a law that the sexes are equal. That has not been the

watchword of the movement ; nor has any such axiom been even in the minds of most of those who have promoted it.

The advance has been along three main lines, that of education, that of employments, and that of civil franchises. . Perhaps I ought to add, as a fourth, that of religious activity, or of the enthusiasm of humanity.

In the department of education, Queen's College was established in 1848 by Professors of King's College, in order to offer to women the same kind of education, equally solid and equally comprehensive, as was given by the same teachers to young men. These two Colleges are professedly Church institutions. Other steps, having for their object the better instruction of the masses of the people, and abundantly sanctioned by the Church, ought to have a conspicuous place in the history of the advance of women. The public-spirited Churchmen who organized the system of elementary education which preceded Mr. Forster's Act, thinking only of education and not at all of women's rights, in nearly all respects placed the two sexes on the same footing. In the provision of schools and teaching, in the system of inspection and examination, in the appointment and training of pupil-teachers, in the establishment of residentiary training-colleges, those founders may be said—broadly speaking—to have put no difference between boys and girls, between young men and young women. They hardly bore in mind as much as they should have done—for example, in respect of the burdens laid upon girl pupil-teachers—the essential differences between the sexes. Of later years, almost everything that has been done to give a better education to girls and young women has consisted in extending to them the methods already in use for boys and young men. It has been the distinction of Girton College that its founders have resolutely sought from the beginning the admission of the weaker sex to the same studies and examinations with the stronger. And those who adopted this principle have induced the Universities to advance, in the remarkable concessions they have already made, along this line.

In the struggle for the opening of employments to women, the van was led by Miss Elizabeth Garrett (now Mrs. Anderson), who enjoys the honour which she well deserves for the courage, the good taste and good temper, and the indomitable persistency, with which she has contended in behalf of her sex. What was demanded was that the medical profession should be opened to women on the same terms as to men ; and it is this demand that has been conceded. This triumph has been accompanied by many gains in other employments. To what limit the advance will be pushed along this line it would be rash to prophesy. But our good English custom, of moving slowly, and testing the security of each step before we

take another, may be trusted to save us from any disastrous experiment.

We are moving in this cautious manner in extending civil responsibilities to women. Women may vote for vestrymen, for guardians of the poor, for members of School Boards. They may be guardians, and they may sit on School Boards. These rights are all freely exercised, and no one is heard to propose that women should be deprived of them. At this moment women cannot vote for members of Parliament. But the discussion and the division on Mr. Woodall's motion announce with sufficient plainness that this franchise also will not long be withheld. With regard to the governing of the country, the manifest tendency of affairs is towards a state of things in which women will share alike with men. It has been a strange anomaly, indeed, that a constitution which places a woman on the throne should forbid a woman to vote for a member of Parliament.

The sphere of practical religion and "good works" has always been thought a suitable one for women. But in this also, during the last generation, women have not merely been active and devoted; we have seen them playing independent and public parts, such as used to be thought incompatible with the shrinking modesty and submissiveness which were specially commended in women. We have learned to admire women who have been moved by genuine zeal and compassion to exhort audiences, to face repulsive topics, and to take the lead in agitations. Things are done without serious protest by women in the cause of humanity which would formerly have been thought to belong to the province of the other sex, and would have been condemned as unwomanly.

But in the minds of many, including not a few of those who have been in hearty sympathy with this enlargement of the opportunities and responsibilities of women, as well as those who have opposed it or held aloof from it, there has been an anxious doubt whether the Christian religion gave its sanction to the movement. Some have looked primarily to the tradition of Christendom; others to the direct authority of the Bible as expressed in textual precepts. But on this question it is not supposed that there has been any divergence between Catholic tradition and the language of Scripture. With regard to marriage, it can hardly be contended that these two authorities speak with the same voice. In the New Testament there is no such praise of virginity, in comparison with marriage, as became nearly universal in the fourth century and after. Those who advocate the superior holiness of the unmarried state are not likely to appeal to texts of Scripture. But with regard to the "subjection of women," I am not aware that there is any alleged departure, or development, in the traditional sentiment of Christendom from what

is supposed to be laid down in the New Testament. On the side of those who fear that women are now moving out of their proper place, Catholic and Protestant would equally quote texts of Scripture as laying down the Christian law in this matter. The appeal, therefore, is a simpler one than it would be if we had to balance the authority of the Fathers against that of the Apostles.

There are passages in the New Testament which inculcate the submission of women in strong terms. Most of these relate expressly to the behaviour of wives. In the teaching of our Lord himself as reported in the Gospels, I think there is no injunction relating to the special duty of women, whether in marriage or out of it. The precepts to which we have to refer are found in the writings of St. Paul and St. Peter. I will quote first those which seem to speak of women in general as well as of wives. "Let the women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home: for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church" (1 Cor. xiv. 34-36). It is not always easy to be sure whether the Greek word *γυνή* means a wife or a woman. Here the translators, both of the authorized and the revised versions, have rendered it by woman. But the mention of their husbands suggests that wives were in St. Paul's mind, and this supposition is confirmed by the reference to "the law," for it seems that the law can only be the saying in Genesis (iii. 16): "Thy husband shall rule over thee." There is a similar passage, subject to a similar doubt, in Timothy: "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection; but I permit not a woman to teach nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness" (ii. 11-12); for the Apostle goes on, "For Adam was first formed, then Eve." There is a further reason, of which I shall speak presently, for concluding that it is upon married women that silence in the church is imposed by these injunctions. Other passages enjoining submission upon wives are made the more familiar to us by being incorporated into our marriage service. They are from the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians and the First Epistle of Peter. They are extremely emphatic; no one can argue that they do not prescribe the general submission of the wife to the husband: "As the Church is subject to Christ, so let the wives also be to their husbands in everything." But, as regards the subjection of women other than wives, the law of the new Dispensation as well as of the old appears to be silent.

It would be artificial to separate married life altogether from the movement which we are considering. Married life cannot but be affected by any change in the condition of unmarried women. The powers of married women, as regards property and children, have



been increased, as a matter of fact, in an important degree by recent legislation. But it is chiefly on behalf of women without husbands that the struggle has been carried on. The openings that have been won have been mainly for unmarried women and widows. Is there anything in the New Testament that bears upon the question whether women apart from married life should have more or less of freedom and power, more or less of equality with men?

It is a noticeable feature of our Lord's ministry, that He was attended in His journeyings by women as well as men (Luke viii. 2, 3). Some of these were married women, or widows; what Mary Magdalene was, or Susanna, we have no means of knowing. Between them, they ministered of their substance to the needs of Jesus and His companions. These women, or some of them, continued to be with the Apostles after the death of Jesus. They must have left their homes to devote themselves to this attendance on the Prophet of Nazareth. In the home of Lazarus and his sisters, the two women, Martha and Mary, are more conspicuous as disciples of the Lord than their brother. So far as we can draw any inference at all from the action of our Lord as recorded in the Gospels, we should reasonably conclude that He encouraged a certain freedom and independence in the conduct of women, such as would excite criticism in the present day. And this conclusion becomes far more significant when we recall the conditions of Oriental life with regard to the relations of the sexes, and the disorganized state of Jewish society in that age. Whilst women were coming into prominence, and acting for themselves, and leaving their homes, as followers of Jesus, no hint is given that they would have been more in their places under the domestic roof, or that they ought to have left the active support of One who was a centre of surging political agitation to their husbands and brothers.

The excitement of the Day of Pentecost manifested itself in irregular utterances, which seemed to unfriendly observers as if they might have been caused by intoxication. In this excitement women had their part as well as men. "These are not drunken," said St. Peter; "this is that which hath been spoken by the prophet Joel, Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." And the precedent set on the first day was followed throughout the apostolic age. Women were in the habit of receiving, and freely yielding themselves to, the inspiration which found utterance in prophesying. Corinth was a place in which it must have been peculiarly necessary to put safeguards round feminine self-respect, and the Church at Corinth was not a very quiet and orderly society. But St. Paul assumed that women prayed and prophesied in the presence of believers of both sexes. He prescribed that a woman praying or prophesying should have her head veiled (1 Cor. xi. 5). The assumption that women were accustomed both to pray and to prophecy in public is

very difficult to reconcile with what St. Paul says a little further on, in the same epistle: "Let the women keep silence in the churches. . . . It is shameful for a woman to speak in the church." The two passages will not contradict one another if we understand that in the latter the Apostle has wives in view, in the former unmarried women and widows. On no other hypothesis but this does it seem possible to bring St. Paul into consistency with himself. It does not remove all difficulty. For, as is felt now with regard to the Parliamentary suffrage, it could not have been easy to allow a freedom to young unmarried women and to refuse it to the married; and we should have expected that St. Paul would have marked the distinction more plainly, instead of using the same ambiguous word, *γυνή*, in both places. But it is evident that if women who had husbands were bidden to keep silence in the churches, no such restriction was put upon other women. The women who prayed extempore and delivered impassioned exhortations in a Corinthian assembly are not told that such action is unbecoming and unfeminine, and that they ought to restrain their feelings and their tongues; they are only bidden to wear the woman's veil when they speak in public.

It is again the more impressive that women should have been allowed to prophesy freely, when we perceive that prophesying became a difficult practice to deal with, and was indulged in a manner which led to intolerable disorder. St. Paul insists firmly that the impulse to prophesy did not necessarily carry with it a divine sanction. This impulse was to be subjected to control and regulation. Whatever impulse might take possession of man or woman, all things were to be done decently and in order. After a time it began to be recognized that the gift of prophesying did not manifest itself unaccountably, but was an endowment belonging to certain persons. If there were men who had this gift, there were also women who, being perceived to have it, were allowed to exercise it. In the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven, there were four daughters of his, virgins, who prophesied. There is nothing, so far as I am aware, to show that women were anywhere included amongst the "elders" of the Churches. But I am not sure that prophesying would not, to our modern feeling, seem less feminine than acting as an elder. And it is obvious that women were frankly recognized as playing important and independent parts in the action of the Churches as they began to be organized. Phœbe, a servant or deaconess of the Church at Cenchreæ, was travelling to Rome on Church business. It was a matter of public importance that Euodia and Syntyche, fellow-labourers with St. Paul, should act in harmony at Philippi. Many other women are named by St. Paul, apart from husbands or fathers or brothers, as doing work for the Church. And the curious precedence assigned to Prisca or Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, has

struck all readers : "Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus . . . unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles" (Rom. xvi. 3). "When Priscilla and Aquila heard Apollos, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully" (Acts xviii. 26). From what we find in the Acts and the Epistles we may infer that it was a general rule in the early Church that women, if they showed that they had gifts, were not prevented by any assumptions as to the modesty and submissiveness that ought to characterize their sex, from exercising them ; that there was a very remarkable absence of restrictions on the free action of women who had no husbands ; but that wives were not held to have the same kind of freedom as other women. I have called attention to the customs and prejudices and dangers of the society of that age as making this independent activity and responsibility of Christian women the more significant. It is Oriental and Greek life that we have, in thinking of the Church of this period, almost exclusively to take into account. Amongst the Romans, law and custom were far more favourable to the dignity of women than they were in the East and in Greece, and they became increasingly so under the Empire. Sir Henry Maine makes the remarkable observation, that "no society which preserves any tincture of Christian institutions is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by the middle Roman law" ("Ancient Law," p. 158). But the New Testament Christianity had its beginnings in Asia and in Greece, and therefore the freedom and activity which it allowed to women are set off by the contrast supplied by Eastern and Greek manners.

The influence of Hebrew traditions is no doubt perceptible in the earliest Christian sentiments on this as on other subjects. Those who had been fed from their infancy upon the Hebrew Scriptures, and had learnt how Deborah the wife of Lapidoth judged Israel, were not likely to think meanly of the rights or powers of women. If Deborah composed that thrilling song of hers, we can understand that Barak should have said to her : "If thou wilt go with me, then I will go ; but if thou wilt not go with me, then I will not go." And Deborah was only one of a succession of Hebrew prophetesses, whom their sex did not forbid to use their inspiration in the service of their people. Considering that we also have been brought up to admire not only the Deborah of the Bible, but the "great Elizabeth" of our own history, we cannot assume that the actual sentiment and practice of the Jews who accepted Jesus would necessarily be in harmony with their noblest traditions. But they certainly had not to unlearn what their own Scriptures had taught them, when they found themselves moved by the spirit of Christ to allow free play to the gifts with which women might be endowed.

I have admitted, however, that a special kind of submission to their husbands is enjoined upon wives in the New Testament; and that it would be very difficult to raise other women to freedom, and at the same time to keep down wives in a condition of servitude. This difficulty, I have hinted, must have existed and have been tested in the apostolic age. It is the feeling of many in the present day that the general subjection of women must be maintained, as the only way of preserving the subjection of wives. If, it is contended, the doctrine of the New Testament, "Wives, be in subjection to your husbands," is to prevail, the female sex must be trained from infancy in habits of subjection.

But there are considerations which may modify our view of this alleged doctrine. We know that precepts are not always to be taken in the unqualified literal sense. We do not feel ourselves bound to swear not at all, to hate father and mother, to give to every one that asks, to turn the left cheek to him who smites us on the right. Let us look at the language of St. Paul and St. Peter concerning the subjection of wives. In Ephesians (v. 21) St. Paul bids all Christians subject themselves one to another, and makes the subordination of wives to their husbands only a part of this subjection: "Subjecting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ; wives, to your own husbands." The more particular precept must be looked at in the light of the more general. St. Peter also (ii. 13) similarly begins: "Be subject to every human ordinance or creation for the Lord's sake;" and then he enjoins submission to the king, to other rulers, to masters, to husbands. Later, in the same epistle, St. Peter says: "Yea, all of you gird yourselves with humility to serve one another." According to the apostolic teaching, if all Christians are to subject themselves one to another, it will follow that husbands are to subject themselves to their wives. St. Paul enjoins this in the same breath and the same terms in which he bids wives subject themselves to their husbands. The simple phrase, therefore, "subject yourselves, or be subject," does not settle the matter. That refers primarily to an inward temper, to the suppression and submission of self, which is to be put into act with a due consideration of circumstances and relations. I do not doubt that St. Paul held that a wife ought actually to give way to her husband's will more than a husband to that of his wife. But that would be for various reasons and in various degrees. It would not be implied without limit in the phrase, "subject yourselves." The Apostle had in view the actual condition of things before him. He saw a legal and actual subjection of the wife as he saw a legal and actual subjection of the slave. He is equally emphatic in enjoining submission at the same moment on the wife and on the slave: "Slaves, be obedient to your masters, with fear and trembling." So is St. Peter: "Slaves, be in subjection to your masters with all fear;

in like manner, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands." The subjection of slaves, and the subjection of wives, may claim exactly similar support from these scriptural precepts. It has been argued with manifest plausibility that Scripture sanctions slavery; but we in these days neither use the argument nor accept it. We believe that St. Paul desired that the slaves of his day should acquiesce in their legal condition, and what we may say about wives is that he certainly desired that they also should acquiesce in their legal condition. But it does not follow that he would have deprecated any alteration in the condition of wives or of slaves.

But St. Paul, we must admit, had more to say about the conjugal relation. He compares it with the relation between Christ and the Church. He dignifies and hallows—and, it may reasonably be urged, enforces—the subjection of the wife to the husband by linking it with the subjection of the Church to Christ. He has not only the legal condition of the married pair, he has also an ideal relation, before his mind; the husband is to love and cherish, the wife to respond; and the result is to be the closest possible union of heart and soul. The Apostles, it may be observed, do not sanction the modern sentiment which regards love as a peculiarly feminine attribute; they make it the duty of the man to love, that of the woman to yield. That the ideal of St. Paul and St. Peter implies that the wife is the weaker vessel, and under normal circumstances will best seek the conjugal unity, which is the final aim, by a certain voluntary dependence and readiness to give way, is not, I think, to be denied. Such an ideal seems to me to be in harmony with the facts and laws of Nature. It would be a folly indeed for a wife to sacrifice unity to an assertion of equality and independence. But the ideal unity, let it be clearly understood, is no more to be gained by letting the husband lord it over the wife than by setting her to fight with him for equality. It depends even more upon the love, which essentially means self-surrender,\* upon the paying of honour to the weaker vessel on the part of the husband, than upon the readiness to yield on the part of the wife. External arrangements, such as legal rights and provisions, which warn the husband to treat the wife as an equal rather than as a slave, will help and not hinder the attainment of the apostolic ideal.

Beyond and above the ideal of conjugal union, there is present to the Christian mind the ideal of the union of Christians with Christ and with God. And with this in view, St. Paul speaks thus: "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). It is impossible that this ideal should not tell, with its own spiritual force, upon the actual life of those who

\* "With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow."

believe in it. It was this that broke down the dividing wall between the circumcision and the uncircumcision; it is this that has had power to sweep away slavery; it is this that has compelled the Christian man to treat every other man as a brother. Will it not, sooner or later, demand that no law or custom should be maintained which tempts man to lord it over woman, or which is unfavourable to the complete development of the woman's nature?

Already the effect of this Christian ideal of humanity has been, almost universally, to raise the actual condition of women so as to bring them nearer to an equality with men. The principle of asceticism led the Church off upon a wrong tack, with many deplorable consequences. But those who regarded marriage as a less holy state than celibacy upheld with warmth some rights of women. It is a glory of the Fathers in general to have insisted that sexual virtue was as binding in a man as in a woman, and to have made feminine sanctity an object of devout admiration. How such respect for women would spread itself naturally through wider and more general conceptions, and tend towards the aim which we in this age are pursuing, may be seen in the following observations of Clement of Alexandria: "The virtue of man and woman is the same. For if the God of both is one, the Master of both is also one; one Church, one temperance, one modesty; their food is common, marriage an equal yoke; respiration, sight, hearing, knowledge, hope, obedience, love, all alike" ("Instructor," I. iv.)

It is true, nevertheless, that the sexes are different; to the end of time, whatever men and women may have and may do in common, their differing functions will keep them vitally different from each other. This must be admitted by those who are most eager in advocating women's rights. And facts which are permanent and indestructible can claim that due regard should be paid to them in legislation, in manners and customs, and in social sentiment. It is difficult, in view of the distinctions which separate woman from man, to say what, in any strict sense, the equality of the sexes could mean. I am far from asserting that the sexes are equal. How nearly the capacities of woman for any given work may approach to the capacities of men is a question which could best be determined by experience. For the present, the presumption undoubtedly is that the woman is permanently and in all respects the weaker vessel. But the weaker vessel may with regard to many relations be put on an equal footing with the stronger. There is no difficulty in understanding, no impossibility in bringing about, such equality. And we may draw an argument for communities and equalities which have not yet been conceded from those which have been. No one contends that the mental and moral nature of woman is more different from that of man than the

physical. Now, as St. Clement says, the food of the two sexes is common. Women have been allowed from time immemorial in England to eat and drink the same things as men, and to take their food with them. They are also free to join with the other sex in physical exercises and games, in public singing and acting. Such community in eating and drinking, and playing, would have been thought in ancient Greece and Asia "inexpedient and immodest." I quote these epithets from the title of a recent sermon, "To educate young women like young men, and with young men,—a thing inexpedient and immodest." Let us imagine St. Paul to come and see us as we now are. Let him be introduced to a large dinner-party, and observe the ladies, young and old, in their fashionable evening-dress and watch the dishes and wines going round ; let him afterwards look in at a ball, and see the young women dancing with the young men. Then let us suppose him to see what has been already put in practice, or even all that the most ambitious advocates of women's intellectual and civil advancement have ever dreamed of, in the way of common lecture-rooms, and common examinations, and the sharing of political functions. If he hears that there are those who cheerfully acquiesce in the dinner-party and the ball, but denounce the mixing of the sexes in study and civil duties as immodest,—is there not some risk that he might be reminded of those who strain out the gnat but swallow the camel?

My contention is that the bearing of the original Christian teaching on the advance of women has not been rightly understood, and that it is more favourable to it than has commonly been supposed. The precepts which enjoin that wives shall submit themselves to their husbands have been erroneously taken as enforcing the subjection of women in general to the stronger sex ; even as regards wives, those precepts do not necessarily discourage regulations which protect their rights in relation to property and children and personal freedom ; whilst the Christian ideal of human existence, and the practice of our Lord and of the Apostles, may reasonably be claimed as being favourable to social arrangements which permit women to share things more equally with men, and so raise the communion of the sexes to a higher level.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

## THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT MONTREAL.

WHEN it was seriously proposed two or three years ago that the British Association should hold one of its regular annual meetings in a Canadian city, the proposal was denounced pretty vigorously in some quarters. It was an innovation upon use and wont. There could be no doubt of that. True, the French Association had met in Algiers, and the meeting had been a success. Distinguished geologists had attended, and had afterwards written valuable papers on the geology of the colony, and other good results had followed. But the Atlantic is wider than the Mediterranean, and Canada is not represented in the House of Commons as Algiers and other French colonies are in the home Parliament. Then, would it not strain the constitution of the British Association to hold a meeting across an ocean? And even if the constitution could stand such a strain, would it not be a dangerous precedent? Would not some rash member, whose fad was Australia or Penang, be warranted in proposing that they should go next to Melbourne or Singapore? But, in spite of the arguments, the proposal seemed to be popular from the first; and in Southport, last year, it was unanimously agreed that the next meeting of the Association should be held on August 27, 1884, in the city of Montreal. The innovation has certainly widened the field heretofore considered to belong to the British Association. Canada is now within its acknowledged range. Should the meeting in Montreal be a success, Toronto will send an invitation next, and after a lustrum or two Winnipeg will press its claims. For the new departure has run the gauntlet that tests every new view in theology. First, it is denounced as unscriptural; then, it is declared to be dangerous; and then it is generally remarked with perfect coolness that there is nothing new in it, that so it always was from the days of the Fathers.



During the discussion, Canadians listened and said little. On the whole, they were incredulous that so large, so unwieldy, and so eminently respectable a body as the British Association would consent to hoist anchor, or rather swing, with so free a cable. But now that the thing is settled so graciously, and it is known that eight hundred, including many of the most eminent members of the Association, intend to be present at the Montreal meeting, there is a universal feeling of satisfaction among us and a determination that nothing shall be wanting on our part to give them a Highland welcome.

A sketch of the arrangements made by the committee entrusted with the work of preparing for the meeting may be of use to those who know little of the country they are coming to see, and be not uninteresting to those who have attended previous meetings of the Association.

I would take the liberty of suggesting, in the first place, that no greater mistake could be made than the attempt to see too much. Our weather is of the hottest in August, and often well into the first half of September; and the man who attempts to do the whole continent of North America in a month, will probably learn little and suffer much. It would be well to be satisfied with Canada on this occasion, and to leave the United States and Mexico to other and more convenient seasons. Canada itself includes half of the continent. Montreal is nearly a thousand miles from the ocean at the Straits of Belleisle, or—to those who land at Halifax and take the Inter-colonial Railway—eight hundred miles inland. Members may travel free not only that distance, but two thousand miles further west from Montreal, across country to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, also free by the Canada Pacific Railway. This ought to be enough for a few weeks, for the travelling will profit little, unless halts be called by the way to give opportunities of studying the geology or the fossils, the botany, minerals, or forests of the country, its agricultural or its social, political, and racial features, or to make inquiries into anything that may suggest itself bearing upon its past or future.

Nothing need be said regarding the arrangements for the ocean passage to Halifax or Quebec, the capitals of the two oldest provinces of the Dominion, and its winter and chief summer portals respectively. Halifax is the city in the New World at which an Englishman should land. Here, a week or ten days after leaving home, he sees the old flag flying from outlying fort and wooded heights and citadel; the familiar uniforms of the Royal Artillery and Engineers behind strong batteries on each side of the harbour and on islands in its throat; red coats and blue jackets on the streets; and an Admiral's ironclad, with perhaps tender and gunboat and

other ships round her, hen-and-chickens fashion, near the dockyard or out in the stream. Above the post-office, is the Provincial Museum, with a collection representing the natural history of Nova Scotia. The curator or members of the local committee will give their guests all needed information about things to be seen and how to see them. They will, I trust, be provided with a "Handbook for Canada," specially drawn up this summer for their use by Mr. S. E. Dawson of Montreal, a gentleman entitled to speak with authority on everything Canadian, whose acquaintance they would do well to make subsequently. The Inter-colonial will take them in a day to Quebec; but, if at all possible, one or two weeks should be spent in the three Atlantic provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island—the gem of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Gold is found in paying quantities in quartz veins in the Cambrian rocks, all along the south coast of Nova Scotia, and some good lodes are worked within a few miles of Halifax. The Picton coal-field, near the north coast, may be visited in five hours; and what is perhaps the thickest seam of pure bituminous coal in the world ought to be worth seeing. The blast furnaces and iron-works at Londonderry, in the centre of the province, are our future Essen or Creuset. Some of the members may prefer to see our farms and orchards, especially the lands dyked, and so reclaimed from the sea, by the Acadians. These will go west to Windsor and on to Evangeline's country, and look from the north or south mountain down a hundred miles of sheltered valley, filled with apple-trees, heavily laden with fruit of various kinds, as good as the *fameuse* or *pomme grise* of Montreal. But the geologist must see the Joggins, or how shall he meet Mr. Dawson?

"Sir Charles Lyell says the finest example in the world of a succession of fossil forests of the Carboniferous period laid open to view on a natural section, is that seen on the lofty cliffs called the South Joggins, bordering the Chignecto channel. Sir Charles visited them twice. They are abundantly illustrated in all his works and in Dr. Dawson's *Acadian Geology*. There is a continuous exposed section ten miles in length. Sir Charles counted nineteen seams of coal and he saw seventeen trees in an upright position, chiefly *Sigillaria*, occurring at ten distinct levels, one above the other. The usual height of the trees was six to eight feet, but one trunk was twenty-five feet high. The action of the tides exposes new fossil trees from year to year and a continuous interest thus attaches to the locality. The whole ground is classic to geological science; and it would be as unpardonable in a geologist to omit a visit to the South Joggins as for an Egyptologist to go to Cairo without seeing the Pyramids."

At Moncton, the centre of the Inter-colonial Railway system, another choice of routes offers, and at the same time a capital opportunity of seeing the great tidal wave of the Bay of Fundy. The turbid flood rushes up the bed of the river on which the town is built, the "bore" or advance wave pressing on six feet high, till the tide rises to a

height of seventy feet. Then it beats an equally rapid retreat, and leaves behind high banks of slippery red mud with an insignificant stream trickling between. No wonder that the Honourable Joseph Howe, "Joe" Howe rather, for a quarter of a century the favourite politician, orator, writer of the Maritime Provinces, when absent from home, and resolute that his country should have the credit of something bigger if not better than could be seen anywhere else, could always come off victor in a bragging match by asking "How high does your tide rise?"

From this point one may strike south to the cities of St. John and Fredericton, commercial and political capitals of New Brunswick, or north to the green turf and English-like scenery of Prince Edward Island. The geologist will probably turn aside instead to examine the Albertite in the Hillsboro' mines, while the student of history and of men may prefer Memramcook and other peaceful settlements of the old Acadians, who preserve seventeenth-century customs and ways of thinking in the midst of communities as acute and go-ahead as any in America. But the majority will probably have to pass on to the valley of the St. Lawrence, crossing on the way half a dozen renowned salmon rivers, without waiting to cast a fly in any of them. At Riviere-du-Loup, the steamer for the Saguenay will be taken by those who have heard of the majestic Capes Eternity and Trinity, and who desire to look upon scenery on a scale of overpowering immensity, at times absolutely dreadful in its gloom. It is only beginning to be generally known that this long succession of mighty precipices, which were rent asunder that the Saguenay might pour its waters down to the St. Lawrence, are the portals to a vast and beautiful arable country of alluvial slopes along the banks of great lakes and fertile river valleys, a veritable North-west of its own, which the province of Quebec possesses, into which the *habitans* are even now flowing under the leadership of patriotic and devoted *curés*, almost as steadily as the surplus population of Ontario is pouring into Manitoba and the territories farther west.

But, even the dark Saguenay will not arrest many of those who have felt from the hour of starting that Quebec must be their first objective point. The Inter-colonial Railway ends at Point Levi, right opposite the huge reddish-brown promontory or bluff, where—well-nigh three and a half centuries ago—the history of Canada commenced. The *habitan* sings to this day in one of his favourite *chansons* of that afternoon in the glowing autumn, when pious Jacques Cartier cast anchor at the mouth of the Ste. Croix, as the birthday of the nationality into which he feels himself cemented almost as the Hindoo feels himself bound to his caste:—

"De Saint Malo, beau port du Mer  
Trois grands navires sont arrivés."

The three vessels with their huge white wings seemed great enough to have come from the upper or under world to the natives who swarmed out from their bark cabins in the bush, and into their birch-bark canoes; but the members of the British Association are doubtless thankful that the Parisian has taken the place of the *Grande Hermine*. The lower town of Quebec is on the site of the Indian village of Stadacona; and its king, Donnacona, tried to dissuade Cartier from going to the greater town far up the river, called Hochelaga, of which he had heard from the Indians at Gaspé; but in his little *Merlin*, the precursor of the stately river steamers that now take us up so luxuriously, the brave navigator pushed on his way, till he came to a large and fertile island, on the front of which Montreal with its suburb of Hochelaga now stands.

Cartier's mission was to find a passage to the Indies rather than to build and colonize. Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec and of Montreal, the father of New France, belongs to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Strange to say, when he came upon the scene, both Stadacona and Hochelaga had vanished into space. There was no one to contest possession of the ground with him, no tribe with whom a treaty had to be made before his followers could build permanent or temporary structures. In those days, when pestilence or war swept over an encampment, usually no one was left to tell the tale. Famine, civil strife, or other causes may have done the deadly work; but beyond vague traditions nothing is known. Unbroken forest covered the face of the whole continent. Wandering tribes of the widely spread Algonquin family roamed along the banks of the tributaries of the St. Lawrence, and lived by fishing and hunting. The Hurons cultivated fertile fields farther west, in the heart of what is now our province of Ontario. And the formidable Confederacy of the Iroquois reigned supreme to the south, over what our neighbours call the Empire State of New York.

Quebec and Montreal have always been rivals, though the supremacy of the latter is by this time pretty well assured. But, for a long time, Quebec led. Looking across from Point Levi at the picturesque old city clustering round the base of the great bluff and up its steep rocky sides, a line of terrace with turreted buildings at one end, and the citadel springing high in the air at other, catches the eye. Immediately to the rear of this terrace was the centre of French power in the New World, from Champlain's day to Montcalm's. There stood the Castle of St. Louis, the white flag with the *fleur de lys* floating proudly over it; and from that capital and centre of power went forth the successive expeditions in peace and war—the soldiers, the traders, the missionaries; the last generally first, who up to nearly the eighteenth century had apparently assured to France the sovereignty of the continent. Frontenac had hum-

bled the pride of the Iroquois. With all the other tribes Champlain had made treaties, and these still held good. The English occupied merely a long thin line of settlements along the Atlantic coast. Every other part of the New World owned the sway of the Governor-General, who ruled from the Château of St. Louis. The St. Lawrence was linked with the Gulf of Mexico by lines of military communication extending from the Great Lakes down the Ohio and Mississippi. At every strategic point the white flag floated over a rude fort; and Quebec had built the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, and considered herself impregnable.

So it was then. Now, nothing can be more certain than that America is to be the great home of the British people. At the same time, who would grudge our French fellow-citizens, loyal as we ourselves are, their old seat in Quebec? Who does not rejoice that the race so increases and multiplies that it must always be a power in Canada? They are an important part of the population in six out of the seven provinces of the Dominion; and whether farming and fishing on the north-west coast of Cape Breton, or farming and fishing in the far North-west along the Saskatchewan, they are always found clustered in homogeneous masses, and devotedly attached to "our language, our laws, and our institutions," by "institutions" their religion being chiefly meant. Interesting as sections of ancient rocks or drift to the geologist, are those sections of the France of the seventeenth century in the lap of the nineteenth in the New World to the sociologist. The ancient city of Quebec is still the centre of all this French-Canadian life; and how full of quaint beauty and poetry it is, only they know fully who have been wearied to death by the monotonous opulent sameness of American cities. The student who would make inquiries into this life, the music, the customs and the trend of thinking among the people will find the Côte de Beaupré, a strip of country extending down the river in the vicinity of Quebec, a most accessible district, and at the same time possibly the most perfect illustration of what he desires to investigate. Not very long ago, the Abbé Ferland said, "In the *habitan* of the Côte de Beaupré you have the Norman peasant of the reign of Louis XIV., with his legends, his songs, his superstitions, and his customs." Unfortunately for him, he still sticks to old fashions in farming, as well as to old songs, and the stiff Lombardy poplars that his ancestors brought from France. He does not care to spend money on expensive agricultural implements. He enjoys social merry-makings more than political discussions, and prefers steady hard work by day and smoking his native tobacco with his neighbours in the long evenings, to thinking over rash experiments on his narrow *terres*. At the head of the ancient social pyramid on the banks of the St. Lawrence stood the Governor-General and the Bishop. The

Governor was supreme, though with a Bishop like Laval it was often a question which of the two was the Governor. Then came the *seigneurs* and the *curés*. The base was constituted by the *habitans*. As a recent writer says :—

" This word is peculiarly French-Canadian. The *paysan*, or peasant, never existed in Canada; for the feudalism established by Louis XIV. did not imply any personal dependence upon the *seigneur*—nor, in fact, any real social inferiority. Each *censitaire* was, in all but name, virtually as independent a proprietor as is his descendant to-day. He was, and he is, emphatically the dweller in the land. He 'went up and saw the land that it was good,' possessed it, and dwells therein. The term is often used as equivalent to *cultivateur*, or farmer, and as distinguishing the rural from the urban population; but, rightly understood and used as he uses it, nothing more forcibly expresses both the origin and nature of the attachment of the French-Canadian to his country, and the tenacity with which he clings to his nationality, his religion, and his language." \* .

The feudal institutions have gone. There are no *seigneurs* now, or rather no seignorial tenure. But bishop and curé remain, and their hold upon the people is unquestioned as ever. The Protestant Churches have established " French Evangelization Schemes," and these have results; but perhaps the most general and certain result is to hammer the French-Canadians more compactly together. They resent propagandism from without, and agree that the 'vert loses his nationality as well as his religion. The "scheme" detaches individuals, but its tendency is to arrest internal movements. For any general change in French-Canadian life and character, we must look to internal movements, and these will be due to the powerful solvents of modern free thought and inquiry, stimulated by the constant travelling and the immense material changes that are the characteristic of nineteenth-century civilization.

Though three-fifths of the population of Montreal is French, they are not likely to contribute many papers to the British Association, nor even to attend the meetings in force. It would be otherwise if the Association concerned itself with the lighter varieties of literature; for they have done better work than we in history, biography, poetry, music, journalism; but their education is not scientific, and they have done nothing in science.

But to every member I would venture to say here, before going on to Montreal spend two or three days in and around Quebec, even if you have to skip Picton and the South Joggins, the Cumberland hills of Ottawa, and Niagara itself.

I shall not attempt to describe Montreal. In the opinion of a bigoted Canadian like myself there is hardly a more beautiful city in the world. It has only 150,000 people, but Edinburgh had no more when, in the eyes of Sir Walter Scott and of almost every one else, it was the Queen of cities.

\* J. G. A. Creighton, " Picturesque Canada," vol. i. pp. 65, 75.

Though Champlain erected temporary structures and established a trading-station on the island of Montreal in 1611, it was not till thirty years later that a permanent establishment was commenced. "La Compagnie de Montreal," formed in Paris, sent out an expedition under the Sieur de Maisonneuve to build a town and protect it against the Indians by means of fortifications. The town, under the name of Ville-Maire, which it long retained, was solemnly consecrated at a spot near the foot of the mountain, on the 17th of May, 1642. It soon became an emporium of the trade in peltries with the friendly Indians, though its advanced position exposed it to many an Iroquois attack from which Quebec was saved by its strength and its remoteness from the enemy. In 1760, after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, Montreal became the last station of French power in America. Here the capitulation was signed which gave over the whole continent to Britain. In 1776, it was taken and held during the winter by—

"The cocked-hat Continentals,  
In their ragged regimentals ;"

but Franklin used press and plausible tongue in vain to induce the Canadians to join the revolt against the Empire. Up to 1810, it was an insignificant town ; but from that date it rose into importance as the head-quarters of the North-west Company that disputed the trade in furs of the great region over which the Hudson's Bay Company had claimed semi-sovereignty and the monopoly in trade. The North-west Company pushed the profitable business with far more energy than the older company had ever shown. They sought out the Indians by distant lake and river, and in the depths of unknown forests. They planted posts to suit every tribe, and explored the whole of the vast territory from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. The rival companies armed their agents, servants, and *voyageurs*, and many a time the quarrel was fought out in the old-fashioned way, in remote wildernesses, where there were no policemen to interfere, and neither courts nor laws to appeal unto. The fur-kings lived in Montreal. Their fleets of canoes, manned by sinewy Indians and half-breed *voyageurs*, started from Montreal, or Lachine rather, with supplies, went up the Ottawa, across country by Lake Nipissing, down French river, along the shores of the Georgian Bay and Lake Superior to Fort William, hard by Port Arthur, the present Lake Superior terminus of the Canada Pacific Railway. There the bales were transferred to smaller canoes, and these were paddled along lakelets and lacustrine rivers and carried over innumerable portages to the Lake of the Woods and Winnipeg river and lake to Fort Garry. The return journey was by the same extraordinary route, and when the peltries were brought to Montreal, and the narrow lanes down by old St. Paul Street were

crowded with *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* in picturesque costumes, innumerable were the stories of adventure and great the enthusiasm over profits. In 1821 the two companies, tired of their expensive contest, agreed to coalesce, and the present Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated.

By this same route, that the canoes of the North-west Company followed sixty and seventy years ago, the Canada Pacific Railway now proposes to bring, on steel rails to Montreal, the produce of Manitoba and the vast territories beyond, to ship it thence to Europe. If it paid to bring furs in canoes, it should pay to bring wheat and other modern products by rail, and it is estimated that Manitoba will have six millions of bushels to export this year. Hence the energy with which the Canada Pacific Railway is building its road at the back of Lake Superior. Twelve or fifteen years ago, this rugged Laurentian region was said, on maps executed by our neighbours and believed by ourselves, to be "impracticable for railways." Two or three years ago, when the present syndicate undertook to build our national line to the Pacific, "every one" said that they never intended to build this section. It is being built in grand style, and it will be finished next summer. The North-west crops of 1885 will be brought to Montreal by this line cheaper than by any other combination of routes, and the syndicate may then allow as many rival companies as can be induced to take a hand in the business to build as many railways as they like into the North-west. George Stephen, D. A. Smith, and their associates are undertaking, on a gigantic scale and according to the needs of the day, what the Selkirks, MacTavishes and others did so well in the first decades of the century.

The development of the lumber trade gave Montreal its next great impulse; but its permanent importance as a centre of commerce depended on whether the river could be deepened to the east, where needed, and on whether a series of great canals could be built to flank the successive rapids and cataracts that break the course of navigation all the way up to the Sault Ste. Marie, where the waters of Lake Superior leap to a lower level. Both of those gigantic works have been accomplished.

"To the east," writes a distinguished engineer, "a ship channel has been dredged through Lake St. Peter to a depth of twenty-five feet, to admit of the passage of ocean steamers. The original depth over the St. Peter flats was eleven feet. This gigantic work, commenced in 1840, has been continued until the present day. The excavation extends for a distance of seventeen miles, over shoals irregular in depth. At this date the sum of \$3,500,000 has been expended in the work. The further deepening of this channel to admit the depth of 27 feet 6 inches is now in progress, and to obtain this depth throughout above Quebec, the shoals of the River St. Lawrence itself above and below Lake St. Peter must likewise be dredged.

"There is not one parallel to this work in the world—the improvement of



the Clyde, which has been continued for one hundred years. Originally, only vessels drawing 3 feet 6 inches could reach Glasgow. From time to time this depth has been increased, until it may be said that at this date ocean steamers of the largest draught are found at the Broomielaw. Hence Glasgow, by artificial means, has become one of the most important ports in the United Kingdom; and similarly Montreal, although a thousand miles from the ocean, is now one of the chief seaports of the Dominion, and, judged by the standard of Customs receipts, must be held to be the first."

To the west of Montreal, the Lachine rapids presented the first obstacle to navigation. These have been flanked, first by a boat, then by a barge, and then by a ship canal; and in 1875 this last was enlarged at an expense of several millions of dollars. The locks are 275 feet long, 45 feet wide, with 12 feet of water in the sills, so constructed that without interruption to traffic they may be increased to 14 feet. The whole navigation of the St. Lawrence is being dealt with on the same scale. What this means may be imagined when it is stated that the distance from the Straits of Belleisle to the head of Lake Superior is 2,384 miles, and that on that route we have built seven canals, with an aggregate length of 70½ miles, and a lockage of 536½ feet. There is besides the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, built by the United States, 1½ miles long, with 18 feet 17 inches lockage.

During the meeting of the Association there will be daily excursions to Lachine. This was the old seigniory of one of the greatest of French-Canadian names, Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Tired by the discoveries that Champlain and his successors had made, he dreamed perpetually of a north-west passage to China by the waters of the Ottawa, and so men in derision called the place—from which he was to set out—La-Chine. But the imagination of great souls is the highest reason. He found his way to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, instead of to the Pacific, but the nearest road to the old Eastern Thule, "with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces," will start yet, and in our day too, from Lachine. When the Canada Pacific Railway is finished, it will be a shorter road than any other to China by more than a thousand miles; and it is to bridge the St. Lawrence at Lachine. Let the bridge bear La Salle's great name. The excursions to Lachine are that members may see the canal and enjoy the fascination of running the rapids. This rapid, beautiful as it is, has not the grandeur of the Long Sault, but the steamer is borne irresistibly so close to the ledge-broken rocks, shelving on one side and bold on the other, between which it plunges, that the excitement never palls. The steamer, a few minutes afterwards, passes under the Victoria bridge, one of those splendid triumphs of engineering skill about which twenty years ago a great deal of noise was made, though it is now apt to be overlooked, or remembered only in connection with Sir George Cartier's characteristically

French reply to the Queen's question of how many yards long it was: "When Canadians have the honour of naming a bridge after your Majesty, we measure it in miles, not in yards." A walk now along the massive stone wharfage of the city is sufficient to show its unrivalled facilities for trade. Nearly a dozen lines of ocean-going steamships are taking in cargo, and improvements are projected to afford indefinite expansion. All the appliances for loading and unloading are employed, and the facilities for transshipment are of the best. Montreal was the first port in the world lighted by electricity: and the result is continuous labour in the summer months. But the harbour has the great disadvantage of being sealed during a long winter. From spring to the close of autumn, the great river sweeps past, two miles wide, with a force that no human power could arrest. But the frost-king comes, and the river is sealed fast. Everything that indicates commerce takes to flight. Quays, docks, sheds, and everything else up to the revetment wall are wiped out. The ice-covered river rises to the level of the lowest streets, and a vast expanse of snow stretches up and down and across, unbroken save by "shoves" and blocks of ice. In April the ice begins to melt and groan preparatory to shoving. Everything must yield to this irresistible pressure, and therefore everything has been removed in time. Huge cakes pile above each other, but scarcely has the ice commenced to move when the labourers are at work, fitting together the sections of sheds, clearing the railway track, and putting the massive wharves in order for the spring work.

But it is time to turn to the Association itself, and to note what are likely to be its characteristic features this year. Dr. Dawson, the distinguished Principal of McGill University, moved the resolution in Southport last year, that the fifty-fourth annual meeting should be held in Montreal, and he placed the buildings of the University at the disposal of the Association for the occasion. McGill has four faculties—arts, applied science, law, and medicine; the last being specially well known. Besides its old buildings, it has the splendid museum built three or four years ago by Mr. Peter Redpath, and supplied with first-rate collections in geology and natural history, many of them rearranged and presented by Dr. Dawson. Nowhere else, except perhaps in the Geological Museum in Ottawa, can there be found such perfect specimens of the Eozoon Canadense, and whether the Eozoon be the first of organisms or myth can be discussed intelligently here. Besides the University buildings, the different Protestant churches, taking advantage of the arts course in McGill, have built theological halls in or near the grounds. There are thus the halls of the Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, and not far away the Synod Hall of the Church of England and its Diocesan College. All these are available, and consequently the

Association will be better housed than it sometimes is in England. The different sections can meet side by side, instead of being miles apart, as has sometimes been the case. The American Association for the Advancement of Science has met twice in Montreal, and, with an attendance of more than nine hundred members and associates, its nine sections found ample accommodation in McGill. As the buildings are situated in grounds laid out in walks and ornamented with trees, the visitors will be pleasantly reminded of the ancient Academy. What is of more consequence, they can at all times find shelter from the August sun.

The American Association is to meet this year in Philadelphia, a week later than the British Association, so as to give its members an opportunity of visiting Montreal. Numbers of them will take advantage of this arrangement, for every American believes in summer holidays, and the men of science will be eager to welcome their British *confrères*. Besides, there are no cities on the continent that Americans like better to visit than Montreal and Quebec, very much because they are so different from their own. It is to be hoped that some of the most distinguished members of the council will attend the American Association, were it only to see how meetings may be conducted with a minimum waste of time.

A departure from use and wont was taken by the Association last year, in order that papers might be secured without fail on the principal subjects, and special papers be prepared by Canadians on Canadian Economic Science and Statistics. It authorized the committee to ask good men to prepare papers beforehand, on points of present importance in science, and as the great sore in former years has been the number of twaddly papers and the amount of mere palaver on these, the departure will be hailed with pleasure, and probably signalize an epoch in the Association's methods of procedure. Various sub-committees have a number of papers ready, on topics on which Canadians can speak with authority, and some of these will probably provoke a good deal of discussion.

Montreal is a good centre for excursions that scientific men may make without reproach. I have referred to Lachine already. Geologists will take the railway west to Papineauville, so called after the well-known French-Canadian leader, and drive over a romantic country of Laurentine mountains and stirless lakes, strangely interspersed with fertile valleys and cultivated farms, to examine the ancient gneiss rocks where the earliest fossil remains of animal life have been found. Those who wish to see what we do in the way of farming and stock-raising can pass through the beautiful eastern townships, and inspect Cochrane's stock at Compton. Others, interested in the old lords of the soil, will visit the Huron village of Lorette near Quebec, and Caughnawaga above Lachine, where the Iroquois, whom the

Jesuits succeeded in converting, have been settled for generations. The Hurons have been professedly Christian for more than two centuries. They still proudly call themselves "the Huron nation," and on official occasions, such as a visit of a governor or the Indian commissioner, their chiefs wear full Indian costume. Doubtless, they would pay the same token of respect to the President of the British Association. Most of the Iroquois are Protestant, and are settled in different parts of the province of Ontario.

But it must not be forgotten that the members of the Association may see Montreal, and all the other places in the neighbourhood to which reference has been made, without seeing modern Canada. The centre as well as the real strength of Canada is in the great province of Ontario, with its two millions of educated, energetic people; and a quarter, or at any rate half, a century hence, it will be found a good deal farther west, just as in the United States the pivot of political power is moving west steadily every decade. Yet, few can spare time to see much of Ontario itself. Excursions will of course be made to the phosphate regions above Ottawa, and the immense deposits of iron ore that are just beginning to be opened out. Ottawa itself will be visited, were it only to see the Parliament buildings and to "run the slides." Some will come to Kingston, to get a sail through the Thousand Islands. Many will go to Niagara, taking Toronto by the way. It is only fair to hint that they may do all this, and yet see but little of the real Ontario. The strength of the province is in countless farms redeemed from the wilderness, and the yeomanry of more than a hundred thousand homesteads. It is difficult to get a distinct mental presentation of this one fact, and the promise that it represents, for it has not yet had time to express itself in concrete form. Still more difficult will it be to get an adequate idea of the North-west, though everything will be done in the way of affording facilities for seeing all that can be seen in a fortnight. The liberality of the Canada Pacific Railway Company to the Association is as wise as it is splendid. It grants to all visiting members free passes over its lines. Besides, it offers to take one hundred and fifty members on a free special excursion to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, by way of the Georgian Bay, Lake Superior, and Winnipeg. The places passed during the night on the outward journey will be repassed during the day on the return. This excursion will, I venture to say, be the feature of the Montreal meeting that will be longest remembered. The first four hundred miles are by rail, through some good sections of Ontario. The second part of the journey, commencing at the beautiful port of Owen Sound, consists of a sail for six hundred miles up the Georgian Bay, past the great Manitoulin island, among the mazes of the rocky islets that the Laurentians on the mainland throw out into the lake, through the

Sault Ste. Marie, and then into Lake Superior and away out of sight of land till Thunder Cape—the giant wonder of Port Arthur—is sighted. It is always difficult to realize that the magnificent steamer, rushing along at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, is in the heart of a continent and not in mid-ocean. At Port Arthur, a railway journey of thirteen hundred miles begins; for three hundred a wilderness, and then at Rat Portage, where the Lake of the Woods pours itself down into the Winnipeg river, exposures of Huronian and Laurentian rocks side by side on a scale that the geologists have never seen before; soon after, the beginning of that vast alluvial plain, nine hundred miles from east to west, or sea of green and gold, whose waves are stopped only by the Rocky Mountains, the successful colonization of which is our present chief work. A halt will probably be called at Winnipeg, ten years ago a village, now a city of over 20,000 people, before going farther into what was the other day "the great lone land."

Is it permissible to speculate as to the probable results of the Montreal meeting? Will there be any, or will it be simply the most gigantic pic-nic of the season? I look for results. It is almost inconceivable that so many men accustomed to sober, patient, accurate investigation should be brought in contact with the conditions of things in a new world without thought being stimulated, suggestions thrown out, and ideas brought to birth that may be of quite incalculable value. More than once Canada has been misrepresented in England, by politicians who had their faction to serve, by speculators who thought only of their own immediate interests, by journalists who had received their brief and had to write up to it, by the tourist who came that he might write a book, and the officer whose conception of life is summed up in the magical word "Sport." There was no one at hand to explain, or even to offset extreme statements. It will be different hereafter, to some extent at least. In almost every city and county in Britain there will be reliable men and women who can say to others, "This or that article or prospectus is apt to mislead." Even a bird's-eye view of any country puts an intelligent beholder in a better position for understanding what he reads about it during the rest of his life. The members of the British Association will get that bird's-eye view and an increase to their stock of knowledge. And knowledge begets sympathy, and sympathy again adds immensely to knowledge. I shall be astonished also if papers are not written after the meeting from which we may learn much—papers on our geology, forests, fisheries, mines, agriculture, education, trade; and on such political problems as the Indians, the relations of the provinces to each other, the relations of the Dominion to the United States and to the Empire, the law of copyright, our universities; and indeed on almost every subject discussed by the Association. Is it not conceiv-

able, too, that the political and racial condition of things found here may suggest a contribution to the most difficult problem that British statesmanship is called on at present to solve—the relation of Ireland to Great Britain? As I have put it elsewhere, here we have more than a million of people opposed in race, religion, character, and historical associations to the majority of Canadians, a people whose forefathers fought England for a century and a half on the soil on which the children are now living; a Celtic people, massed together in one province—a people proud, sensitive, submissive to their priests, and not very well educated; this people half a century ago badgered every Governor-General that Britain sent out, stopped the supplies, embarrassed authority, and broke out into actual rebellion. Now, they are peaceable, contented, prosperous. They co-operate for all purposes of good government with the other provinces, do no intentional injustice to the Protestant minority of their own province, and are so heartily loyal to the central authority that it has become almost an unwritten law to select the Minister of War from their representatives in Parliament. Let him who runs read, and read, too, the answer of D'Arcy McGee to those who wondered that the young rebel in Ireland should be the mature admirer of British government in Canada: "If, in my day, Ireland had been governed as Canada is now governed, I would have been as sound a Constitutionalist as is to be found in Ireland." I do not say that the problem in the mother-country is exactly the same, or that the remedy should be exactly the same. No illustration walks on all-fours. But Canadians can hardly help feeling that the solution of the Irish question lies in trusting the people of Ireland, and extending to them, with the least possible delay, as large a measure of Home Rule as is consistent with the preservation of the central authority in unimpaired strength. It seems to me that Ireland should be governed in accordance with the constitutionally expressed wishes of its own people in every matter that does not involve the dissolution of the unity of the Empire.

But the result of the Montreal meeting to which I look forward with most hope is the extension to influential circles of English opinion of sympathy with Canadian national aims, and a generous consideration of the difficulties that we have set ourselves to overcome. Seventeen years ago we were five provinces, two of the five united, but violently antagonistic, the rest independent of each other; and of the fourth or fifth, separated by hostile tariffs, each in direct relations with the mother-country, and in somewhat strained relations, chiefly because the Colonial Office had again and again taken up untenable positions, the holding and the abandoning of which did not inspire the people even of the smallest province with much respect for British statesmanship. Clearly, we had then no future.

The States to the south of us had united a century previously, but only under the stress of war. What influence united us into a Confederation? The dynamic influence of a national idea. We knew the colossal obstacles in the way, personal, local, racial, geographical; but necessity was laid upon us. We felt that we must rise above provincialism, and undertake the responsibilities of a nation.

Englishmen have again and again asked us, But why attempt this task of creating a nation? English diplomatists, in every case of disputed boundary lines with our neighbours, have given away every point of vantage, have given away territory that was afterwards proved ours by right, and so have made our difficulties tenfold greater. The diplomatic contest was always between ignorance and knowledge. Perhaps the surrenders were made not ignorantly, but in unbelief—unbelief that Canada could have a future. Until the last treaty of Washington, Canadians were never consulted. English statesmen, skilled in working out Benjamin Franklin's problem of how "a great nation may be made into a very little one," have almost upbraided us for not casting in our lot with the great Republic; and English journalists have been the greatest sinners of the lot.

Why not cut the knot that binds us to the Empire, and knock for admission at the door of the Republic? As there are questions that it is a shame to ask man or woman, so there are questions that it is a shame to ask a people. We have no feelings for our neighbours in the United States but feelings of respect. How can we help respecting people who are so enormously rich? We are anxious for the closest possible commercial relations with them. That they and we should be trying, in bungling fashion, to cut each other's throat with rusty razors called tariffs is not our fault. The fault is wholly theirs. But we shall not buy trade advantages that would be mutually advantageous at the price of our self-respect. We believe that our institutions are better than theirs. What is more to the point, they are our own institutions; we have inherited and have fought for them. My family may be no better than my neighbour's, but it is mine, and that makes a world of difference. Our histories have been different; our memories are different; our ways are not their ways; and when five millions are annexed to fifty, the five must go to the wall whenever views conflict. Annexation would make us richer in pocket, and would impoverish us in every other way.

Is it needful to say that Canadians take the position I have indicated, not from prejudice but judicially? They believe that it is better for them and for their neighbours, better for the cause of true liberty and human development, that there should in the meantime be two free nations on this continent, working out the same problems under different constitutional forms; and the distinction between the two

peoples on this continent must continue until the friendly feelings which animate the United States towards us extend to Britain also—until a living union and a permanent place is assured between the mother-country and all the children that have sprung from her mighty loins.

Meanwhile, we are doing the work given us to do, and are taking our share in the responsibilities of the Empire. This half continent that we are bestriding is preserved in the interest of the commonwealth, without the cost to England of a shilling. We have our own military department. We have assumed the great cost of providing for the Indians, those wards of the Empire to whom the honour of the Empire is pledged. While we are spending sums, equal—compared with our wealth—to the National Debt, for the construction of works necessary to our unification, it should not be forgotten that our unification is required only by the Imperial idea, and that those works may be so required in the interest of the Empire that England might reasonably have shared in the cost. In the old days, England would have done so. Last century she was ready to go to war with Spain, in the interest of a few merchants who had a little trade with Nootka Sound—and, therefore, she did not need to go to war. And, where is Nootka Sound? Who knows? It is a port, I may mention to save my readers the trouble of consulting a map, on the west coast of Vancouver's Island, and I suppose the whole place might be bought for a five-pound note. Half the cost of a war with Spain would have built our transcontinental railway a quarter of a century ago, and opened up farms in the North-west for hundreds of thousands of loyal subjects who have been forced to take the oath of allegiance to another Power, and for hundreds of thousands of Irishmen, who became disloyal only because they couldn't get enough bad potatoes to eat; but whose children now are Fenians, and whose money is given freely to foster clubs of Invincibles in Dublin, and to purchase dynamite for use against England.

I would not revive past issues, were it not that the history of the past throws light on the present, and is a beacon for the future. We desire to be judged intelligently in England, and therefore rejoice that our distinguished visitors shall have opportunities of seeing us from our own standpoint. Whatever their judgment may be then, we shall receive it with respect.

G. M. GRANT.



## PARTY GOVERNMENT.

**A** MOTION was brought forward in the Session of 1883 in the Upper House, by Viscount Bury, to insert a clause in the Regent's Canal City and Docks Railway Bill, empowering the company to pay interest out of capital during the construction of the works. In the course of a short debate which followed Lord Salisbury gave expression incidentally to the following suggestive remarks with special reference to the persistent retention of office by the present Ministry, despite a succession of defeats which they have sustained, some of these being on subjects of considerable moment :—

“ According to our recent experience, the Government are able to undergo defeats on many subjects without in the slightest degree affecting their existence, or even their complacency. There have been five or six subjects of no small—some of high—importance, upon which they have suffered defeats in the House of Commons, and they are more flourishing than ever. . . . Mr. Chamberlain is remaking our British Constitution. He is altering dogmas that have been accepted for years and generations, and we follow the process with some natural interest. *We wish to know if the old system of party Government and Ministerial responsibility, under which we have been governed so long, is to be maintained, or whether we are to get into that system of divided responsibility which prevails in another country, under which Governments can drop any individual member of whom they do not approve without their collective responsibility being affected.* Now, I venture to say that it is quite new to be told that on that matter which concerns a department of the Government, and concerns it specially, the chief of that department can give his own opinion in Parliament, can state that he has with him the Prime Minister and most of his colleagues, and yet that the responsibility of the Government is in no degree endangered.”

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The noble Marquis implied in these words a distinct charge against the Liberal Administration. The inference intended to be drawn—as when a similar line of attack was previously taken by Sir Stafford Northcote in the House of Commons—is that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues are making dangerous innovations upon the Constitution. They are accused of deviating from the traditions of Party Government and evading Ministerial responsibility, by allowing the heads of executive departments an exceptional measure of liberty in

dealing with the particular business they have been appointed to control without at the same time suffering their policy in their respective spheres to be treated as a question of confidence in the Government as a whole, when the acts of any Minister happen to be challenged by the Opposition. There can be no doubt that, within the last few years, the number of instances in which members of the Cabinet, as individuals and as heads of departments, have announced views and adopted courses for which the Government in its corporate capacity has declined to hold itself responsible, have been greater within the same space of time than under any previous Administration of modern days. This increased liberty of action granted to Ministers without the committal of the entire Government being involved or its existence imperilled is so marked as almost to constitute a new departure. It would seem as if Mr. Gladstone, in sanctioning the new order of things, had recently been studying precedents in the working of the Constitution not to be found in later parliamentary practice. If we may judge from the following utterance of the Prime Minister, spoken a few years since, his views on this matter have undergone some modification :—

“The nicest of all the adjustments involved in the working of the British Government, is that which determines, without formally defining, the internal relations of the Cabinet. On the one hand, while each Minister is an adviser of the Crown, *the Cabinet is a unity, and none of its members can advise as an individual without, or in opposition actual or presumed to, his colleagues.* On the other hand, the business of the State is a hundred times too great in volume to allow the actual passing of the whole under the review of the collective Ministry. *It is, therefore, a prime office of discretion for each Minister to settle what are the departmental acts in which he can presume on the concurrence of his colleagues, and in what more delicate or weighty or peculiar cases he must positively ascertain it.*” \*

The course objected to by Lord Salisbury is naturally inconvenient to an Opposition whose chances of success in damaging or ousting the Administration of the day are restricted in proportion to the limitation of occasions on which the Cabinet presents a united front and assumes corporate responsibility. According to the Tory leader in the Upper House, the attitude of undivided responsibility is the normal one for a Ministry under the Constitution. The procedure of Mr. Gladstone and his Cabinet, on the other hand, plainly shows them to have now arrived at a different conclusion. A majority against them in a division on a departmental question, such as the Agricultural Holdings Bill (England), and several other crucial instances hinted at by Lord Salisbury, is not accepted, as would have been the case in former years, as necessarily signifying a general want of confidence in the Administration. How far this severance of a Minister from his colleagues in bearing responsibility to Parliament

\* “Gleanings,” vol. i. p. 242.

will be permitted by the House to go if Party Government continues, is a very nice point, which must sooner or later come up for settlement. But how many defeats a Government may submit to without these being regarded by them as a distinct notice to quit, is a problem the decision of which will mainly depend at all times on the exact balance of parties and the mutual temper of the Government and the House. Crises must arise, however, when continuance in office, despite an adverse vote, would be felt even by the most pachydermatous Cabinet, under the present system of Party Government, to be flagrantly inconsistent with self-respect. When, for example, the Government has made a stand for some principle, recognized by the majority of its members and its party as fundamental; when the rejection of a measure by a majority, however narrow, would be deemed by the Ministry a plain breach of political justice or political freedom, I cannot conceive the possibility of their clinging to power so long as the system of party now recognized remains in force, except at the sacrifice of honour. Nor is it by any means certain that Mr. Gladstone's Government have not on more than one occasion (notably in the case of the Affirmation Bill, when the speech of the Prime Minister distinctly conveyed the impression that he would accept defeat as a vote of want of confidence) pocketed the humiliation of being outvoted on questions of this primary character, when the more straightforward and dignified course—and the one best fitted to serve the cause of Liberalism—would have been to tender their resignation and appeal to the country.

But the practical inquiry raised by Lord Salisbury's remarks is, whether Party Government and Collective Ministerial Responsibility form integral parts of the Constitution, or whether these forms of parliamentary life do not, on the contrary, constitute real innovations which may have had the effect of seriously impeding useful legislation, and making the public good subordinate to Party rivalries. The point is a vital one, and can only be satisfactorily determined by a brief examination of parliamentary history.

It is necessary at the outset that our definition of *Party* should be quite free from ambiguity. Mr. Burke describes Party as "a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest, upon some particular principle." If the actual manifestations of Party life strictly corresponded with this account of it, there would be nothing to object to. Mr. Bright, in a letter on the subject, published last year, well says: "Political parties seem to me unavoidable in a free country, *but in my view there is a higher law to which we should submit.*" It is true that no great movement for effecting either social or political reform was ever carried to a successful issue, either in or out of Parliament, without unanimity and co-operation on great principles. Hence two sides to every great

political question become inevitable. But the growing complaint of serious persons belonging to all political sections—based on the notorious block of urgently needed legislation, especially during the last two Sessions—is that the Lower House (the other Chamber does not enter within the scope of my argument) has become degraded into an arena in which the public good is openly sacrificed to chronic Party aims and lust of office. As a rule, measures are not debated or decided on their merits, and the art of embarrassing and defaming the Government, regardless of the supreme object which alone justifies the existence of the Legislature, is cultivated by the Opposition with a zeal as methodical as it is perverse. Conservatives in combination with Home Rulers have recently shown an amount of undisguised rancour, rarely if ever equalled, in Party attempts to prevent the Government programme from being carried out. At the same time, it is by no means to be understood that Liberals when out of office have not too often been guilty also of resisting the progress of good Bills merely because they did not happen to be brought forward by themselves.

But the point to be kept mainly in view is that corporate Ministerial responsibility, which Lord Salisbury as a Party man not unnaturally wishes to perpetuate as an essential part of the Constitution, is simply the outcome and climax of the abnormal system of Government by Party—a system, nevertheless, but of recent origin, and lying at the root of most of those disingenuous strifes which disgrace our law-making, ignore the political wants of the masses, and sorely tax the national patience. The new Rules of Procedure and the institution of Grand Committees—valuable, doubtless, in their way as subsidiary aids to legislative progress—will avail but little so long as the radical evils of Party Government continue to be tolerated.

A glance at the process of development by which Party interests have thus gradually come to overshadow the claims of the people and obstruct truly patriotic legislation in Parliament, is the first step towards the removal of those special mischiefs which have culminated in the doctrine of united Ministerial responsibility. The practical drift of that doctrine is that the heads of the Executive composing the Cabinet may, under Party rule, assume the right to initiate all great measures submitted in any particular Session, and by making the greater number of Bills brought forward—from whatsoever quarter—Party questions, may summarily decide their fate by putting pressure on their “mechanical majority.” In fact, this view of Ministerial prerogative seems now to be so generally accepted in Parliament that it is sometimes difficult to “keep a House” on private members’ nights. If the theory to which Lord Salisbury apparently inclines be correct, it must, at least, be said that it sanc-

tions Ministerial license in overstepping purely executive functions to an extent never originally intended by the Constitution. Instead of being, as they should only be, the servants of Parliament, to give effect to its mandates, Ministers virtually usurp the mastery over it. By bribes on the one hand, and threats of dissolution on the other, Party Cabinets have succeeded in rendering the exercise of individual freedom and candour in their followers, in the matter of voting, morally impossible.

Lord Russell, in his "English Government and Constitution" (pp. 144-5), writes as if the two great parties in the State first came into prominence in the reign of James I. "The Tories," he says, "looked upon the exaltation of the Crown as their favourite object, while the Whigs looked towards the people, whose welfare is the end and object of all government." But we are less concerned at present to know that Party strength and bitterness prevailed under the despotism of the Stuarts than to ascertain how these elements have proved so formidable a barrier to political progress under a recognized Constitutional Government in our own times. Lord Macaulay states that political parties had their origin in the Long Parliament. Doubtless two political parties did exist in that assembly, but they were not parties in the sense understood now. They were not organizations for place-hunting and office-holding. Before the Revolution, English Sovereigns chose their official advisers on personal grounds alone, and often in defiance of Parliament. William III. was the first king who formed a Ministry on a strictly political basis, and his example was generally, though not uniformly, followed during subsequent reigns. It is noteworthy that not until the reign of her present Majesty have Ministers been *regularly* chosen from a Party majority in Parliament. Even her immediate predecessor dismissed his Whig Ministers, though they were backed by a majority in the Lower House, and entrusted the Duke of Wellington with the formation of a Government from the Tory party, notwithstanding that the latter were in a minority. Indeed, the introduction of Government by Party is the result of the long series of corrupt Parliaments dating from the Restoration. No trace whatever can be found of the existence of Party in the objectionable form to which exception has been taken till after the Revolution, and considerable time elapsed subsequently before it was organized as it is to-day.

The passing of the Septennial Act was the turning-point in that complete constitutional change of which Party Government and Corporate Ministerial Responsibility are not the least unfortunate results. It may be convenient to notice one or two of the chief circumstances leading up to a measure which has caused our forms of government to deteriorate, and has clogged the wheels of legislative progress to an extent perhaps not sufficiently considered. Representative govern-

ment in England has passed through three prominent phases. The first embraces the period from the summoning of the first representative Parliament in 1295 to about the middle of the latter half of the fourteenth century ; the second dates from the beginning of the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century to the Revolution ; the third from the Revolution to our own day. In the first phase the Government, being almost a pure despotism, was amenable to little or no influence from the representative body. In the second phase, increased power was gained by the Commons, the Government being carried on mainly by the Sovereign and Parliament. In the latest phase, Parliament has been supreme, and Government by Party has come to be regarded as an established and approved institution. In the first of the three epochs enumerated the King was supreme and the function of the Commons was rather consultative than legislative, the enactment as well as the administration of laws centering in the Crown. When the absolute power of the Sovereign, in the natural course of events, required to be checked, it was the Barons who took the initiative in resisting the exercise of his arbitrary rule. The Commons were as yet so weak that their position was hardly recognized either by the King or the Barons.

In the second epoch the Commons exchanged passive resistance for an aggressive spirit. The earliest inroads on the prerogatives of the Crown were made by the Lords, the Commons being used by them for that purpose. But in the next phase of parliamentary evolution the Lords were used by the Commons to obtain further concessions from the Sovereign. Not only did they become strong enough to curb the power of the Crown, but with the aid of the Crown they succeeded in restricting the influence of the Barons as they had previously been able to make use of the Barons to weaken the prerogative of the Crown. Thus by degrees the Commons forced their way to the front rank in the Legislature and to a permanent position in the State. At the Revolution the last stage in this upward movement of the Lower House was reached. From meekly assuming the title of his Majesty's "poor Commons," and quietly submitting to the dictation of the Lords, they rose to a due appreciation of the accession of power they had won. They began to consider themselves indispensable. The reins were given to their ambition. Not content with being law-makers or keeping the Administration under control, they sought to be administrators themselves. They proceeded to make a liberal division of the lucrative offices of State among their own body ; trespassed upon the liberties of the people (as they are now accused by some once more of doing in their treatment of Northampton), and set their constituents at defiance. Alluding to the House of Commons at the beginning of this third epoch, Macaulay remarks that it had "abused its gigantic

power with unjust and insolent caprice, browbeat the Lords . . . violated the rights guaranteed by the Great Charter, and at length made itself so odious that the people were glad to take shelter under the protection of the throne and of the hereditary aristocracy from the tyranny of the assembly which had been chosen by themselves."\* Writing of the same period Mr. David Syme says : " There was then established that system of government by party which exists at the present day."

When the Crown became afraid of the encroachments of the Commons, it strove to neutralize the growing power of that body by " first prolonging a subservient House beyond a single Session ; secondly, by discontinuing annual Sessions, and only summoning Parliament when it became absolutely necessary to do so ; thirdly, by boldly refusing, as was done by Charles I., to summon Parliament at all under any circumstances."† After several attempts with indifferent success to compel the Sovereign to summon Parliament at regular periods, the Commons, under pressure from without, at length took the matter into their own hands. Under William and Mary, on the 19th of November, 1694, Mr. Harley introduced his famous Bill to fix the duration of Parliament at three years, and it passed the Lords without amendment before the close of the year. But reasonable as the measure was, it proved unacceptable to a large section of the Commons. Members did not object to it in so far as it restrained the arbitrary power of the Sovereign to call together and dismiss Parliament at his pleasure. But to send them to their constituents at the end of every three years for re-election they painfully felt to be a limitation of their opportunities of enriching themselves at the public expense. As might be expected therefore they created a pretext for altering that part of the measure which imposed upon them the necessity of appearing before the electors at such short intervals. The way was consequently opened for extending the duration of Parliaments from three to seven years, thus introducing all the follies and evils surrounding Party Government.

The ostensible ground for bringing forward the Septennial measure was, that some temporary provision was necessary to postpone the general election at the time (although that event was still two years distant) owing to the dissatisfaction then existing with the House of Hanover, especially in Scotland. It was alleged that if a general election were held in the disquieted state of the country which prevailed the dynasty might be imperilled. Public opinion strongly condemned the Bill, which was brought in under the false promise that its operation would not continue longer than was demanded by exceptional State exigencies. But if the security of

\* "History of England," vol. v. p. 168.

† "Representative Government in England," p. 44.

the Hanoverian dynasty was the sole cause of lengthening the term of Parliament, the act ought not to have been maintained after the battle of Culloden, when the hopes of the Pretender and his party were annihilated, and the possibility of danger to the reigning family was finally removed. The Triennial Act, by making annual sessions compulsory, freed the Commons from the control of the Crown, and the Septennial Act, by lengthening the term of Parliament, placed them virtually beyond the control of the people. The new Act bore its legitimate fruit. Under Charles II. Parliaments were venal enough; they were still worse under William and Mary; but under the first three Georges they ran a career of profligacy unexampled in parliamentary history. A seat was now worth a heavy price to a candidate bent mainly on personal aggrandisement, since he was safe for so long a period from all risk of being displaced by his constituency. With increased competition for seats electors raised the premium they demanded for them, and honourable members who had bought their seats at a high figure were likely to have little scruple in selling their votes in the House. As Government could only be carried on by the support of a majority in Parliament, Ministers did not shrink from openly purchasing the required majority with State funds; and it was not uncommon, as Macaulay states, for £20,000 of secret service money to be disbursed to hiring members on a single morning! It is estimated that of 550 members in the first Parliament of George I. no less than 271, and in the first Parliament of George II. at least 257, members, lived on the bounty of the Government. The Commons having safeguarded their interests by the Septennial Act treated public opinion with sovereign contempt. Criticism of their parliamentary conduct they refused to tolerate in any form, and public writers who presumed to utter a single word of hostile comment on their proceedings were prosecuted without mercy. One of their own body was expelled and imprisoned for printing, without permission, a collection of his own speeches. A report of a debate in the House of Lords was burnt by the common hangman. The House unanimously resolved that reporting the proceedings of Parliament "is a high indignity to, and a notorious breach of the privileges of, this House," and "that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such offenders." Even the publication of division lists was prohibited, and secrecy of debate, originally adopted as a safeguard of representative freedom against the encroachments of the Crown, now came into use for the protection of members from the exercise of the constitutional rights of protest or censure by their constituents.

The fact cannot be concealed that to the protection allowed members from censure and dismissal by the electors under the Septennial Act, passed in 1716, we are indebted for that chronic



scramble for office and share of Ministerial favours still to be witnessed, with all the discreditable intrigues employed by the organized band known for the time being as the Opposition to dislodge the party for the time being in power.

If Parties were associated unswervingly with the same set of principles, even though these should sometimes happen to be erroneous, the spectacle of Party greed and reciprocal bitterness would, perhaps, be somewhat more endurable. But both Liberals and Tories have been notoriously fickle and time-serving. Too often have both supported a good cause from a bad motive, ever ready to advocate a new set of principles if by so doing the one party could deal a blow to the other. Early in the last century the Whigs supported the Septennial Act, and at the same time opposed every measure designed to place restraint on the corrupting influence of the Government; while the Tories favoured short Parliaments and the Place and Pension Bills. In the eighteenth century the Whigs carried the penal laws against the Catholics, and the Tories opposed them. In the present century the Whigs abolished the same laws and the Tories resisted their abolition.

"The Tories," Mr. Syme reminds us, "swamped the House of Lords by the creation of Peers, a proceeding which the Whigs strongly condemned; in 1832 the Whigs threatened to do the same thing in order to carry their Reform Bill, and the Tories professed to be horrified by the bare proposal. The Tories advocated and the Whigs opposed Free Trade at the Peace of Utrecht; the Tories opposed and the Whigs advocated Free Trade at the time of the Corn Law agitation. Mr. Pitt denounced and overturned the Government of Mr. Fox, because it was a Coalition, and immediately proceeded to form a Coalition Ministry of his own. In 1839 Mr. Disraeli introduced a Reform Bill, and Lord John Russell managed to defeat it, because it did not go far enough; the same year Lord John Russell brought in a Reform Bill, and Mr. Disraeli opposed it because it went too far. In 1880, the Conservatives being in office, assured us that Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury had placed England at the head of the nations by the Treaty of Berlin; at the end of the same year the Conservatives (being out of office) assailed Mr. Gladstone with the coarsest abuse because he had pressed Turkey to submit to that very Treaty. In the same year the Duke of Argyll and some of his recent colleagues (being out of office) attacked Lord Salisbury and the Conservative Government for sacrificing the interests of India to those of Lancashire in the matter of the Cotton Duties. Immediately on acceding to office Lord Hartington, speaking on behalf of all his colleagues (not excepting the Duke of Argyll), in reply to a deputation of Lancashire manufacturers, stated that the Government were determined to abolish all which Lord Salisbury had left of the import duties on cotton."

We look in vain for principle regulating the conduct of the two great Parties in the State. Truth, honour, and fair dealing, as a rule, are alike surrendered to party convenience. An example of demoralized ethics is thus daily set by our statesmen, which if carried out in the relations of private life would be unsparingly condemned, and the combined religious teaching of the 60,000 preachers of all denomi-

nations in the country utterly fails to neutralize the effect of the moral injury thus publicly inflicted.

If Government by Party were identical with Government by the Majority in the Lower House, the faults of the system might perhaps be treated with greater leniency. But it has not—although it is fallaciously said to have—even this redeeming feature in its favour. While the Government of the day is chosen from the side showing a majority in Parliament, it is simply a majority of the party which has a majority in the House, and not the majority of the whole House, which governs. Indeed, this majority of a majority, relatively to the totality of members may be, and often is, an actual minority. More than one case could be adduced, since the present Ministry was formed, in which a measure has been introduced, not acceptable to all the members on the Liberal side. Party organization, however, for the most part has triumphed over the dissentients. But it has undoubtedly happened sometimes that the dissentient minority among the Government supporters, secretly opposed to a given measure, when added to the whole force of the Opposition has represented a distinct majority of the entire House. Clearly, in such a case, therefore, the majority of the majority by whose influence the Bill is carried, would constitute a minority of Parliament. The effect of temporizing Party tactics under such conditions, is that the views of the majority are really misrepresented. Measures in their final passage through the House, as compared with the form in which they were introduced, are emasculated almost beyond recognition. Many pressing questions, debated for upwards of half a century, still await settlement, because the true claims of the people have been culpably lost sight of in the din of party warfare, and loyalty to the mischievous dogma of the political unity and corporate responsibility of the Cabinet predominates over reason and justice. It has ever been so since the passing of the Septennial Act. To go no further than Parliamentary Reform, which still remains in an extremely unfinished state, no less than seven Bills relating to that subject were presented between 1852 and 1867, including Mr. Disraeli's measure, all of which, with one exception, were wrecked by party antagonism. And this last would have fared as badly as the rest but for the forbearance of Mr. Gladstone as leader of the Opposition, who on that occasion was nevertheless exceedingly dissatisfied with the Bill in its original form. But in a spirit of patriotism never before equalled by a modern Party leader, he refrained from opposing on Party grounds, preferring rather to lift the measure out of the category of party questions, and assist in moulding it into practical shape.

Not the least potent objection to Party Government is that the arrangement is diametrically at variance with the principle of representation. The cardinal idea of the representative system is respon-

sibility to the constituent body only. The basis of Party Government is loyalty to party organization. The Party man merges his representative individuality in the partisan, and votes as an unthinking machine under the direction of his leader. An amusing illustration of this pliant conformity is given in the experience of one of the rank and file who once confessed "that he made it an invariable rule never to be present at a debate or absent on a division, and that he only once, during the course of a long parliamentary life, ventured to vote according to his conscience, and on that occasion he had voted wrong." Lord Grey in his book on "Parliamentary Government," frankly admits that Party Government owes its success to "defects and departures" from the principle of representation, and that it is chiefly by the violation of this principle that "Ministers of the Crown have been enabled to obtain the authority they have exercised in the House of Commons."

Another illusion from which the preposterous theory of Party Government derives support, is that it is essential to a strong Ministry, and that without a strong Ministry the Government cannot be efficiently carried on. The first and most obvious reply to this argument is, that a strong Ministry, in the sense of having a large and obedient majority at its back, does not necessarily secure wise and progressive legislation. One of the strongest Cabinets ever known in England was that of Walpole. But his administration was strong through the support which it corruptly purchased, and inefficient just in proportion to its strength, being so firmly established that it felt no need to show more legislative activity than the little that was absolutely necessary to prove it was barely alive. Despite an overwhelming majority behind the Treasury benches, legislative animation may be said to have been suspended during the twenty-one years of Walpole's rule, being only restored when he left office. The Ministry of the second Pitt, who succeeded, was so powerful that it lasted seventeen years, and it was said that at one time the entire Opposition might have been accommodated in a hackney-coach. Yet his period of office was barren of useful results. On the contrary, the respective Ministries of Earl Grey and Mr. Gladstone (I refer specially to the first Administration of the latter), neither of which were long-lived, were pre-eminently fruitful of important measures. The secret of success in both cases was that Lord Grey and Mr. Gladstone were impelled by an irrepressible desire to dispense political justice up to the measure of their legislative ability, and were strongly supported in the country. A Government though unable to boast an absolutely overwhelming majority in the House, if, nevertheless, widely sustained by public opinion can often accomplish more in the direction of substantial reforms than is possible to a Government numerically strong but denied support from without. Consequently,

the notion that Party Government is indispensable to good and active legislation, in the sense of rendering the authority of Ministries powerful, falls to the ground.

Government by Cabinet is the natural sequel to government by Party, and the ultimate link in the chain of parliamentary degeneracy is Government by the Prime Minister. Under the existing system, legislative as well as executive functions centre in the Cabinet. By Ministers the business of the House is arranged and the fate of measures decided; since it is by their fiat, as a rule, that voting among their followers is directed. In the Cabinet the Premier is the real head of the Government, the leader of Parliament, and the controller of the home and foreign policy of the country. Previously to the Revolution the province of Ministers was restricted to the administration of government. They were then actually, what they are now only in name, servants of the Crown. The preparation of measures and the coercion of Parliament in passing these were deemed foreign to their duties, and would have been resented by the House as an unwarrantable interference with parliamentary freedom. Up to a comparatively recent period the business of legislation was left to individual members. In early constitutional Parliaments it was not to the Ministers of the Sovereign, but to private members who enjoyed the confidence of the House, that the initiation of measures was entrusted. Harley was not an adviser of the Crown when, at the request of the Commons, he drew up the Triennial Bill. The Bill of Rights was prepared by Somers before he was a Minister. We are indebted for the Habeas Corpus Act to a Committee of the House, and whatever advantage may accrue from the new method of "devolution," it will only remain in strict accord with representative principles in so far as it is worked under the direct control of Parliament rather than by the unrestrained authority of a Ministry. As a matter of fact, in former times Ministers were not even members of Parliament, and when the Government wished any measure to be introduced private members were chosen for the purpose, who were designated "managers."

It was long before prejudice against the system of Government by Cabinet could be overcome in and out of Parliament. The practice of Ministers as a corporate political unity secretly tendering advice to the Sovereign—which Lord Salisbury considers an essential feature of the Constitution—was at first strongly opposed. In view of the evils likely to arise from such a system, Parliament authorized the insertion of a clause in the Act of Settlement which provided that "*all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council . . . and all resolutions taken thereupon, shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same*" (12 & 13 William III., c. 2). The first Ministry based on the principle of joint

responsibility was not formally recognized till 1693; but we have no record of the dismissal, resignation, or supersession of a whole Ministry before the time of George I. Moreover, even the vote of want of confidence by the House which led to Walpole's removal from office had no effect in disturbing the position of his colleagues, who continued at the head of their respective departments under his successor. The first instance of a Cabinet going out of office together on political grounds was that of the Rockingham Ministry in 1782; but then Lord Chancellor Thurlow did not resign with his colleagues. After a Ministry was instituted, a century elapsed before the doctrine of undivided Ministerial responsibility obtained any sort of footing. Ministers continued to be acknowledged only as heads of executive departments, the real Chief of the Ministry being still the King, to whom they were held responsible. He directed their policy, and their appointment and dismissal were at his pleasure. He wielded the same authority over them which the Prime Minister now does over his colleagues. The fatal step which led to the unworthy Party wranglings and legislative congestion under which Parliament still suffers, was taken "when the general control of departments was transferred, not to Parliament, as it ought to have been, but to the Premier."\* This change was effected at the formation of Mr. Fox's Coalition Ministry in 1783, when Lord North objected, on the one hand, to the King remaining at the head of the Ministry, and, on the other, to government by departments; Lord North proposing instead the direction of every measure by a Cabinet. Although his lordship's suggestion was adopted, it was long before the Lower House could become reconciled to the modern practice of all great measures being introduced by the Cabinet. From 1782, when Mr. Burke carried his Bill for Economical Reform, until 1830, when Lord Brougham introduced his measure for the Establishment of Local Courts of Justice without consulting his colleagues, many important measures were brought forward by members in their private capacity, which under the prevailing system of Cabinet oligarchy would only be allowed a hearing as Government measures.

The anomaly of Government by Cabinet is, that while theoretically each Minister is head of his own department, is understood to be responsible to Parliament for his Ministerial acts; nevertheless, if he consults with his colleagues beforehand and propounds any scheme with their consent, they are supposed to assume united responsibility with him for his acts, and censure passed upon him extends vicariously to the whole Cabinet, who are expected, in the event of a change of Government, loyally to fall with him. But if Parliament signifies its approval, Ministers retain their places. Here is the conspicuously weak spot in the system of what is called

\* "Representative Government in England," p. 134.]

"Responsible Government." Is there any sane reason why want of confidence expressed by a majority of the House in any single Minister or in the conduct of his department should involve the downfall of a whole Administration? Why should it be considered inherently necessary or expedient that the Cabinet must stand or fall as a political unity? Why should it assume legislative prerogatives collectively beyond the rest of Parliament, especially as the assertion of these prerogatives is the main source of Party battles, and the cause of an enormous waste of time and power in the performance of parliamentary work? Can there be anything Utopian in the proposition that the Ministry should retreat within the old lines of strictly executive service, *each Minister being directly and individually responsible, not to the Cabinet or the Prime Minister, but to Parliament?* Why should not the corporate ties which have hitherto united Ministers be dissolved? It in no way constitutionally pertains to the Ministry to prepare work for Parliament. Nor is it indispensable, according to any just law, human or divine, that the political sentiments of the several members of the Government should be homogeneous, or, in fact, that there should be any Cabinet, strictly speaking, at all. The primary qualification of a Minister is, that he should be deemed capable by a majority of the House to administer the affairs of his department with ability. It is of course requisite for the sake of order that Parliament should decide at the beginning of each Session what measures should have priority as far as the specific period when they are introduced is concerned. But could not this object be best attained by a Committee balloted for by the whole House for the purpose? What is there to hinder such a "hybrid" Committee being appointed at short intervals, if found necessary, to fix what Bills should have pre-eminence within a given period? Nay, the vote of the House itself might, in special cases, be taken if the arrangement fixed by the Committee should be deemed unsatisfactory. It would then be for the Speaker and his assistants to see that the orders of the House thus determined upon were regularly carried out.

In an interesting letter, published in the "Life of Sir G. Cornwall Lewis," on what he conceived to be the probable consequences of any attempt to break up the political unity of the Cabinet, the writer points out with singular *naïveté* two alternatives. He first argues on the hypothesis of government by departments *with* meetings of the Cabinet, but without political unity in the Ministry; and next takes the supposition of government by departments *without* meetings of a politically homogeneous Cabinet; each Minister doing what he deems right, to the best of his individual judgment. He then imagines the case of war. If a Cabinet Council existed, and a Foreign Minister was in favour of war while a Chancellor of the Exchequer was

in favour of peace, "Ministers," he says, "would meet to dispute and part to differ. Besides, how would it be safe" (he adds) "to read confidential despatches before persons who were in communication with men of an opposite party, and would immediately go and disclose the information?" Then, on the opposite hypothesis that no Cabinet meetings are held, Sir G. C. Lewis says: "What I do not understand is, how a war could be conducted by a warlike Foreign Minister if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was peaceful." Now the marvellous oversight of the writer in this course of reasoning is, that the direct *accountability of departments to Parliament* is not taken account of by him. Yet this simple policy instantly solves the imaginary difficulties he raises. If a Foreign Minister and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the warlike situation supposed, were both to take their instructions directly from Parliament, all rash Ministerial action, and worse than useless Cabinet responsibility, both individual and corporate, would happily be avoided, not only without detriment, but with positive advantage to the State. Sir G. C. Lewis's reasoning seems to rest solely on the fallacy that Ministers are essentially independent of parliamentary control.

"We have had government by prerogative, government by the army, government by departments, government by party, and now we have *Government by Cabinet*; but we have never had *government by Parliament*. When government by departments was in operation, the heads of departments were controlled by the Sovereign: we have not yet had government by departments *directly controlled by Parliament*. Yet this is precisely the kind of Government that the Constitution provides for. Ministers are the Executive Committee of Parliament. It is their duty to carry on the departmental business of Government, and nothing more. And there is no more reason to anticipate that the members of a Committee of this kind would meet only to differ and dispute, than would any Select Committee of the House appointed for any other purpose. If a Select Committee do not agree, the minority may submit a separate report setting forth the reasons why they differ from the majority."\*

There is usually an utter absence of rule and principle on the part of the Cabinet under the system of Party Government in determining what questions shall be treated as Government measures and what questions shall be left open. Sir Robert Peel, in the discussion on his Factories Bill in 1844, admitted that "with respect to many great measures the sense of the Legislature ought to prevail," but at the same time remarked with singular inconsistency that "if no great principle be involved, and very dangerous consequences are not expected to result, the Government ought not to declare to Parliament that they stake their existence as a Government on any particular measures." Surely, if Parliament ought to have a voice in measures of ordinary importance, it should be deemed still more necessary for Ministers to take the opinion of the House on questions

\* Syme, pp. 140-142.

involving exceptionally grave consequences. It is only reasonable to suppose that unless Parliament is to be reduced to the ignominious position of passively indorsing such measures as Ministers choose to introduce, its collective wisdom ought to count for a great deal more than the deliberation of a small fraction of its number consulting together in Cabinet Council.

It might naturally be supposed that if the system of Party Government and Corporate Ministerial Responsibility could boast any virtue at all, it should consist in securing continuity of legislative work in the case of one Party from any cause being replaced by a Ministry formed from the Opposition side. But will it be believed that, only in two instances within the last hundred years, has a Cabinet on coming into office taken up the thread of the debate in which they had defeated their predecessors, and assumed the responsibility of the policy which carried them into power? The first of these occasions was Mr. Pitt's accession to office on the rejection of Mr. Fox's India Bill by the Portland Ministry in 1783. The question was taken up by the new Cabinet and ultimately carried through Parliament. The other case occurred in 1867, when the Derby Ministry dealt with the question of Reform on which they had turned out the Russell Government.

If the doctrine of "Responsible Government" were worth maintaining we should at least expect the established usage of the system to be that when a Government at any time goes to the country, it should appeal on the particular question on which it has been defeated. But out of twenty-two dissolutions of Parliament during the century ending with 1880, the only instance in which the appeal to the constituencies took place distinctly on the question on which Ministers had been defeated, was when Lord Grey dissolved Parliament on the rejection of his Reform Bill. On three other occasions a dissolution was obtained on a specific issue, but at the elections which followed the point on which Ministers went to the country became hopelessly obscured amidst personal or party recriminations.

It will be seen from the preceding statements that Party Government with its undesirable concomitants, which Lord Salisbury appears to regard as an ancient element in the Constitution, is simply one of many unsatisfactory results of the Septennial Act, passed 167 years ago, and that the working of the system is at variance with the true principles of representation and free parliamentary government; tending to the prostitution of public interests to unworthy Party ends, throwing the legislative machine out of gear, and involving administrative affairs in utter confusion. It has been proved, moreover, that every single argument in favour of the system is fallacious. There is only space left for one or two remarks on the proposed remedy for the evils that have been pointed out. It is hardly



needful to say that I would have the spirit of Party combination increased rather than weakened, provided it is always based on honest individual differences of opinion reached by thoughtful and independent members, upon each measure as it comes before the House, without the artificial incentives now applied by Ministers and Party "Whips." By such an arrangement parties unavoidably but *temporarily* created by the discussion of each successive question would be dissolved regularly when it was disposed of. But war to the knife should be declared by the constituencies against the present corrupt excrescence of Party organization; for unless this is done the evils complained of will be intensified rather than reduced, when the extension of the borough franchise to counties and a redistribution of seats happen to be carried.

Let Ministers be appointed by the vote of the majority in Parliament, and held directly and separately responsible to the House for the direction of their several departments. The formal sanction of the Sovereign could be retained as a becoming recognition of the principle of constitutional monarchy. Under the scheme of Government now proposed the retention of office by any Minister, after being disapproved by the House, would be impossible. I assume (1) that Ministerial corporeity should cease; (2) that the power of Ministers collectively to combine either with or against Parliament would consequently be withdrawn; (3) that their perpetual, direct, and individual amenability to the House would be a guarantee that the head of each department, being liable to dismissal by a vote of the majority, would always be on his best behaviour; and (4) that the risk of what are known as Ministerial crises would disappear.

I would have the same close and uninterrupted power of supervision and dismissal given to the constituencies in regard to their representatives which, as has been shown, ought to be accorded to the House in reference to Ministers. Under the system of Septennial Parliaments this is of course out of the question. In not a few cases, from year to year, the votes of members on important measures are found to clash with the opinions of the great bulk of their constituents. But at present constituents so circumstanced are only able to pass an impotent vote of censure upon refractory members, who can go on in defiance of the electors until Parliament has run its course. But the method here suggested of granting power to constituencies to sever their connection with their members when they ceased to be in accord on leading questions, would secure for the representation of every constituency unbroken continuity from the day of election to the dissolution of Parliament. It may be mentioned in passing, however, that the adoption of the plan now indicated would leave the duration of Parliament a matter of only secondary moment. If the mechanism of repre-

sentation and Government admitted of the various classes of voters being represented by men of their own order, and the electors had the power of calling members to account, and, if deemed needful, dispensing with their services, in the event of their losing the confidence of their constituents; if, at the same time, the members thus controlled exercised corresponding vigilance over the entire Ministerial executive in the House, the electorate could be maintained in unceasing harmony with the House and the House in equal harmony with Ministers. As a writer, already quoted, says: "Instead of an inanimate machine which had to be periodically set in motion Parliament would then become a living organism in which the process of secretion and accretion would be continually going on; an organism in which there could be no decay, *as all its parts would be in a perpetual state of renewal.*" Then, too, would be averted the convulsive effects of a dissolution at distant intervals, when pent-up Party and personal acrimony is violently let loose and the trading interests of the country are subject to disturbances. The introduction of the scheme which has been sketched would be followed by the gradual extinction of the existing scandalously incongruous, unscrupulous and maleficent system of Party strife which makes the emoluments and honours of office paramount, and uses the constituencies as pawns on the political chessboard for playing Party games and winning Party victories.

MATTHEW MACFIE.

## GOLD-WORSHIP IN ITS RELATION TO SUN-WORSHIP.

MANY, no doubt, will feel surprise at a title which virtually implies that "gold-worship" (more familiar to us in the sense of "Mammon-worship") probably had its origin in that most ancient and widely spread religion of man, the worship of the Sun. If this is so, it becomes more easy to understand how the strong and absorbing passion for possessing gold, which cannot be accounted for by the mere admiration for a particular metal as such, has really become, from long habituation, an hereditary instinct, so to say, in the human mind. By this I mean, that men love gold because their ancestors in all ages loved it, though from different motives at first. And whereas most customs, and all fashions, are liable to change, this has become a permanent institution, and seems quite an unalterable part of our nature.

When Euripides apostrophized gold as "the most beautiful object that a man can take in his hand," or welcome to himself,\* he sarcastically expressed a truth which is even now but too obvious. He meant that those of his contemporaries who preached that virtue or intellect was the highest object of man's aspiration were not superior to the fascination of wealth.

From the time of Cræsus, king of Lydia, six centuries before our era, and without doubt very long before that, the *summum bonum* of human life, the chief glory of cities, has been the possession of "much gold." All the world over, except among some few isolated savages, perhaps, whose medium of exchange is a handful of cowrie-shells, and among all races, whatever their descent or locality, this intense devotion to gold has been an unfailing characteristic. Christianity spoke plainly against the worship of Mammon; but it seems to have failed in getting any large audience against the

\* ὁ χρυσὸς δεξιωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς, Frag. Danaëis

general greed for gold. This would indeed be a most unfashionable subject for a London pulpit.

These considerations, the antiquity, the universality, and the intensity of the love of gold, induce us to ask if any good reason for, or explanation of it, can be offered?

It is not its scarcity, for there are few countries in which gold is not found, and several other metals—*e.g.*, tin and platinum, have a much more limited distribution. It is not its beauty, for silver is quite as pretty to the eye, and takes quite as high a polish; it is not merely its colour, for brass and pinchbeck and other alloys of small intrinsic value can hardly be distinguished at sight from gold. It is not—at least, to any extent—its great ductility, its freedom from rust, its purity, or its general use in the arts. This indeed has rather followed than preceded the general reverence for the material; nor is it merely the cost and labour attending its collection, generally in minute particles. There must be some other reason why of two coins of the same size and with the same impress, say, a shilling and a sovereign, the latter is worth twenty times the former, while the brass button on a footman's livery, though quite as artistic, is just nowhere in the comparison.

The real reason, if our theory is right, is a very curious one indeed, and one that is but little appreciated or understood. The worship of gold can be shown to have descended to us from sun-worship, which, in some form or other, has been almost universal.

In plain words, men took to collecting gold, and making gold trinkets, charms, and amulets, because gold was of the same colour, and *possibly of the same divine material*, as the sun. The sacredness of gold seems indicated by Pindar, who, invoking Theia, the mythical mother of the sun-god, exclaims, "Through thee it is that mortals esteem mighty gold above all things else!" \*

Originating thus in the most absurd superstition, the supposed likeness of the yellow metal to the colour of the sun-god's face, the value of gold has prevailed over the world for so many ages that it has become an hereditary passion; and because of the value thus set on it, and for no other reason, gold has long been the highest metallic medium of exchange.

Mr. Robert Brown, F.S.A., in his learned and interesting treatise, "The Myth of Kirkê," remarks:† "The links between gold and solar divinities are endless, and the circumstance supplied a natural basis for the commercial value of the metal." Elsewhere‡ the same writer observes; "The bright solar divinities are of course rich in gold, a metal originally owing its importance to its yellow (sun) colour, which made it at once semi-sacred and symbolic long ere it received an artificial commercial value."

\* Pind. Isthm. iv. 1.

† P. 159, note.

‡ "Eridanus," p. 49, note 4.

It is almost a part of man's nature to love gold. It is not enough to say that it is natural to him to love wealth, and the influence or luxuries which it can command. No human edict could give to any other metallic token the same value which a gold coin carries with it. Even enormously increased supplies of gold constantly pouring in have failed materially to alter the relative values of silver and of gold. The pre-eminent value of gold as a medium of exchange has become fixed and inveterate.

We are not however treating the matter financially, but simply from an antiquarian point of view. The eager desire to possess gold merely as a form of wealth and a generally recognized currency is one thing; to give this particular metal a permanent value so far above all others is quite another thing, and must be dependent on some sentiment altogether unconnected with its use in the arts.

That sentiment appears to be the ancient belief that gold was in some way *generated* by the sun. When we read that Zeus visited Danaë in a shower of gold, we find a ready explanation of the legend in an ancient belief of the celestial origin of the metal. It was "Sun-stuff," and valued accordingly. The frequent occurrence of golden ornaments in early tombs may be explained as a tribute or offering to the sun-god, that he might give his benign light to the deceased in the nether world. It was paying for his favour in something that he was supposed to love as his own offspring. Professor Réville, in the fifth of his recently delivered Hibbert Lectures, well shows the intimate connection between gold and the sun-worshipping Incas of Peru before the Spanish invasion.

"At no time had the sun been worshipped more directly or with warmer devotion than in Peru. It was he whom its people regarded as sovereign lord of the world, king of the heaven and the earth. The villages were usually built so as to look eastward, in order that the inhabitants might salute the supreme god as soon as he appeared in the morning. The commonest representation of him was a golden disc showing a human face surrounded by rays and flames.\* In Peru, as everywhere else, there was felt to be a certain resemblance between the substance of gold and that of the great luminary. In the nuggets torn from the mountains the Peruvians thought they saw the Sun's tears. The great periodic fêtes of the year, the imperial and national festivals, in which everybody took part, were those held in honour of the Sun."†

The temple of Belus (Baal or Bel) in Babylon, had a golden table in it, unquestionably a symbol of the Sun.‡ The Indian tombs opened at Chiriqui, on the isthmus of Darien, were found to contain immense quantities of golden ornaments—probably regarded as amulets or charms, in various shapes, both human and animal. Between the years 1859 and 1861 golden ornaments valued at nearly £30,000 were extracted from these tombs, most of the gold being largely alloyed with

\* See an illustration, "Temple of the Sun at Cuzco," in the "Races of Mankind," by Robert Brown, M.A., vol. i. p. 316.

† From the *Inquirer*, May 31, 1884.

‡ Herod. i. 181.

copper.\* A remarkable resemblance between these Indian tombs (huacas) and those opened by Dr. Schliemann in the Agora of Mycenæ may be traced, not only in the profusion of golden roundels (sun-discs), of which he recovered not less than 701 from one tomb,† and golden "buttons" of various forms and devices, but in the filling up of the graves with pebbles.

That these discs were charms or amulets is rendered probable by the devices impressed upon them. The figure of a wheel,‡ stags, lions, griffins, various kinds of fish, some of which are found also on the Peruvian figures,§ these are well known to be solar emblems.

There are, then, good reasons for doubting if the ordinary explanation of tomb-treasures is the right one—viz., that they were placed there that the ghost might continue to enjoy the objects in which he took special pleasure in life. This may, and probably is, true of arms, and perhaps of the sacrifice of victims—*e.g.*, his horses or his concubines at the funeral pile. But the notion of depositing charms to protect the dead from evil is fully as natural, and is borne out by the nature of the emblems themselves. Christian piety took the form of a prayer that the deceased might have *light* in the dismal abodes of the dead.

Now we seem to have a key to the curious story in Virgil's "*Æneid*" (vi. 142), that the only means of access for a living mortal to the world of spirits was the carrying of a golden twig which grew in a dark and thick grove.● The resemblance of this story to the Druidical rite is very remarkable. The Druids, we are told, "practised their rites in dark groves. If a mistletoe was discovered growing upon an oak, a priest severed it with a golden knife; on which occasion a festival was held under a tree, and two milk-white bulls were offered as a sacrifice."||

This, obviously, like the Druidical immolations of human victims by fire, was a sacrifice to the sun-god, akin to the Baal or Moloch worship of the people of Canaan. The mistletoe, from its pale greenish-yellow colour, was superstitiously regarded as a kind of vegetable gold, and, as such, a fit offering to the sun.

The Sibyl instructs Æneas to carry in his hand the mystic twig, because—

"Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus  
Instituit."

\* "*Flint Chips*," by Edward T. Stevens, Hon. Curator of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, p. 286.

† Schliemann's "*Mycenæ*," p. 165. Some of them are engraved in pp. 166-172 of his work.

‡ "*Mycenæ*," p. 203.

§ "*Flint Chips*," p. 286. The "fish-sun" has been recognized in the zodiacal signs, and learnedly explained by Mr. R. Brown, jun. The apparent rising from and setting into the ocean naturally suggested to primitive man these notions about the sun-god.

|| Smith's "*Student's Hume*," p. 5. The golden knife symbolized the crescent moon.

Charon accordingly, who at first opposes Æneas, allows him to enter his boat the moment he sees the golden twig.

" Ille admirans venerabile donum  
Fatalis virgæ longo post tempore visum,  
Cæruleam advertit puppin, ripeque propinquat."

This is a very good example of gold being used as a charm in the under-world; it may indeed be doubted if the full significance of the narrative is commonly understood.

I conclude then that a superstitious value was at a very early period attached to gold. It seemed a religious sentiment to cherish such a near and dear token of the sun-god as his own "tears" or dewdrops of light! And thus gold was gradually collected in the treasuries of temples, and was regarded as sacred, unless perchance some mishap should befall the State such as would justify its secular use.\* The wealth accumulated at Delphi was proverbial, and General Louis di Cesnola gives† an account, with illustrations, of the gold trinkets discovered by himself in the treasure-vaults under a temple at Curium.

When Dr. Schliemann published his account of the gold-hoard found in the tombs at Mycenæ, every one was amazed at the discovery. Some believed, with the finder, that the tomb (nay, even the skeleton) of Agamemnon,‡ king of men, had at last been found! There were not wanting persons of learning and authority who pronounced the gold ornaments to be pre-Hellenic and pre-historic, in spite of the fact (which filled me from the first with misgivings as to the alleged great antiquity), that the sculptured devices (mostly serpent-like, and of interlacing knots) were marvellously like the early crosses and sculptured tomb-stones commonly called "Runic."§

In a review of Dr. Schliemann's work,|| I ventured to call these golden roundels "Sun-disks." The name, I think, was a good one, though I had not then fully traced the connection of gold-offerings with the powers of the under world. I further suggested that these roundels or discs may have been a kind of "temple-money," though we have no evidence to confirm the conjecture.

The gold-stores in temples were either in the form of ingots,¶ or of trinkets, or of amulets. But in whatever form, the metal was religiously guarded as if by griffins,\*\* and the idea of sacrilege increased the reverence for gold arising from other considerations.

\* See the financial statement of Pericles respecting the treasures in the Parthenon, Thuc. ii. 13. The relation between the commercial and the religious value of gold is here well shown.

† In "Cyprus," pp. 300-340.

‡ I have myself little doubt that, like Theseus, Heracles, and so many others, Agamemnon was a mythical "solar-hero." Like Hesperus, Cecrops, and other elemental gods, he had three daughters, all of whom have distinctly solar names, "Electra," "Chrysothemis," and "Iphigenia"—i.e., "the child of the lusty one."

§ Engravings of them are given in pp. 87-98 of "Mycenæ."

|| *British Quarterly*, April, 1878.

¶ Like the golden "half-bricks," dedicated by Cræsus, Herod. i. 50.

\*\* See Herod. iii. 116; iv. 13. Hence the griffin is a frequent form of golden amulets in tombs.

All that has been said about gold is singularly confirmed by the early use and the regularly established trade in amber from the shores of the Baltic in very early times.\* It seems to us strange that such a trumpery article as a fragment of fossil resin should have been brought by traders from such immense distances, and paid for at an extravagant price.† The frequent occurrence of amber beads in tumuli, and the legend that the material is formed from the congealed tears of the daughters of the sun, shed by them, when turned into poplar trees, in lamenting for the death of their brother Phaëthon, clearly prove that amber, like gold, was *superstitiously* valued—viz., for its yellow colour.‡ Even the Greek name *electrum* (whence our term *electricity*) is identical with one of the Homeric names of the Sun, "Elector."§ The Romans, who called it *sucinum*, from *sucus* or *succus*, "juice," knew that it was the gum of a tree; indeed, the legend that the daughters of the sun were changed into poplar-trees indicates this.¶

Martial has some pretty epigrams, familiar to scholars, on a bee and a viper inclosed in amber.|| The bee, he says, seems to lie in a tomb of its own honey crystallized; what more could it wish?

"Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum;  
Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori."

The mention of these two creatures, one of which, at least (the viper) could not be naturally inclosed in amber, suggests a very ingenious fraud practised by the Roman sellers of curiosities. They took two plaques of amber, and deposited in a hollow between them some artificially prepared specimen. The two, cunningly cemented together, were taken for one block. And so the poet says that the asp which killed Cleopatra lies in a tomb more beautiful than the queenly sepulchre.

The subject of the ancient amber trade, the relation of amber to a hitherto undefined river called Eridanus, and the identification of the Eridanus with the Euphrates, with much collateral solar lore of great interest, have lately been treated by Mr. Robert Brown, F.S.A., in the essay entitled "Eridanus." Amber was believed, in the primitive East, to be congealed rain-drops from a celestial sun-river, the earthly counterpart of which the Euphrates was supposed to be.

The value of amber, then, in early times appears to rest on precisely the same notions as the value of gold. But amber, so to say,

\* See Herod. iii. 115.

† "Pretiumque mirantes accipiunt." Tac. Germ. 45. (The words may, at least, be so understood.)

‡ This is referred by Curtius to a root *ark*, "to shine;" by Donaldson to *Felx*, *whelk*, "to draw," by some to *alektor*, "a cock," because he rouses mortals from slumber; whence Æschylus calls this symbol of the sun "the bird of Zeus."

§ I mention these well-known facts only because they bear on the argument.

|| Epigr. iv. 32, 59, and vi. 15.



has gone out, and has, at present, quite an insignificant use in the arts. Gold retains its hold on the minds of all, and is very unlikely to lose it.

An explanation might, perhaps, be offered for the fondness shown by all early peoples both for gold and for amber in the beauty of the materials themselves. I have often thought that among the objects which please most by an indefinable gracefulness of colour, a subdued lustre that satisfies without dazzling the eye, are amber, ivory, pearls (mother-of-pearl), and red coral. Amber has many tints, from dark brown to a faint yellow, and a certain alloy of gold and silver, imported from Sardis,\* was called by the Greeks *electrum*, from its showing this fainter tint. Yet, when all has been said on the score of mere beauty, the survival of an ancient superstition is the more probable influence that we unconsciously follow. It is quite as likely that the beauty of gold is an idea attached to its value, as that its value is in any way due to its beauty.

Again, it may be pleaded that the price paid for a pearl, a diamond, or any precious stone of a fine kind, far exceeds the value of gold or amber. This argument is one of some weight, for we know that the Greeks and Romans imported gems from the East at great cost; occasionally, too, gems—*i.e.*, intaglios, have been found in tombs. Nevertheless, gold seems to occupy a distinct position. As an acknowledged and mercantile representative of wealth it is altogether unlike the gem that glitters in the royal crown or adorns the finger-ring.†

The position which gold still holds in the services of religion must be associated, in ordinary minds, with the idea that such an offering (*i.e.*, an offering of the best) is in some way pleasing to the great Creator. Thus, we have church plate and church vestments of gold. The young ladies of Athens put on their golden finery in religious processions;‡ and we learn that, in a recent religious procession at Vienna, "the burgomaster and other city dignitaries wore, for the first time publicly, the golden collars presented to them at the opening of the New Town Hall." Even the city of the "New Jerusalem," which "descended out of heaven from God," was "of pure gold."§ So strong and so enduring is this "solar myth" about the preciousness of gold! The bitter satire of Persius,|| "Tell us, ye priests, what (good) does gold do in a sacrifice?" was justified by the mundane notions of religion which everywhere prevailed.

The oft-quoted passage of Virgil,¶

\* Soph. Antig. 1037.

† Gold and gems are very frequently associated in poetic descriptions of material wealth. But it may be doubted if gems have ever been used as a medium of exchange.

‡ Aristoph. Ach. 258.

§ Apocalypse, xxi. 10, 18.

|| "Sat." ii. 68: "At vos Dicite, Pontifices, in sacro quid facit aurum?"

¶ Aen. iii. 56.

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
Auri sacra fames?"

has not, in my opinion, been correctly explained. The epithet is assumed (without any authority) to mean "accursed." But an apposition is intended between "mortal hearts" and the practice and feelings of the gods. "If gods love the gold-stores in their temples, no wonder that *mortals* commit every crime through the greed for gold."

Mr. James, commenting on the passage,\* does not attempt to explain what he calls "the extraordinary strength of expression;" but he points out the curious fact that Dante ("Purgat.," 22, 40) quite misunderstood the poet's meaning. He supposed him to say, "Why dost thou not constrain and keep in due bounds the appetites of men?" (a che non reggi tu l'appetito de' mortali).

It may appear singular, if we consider the antiquity and the widespread use of gold, that the name for it should be different in the Greek, the Italian, and the Teutonic languages, which all belong to the same family. Our word seems allied to *yellow*, *gules* (Lat. *gilvus*), *Yule* (the "Yule-log" representing the solar brand), and is the Gothic *gulth*.† The Greek χρυσός is believed to contain the Sanscrit root *ghar*, "to shine." From it a large number of names and epithets, both of persons and places, was formed, more or less nearly connected with sun-worship. The Latin *aurum*, like *aurora*, is referred to a root *us*, "to burn," whence *uro*, and the name *Aurelius* for *Auselius*, possibly also *Usil*, the Etruscan name for the sun-god.‡ The word *Thesaurus* (thensaurus), our *treasure* and *treasury*, through the French, is Greek, and has nothing to do with the root of *aurum*. *Gold*, as might be expected, is Saxon, while the French borrowed their *or* from the Latin. *Silver* (Saxon *Seolfer*, *sylfor*), in its Greek, Latin, and French nomenclature, is from a root *arg*, meaning "clear white light."

The Greeks, but not the Romans, adopted the general and primary words to express gold and silver bullion, but the diminutives to express small pieces of it—i.e., coins.

Lastly, I will remark that the words *niteo* and *nitidus* (our "neat") are properly applied to gold or silver surfaces kept clean and bright, and have a sense wholly distinct from *splendeo* and *splendidus*, which describe the dazzling brightness of fire, and if applied to the precious metals at all, are so metaphorically. Hence "sol splendet," but "luna nitet," because the face of the nightly goddess is compared to a polished silver disc. When Horace says, "splendet in mensa tenui salinum," he uses the stronger expression as a poet.

F. A. PALEY.

\* "Æneidea," vol. ii. p. 372.

† Curtius, "Greek Etymology," p. 204.

‡ Curtius, p. 401. But perhaps the Etrurians were non-Aryan.

## THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

**T**HE country has just entered upon a political struggle which cannot be of less than three months' duration, and which promises to be as obstinate in its character, if not as serious in its results, as any that has occurred in our history. Under circumstances so grave it may sound paradoxical to venture the assertion that the real point at issue between the two parties who have precipitated this national conflict, has never been at once publicly and accurately stated. It is constantly defined with perfect accuracy in private, and every day of course we hear it publicly enunciated on both sides with a force and an abundance of words that leave nothing to be desired. But unfortunately the public definitions of it are not accurate; and the accurate definitions of it are not public. This fact, no doubt, is not one on which we can congratulate ourselves; it is indeed one among the penalties which we pay for our system of party-government, though it is a penalty which it seems to me is only made more serious by attempts to conceal it. It would have been far better to have frankly avowed the true cause of quarrel between the two Houses, or, more correctly speaking, between the Liberals and Conservatives, and to have treated it as what it is—a necessary and even legitimate, if not wholly satisfactory, incident of that particular variety of representative government under which, in spite of its many and obvious drawbacks, the country has always prospered fairly, and sometimes flourished splendidly, for a period of about one hundred and fifty years. For lack of this opportune candour, the issue between the two parties who have just joined in such resounding conflict throughout the country, is stated, or misstated, in a number of ways which are always unfair to one party or the other, and sometimes injurious to both.

For how have the two combatants been accustomed, at various times, to describe each other's position? We are all of us familiar—

some of us to satiety perhaps—with these successively current descriptions; and it needs no very eminent judicial qualities—it needs nothing but the power of temporary self-detachment from the passions and prejudices of the hour, to perceive how inaccurate they are. At the outset of the quarrel the Liberals began by alleging that the Conservative majority in the House of Lords were endeavouring to resist the enfranchisement of the county householder; and the Conservatives retorted with the assertion that the Liberal Government were bent on compelling their adversaries to accept an unfair measure of redistribution. Neither accusation was true; neither was quite believed by those who made it; both belong to that order of charges which political disputants easily persuade themselves to regard as legitimate. It is not to be supposed, of course, that the Conservative Peers are in love with the extension of household suffrage; but, on the other hand, it is not the fact that they have attempted to resist, or even to delay, *for the mere sake of delaying*, the inevitable. Their private feelings on the subject are, of course, their own secret; but so far as their action goes, Lord Salisbury's argument, addressed rather to the country than his opponents, in the debate on Lord Wemyss's motion, is surely final. If the Lords had really desired, and had thought it possible, to resist enfranchisement—both of which conditions must precede an "endeavour" to resist it—they would have thrown out the Bill on the second reading. To reply that they "dared not" take this course is only another way of saying that fear prevented them from "resisting" the Bill; and as I am not concerned with their motives, but merely wish to show that they did not resist the Bill in fact, the second formula will suit my purpose as well as the first.

So much for the first charge against the Conservative Peers. The retort to it was fully as unjust as itself, with the addition of being slightly more absurd. That the Liberal Government meditate the "gerrymandering" of the English electorate—that they propose, in other words, to rearrange the constituencies in such a manner as will reduce the political influence of their adversaries to a minimum throughout the country, all other considerations being subordinated to this object—is an accusation which is not only not founded on evidence, but is unsupported by possibility. The design attributed to Ministers is not a practicable one, even if it were one at all likely to be entertained. To "gerrymander" the constituencies in this sense is beyond the power of any ingenuity, however consummate. Whatever might be possible to the arts of the electioneerer in an American State, the mere distribution of population and political opinion, of urban and rural voters, in this country renders it obviously impossible for any Government to effect, and therefore makes it absurd to charge them with contemplating, the insidious operation in question. "

After a few weeks' interchange of these unfounded accusations, the two parties came by common consent a step nearer to the facts. The Ministerialists ceased to accuse the Conservative Peers of endeavouring to resist enfranchisement and charged them with striving to "force a dissolution under the existing franchise." The Conservatives, on their part, let drop the charge of meditated "gerrymandering," and declared that the Government, conscious of having disappointed and disgusted the constituencies from whom it received power, was determined not to face them until after having swamped their hostile opinions with a flood of new and grateful votes. These two charges are true to the extent that the Conservatives *are* in fact endeavouring to force a dissolution, and that the Government are using their best efforts to resist one; but this explanation of the dispute must remain imperfect, so long as both parties go about to fix each other with every motive for their respective lines of action but the real one.

The open secret of the whole struggle may be put into a single short sentence. It is a fight between the two parties, not about enfranchisement, nor even about the principles of redistribution: it is a fight for *the privilege of doing the work of redistribution*. The Liberals being in power, naturally claim that right for themselves. The Conservatives, upon pleas to be noticed shortly, contest it; and though this issue has given rise, as is usually the case, to subsidiary disputes which tend to obscure it, it is and remains the "bottom fact" of the situation.

It is not necessary here to inquire how far this cause of the quarrel is sufficient to justify it. It is probable enough that both parties may be attaching too much importance to the privilege which they are disputing with each other. It is, I think, certain, as has been contended above, that the grave apprehensions as to the use which can be made of it are baseless. The too truculent Radical, who boasts that by a proper manipulation of the new electorate he could "redistribute" Conservatism out of existence, and the too timid Tory who believes him, are obviously enough misled by their respective hopes and fears; but it does not follow from this that whether the Liberals or the Conservatives preside over the work of redistribution is a matter of indifference to either party. On the contrary, after dismissing all the foolish talk about "gerrymandering," and even after fully acquitting each party of any intention of re-arranging the constituencies upon any systematic plan of reducing their opponents' political power, it still remains easy to understand the distrust with which they regard each other in this matter. Mere unconscious bias would be quite sufficient to ensure the adoption by the legislating party of such electoral arrangements as would tend on the whole to its own advantage and to its opponents' loss; and inasmuch as the Conservatives believe, not

without show of reason, that they are the less able of the two parties to afford electoral losses of any description, their struggle to wrest the privilege of redistribution from their adversaries has been proportionately vigorous. The mutual distrust of parties with respect to this branch of reform, will be found to supply a full explanation of all the successive phases of the recent Parliamentary struggle. It led naturally and inevitably to the deadlock which has ended in the loss of the Franchise Bill. It rendered it impossible for either party to give way on the question of postponing the operation of the measure until the scheme of redistribution should be before Parliament. There was no answer to the Liberal who said: "How can you ask us to postpone enfranchisement until after redistribution, in order that you may throw out redistribution bills at your ease till you force us to dissolve Parliament under the old franchise?" But neither was there any answer to the Conservative who said: "How can you ask us to accept enfranchisement before redistribution, in order that you may present us with any sort of redistribution that you please, however inequitable, which we should be obliged to accept under penalty of an appeal to that monstrosity, a new undistributed electorate?" Such questions never are answerable on either side when mutual distrust exists. If a sober-minded Conservative were asked whether he seriously believed that the Government deliberately intended to put before him an inequitable Redistribution Bill when once he had got the historic "rope round his neck," he would perhaps have hesitated to answer "Yes." So, too, if a Liberal of like temperament were asked whether he seriously believed that, in the event of enfranchisement being postponed, the Conservative Peers deliberately intended to throw out any Redistribution Bill, however moderate and equitable, with a view to forcing an appeal to the existing constituencies, he, too, would perhaps have scrupled to reply in the affirmative. But, all the same, and without imputing any *mala fides* to each other, the Conservative would still cling to his suspicion that the scheme of redistribution ultimately submitted to him would prove to be unacceptable, while the Liberal would still remain firmly persuaded that, however equitable and moderate might be his redistribution scheme, the Conservative would find some plausible reason for rejecting it. Hence, both parties argue that the best way of ensuring that their interests shall be duly safeguarded is to act in respect of redistribution upon the familiar maxim, "If you want a thing done properly do it yourself." The real kernel of the dispute which is now agitating the country is, it must be repeated, the question whether, the necessity of enfranchising the county householder being granted on both sides, the Liberals or the Conservatives are to apportion the new voting power among the constituencies of the United Kingdom. The Liberals very naturally affirm that that is

the privilege of the "Ins," and that the "Outs" have no business to wrest it from them. They contend that they have just the same right to deal with this question legislatively in their own fashion—subject of course to certain well-understood restraints of moderation and fair-play—as they have to deal with any other of those questions of national importance, the settlement of which belongs, as a matter of both right and duty, to the Government of the day. And they further urge that as regards this particular question their right and duty of dealing with it is of a specially indisputable kind, inasmuch as they are undertaking it in pursuance of a direct mandate from the constituencies in 1884. To this the Conservatives reply in effect that every rule has its exceptions; that there may be circumstances under which the accident of holding office confers no moral, even if any technical, right upon the party in power to claim the privilege of legislatively settling a given question; and that, in the present instance, such circumstances have in fact arisen. For a reply to the allegation that the existing Government have received a mandate from the constituencies to enfranchise the county householder, the Conservatives say, first, that the same is not true in fact; and for a second reply to the allegation aforesaid, they say that if it is true of enfranchisement, it is not true of redistribution—inasmuch as it cannot be supposed that the existing electorate, even if it had commanded the admission of 2,000,000 new voters to share of political power with themselves, intended to surrender all voice in the question how the shares should be apportioned.

The foregoing review is, it seems to me, a necessary preliminary to the approach of the question raised by the action of the House of Lords. It would be a mere waste of time either to attack or to defend that action upon the cries and pleas which are respectively raised against and on behalf of the Upper House. Before proceeding either to justify or to condemn it, one ought at least to ascertain what its offence—be it real or imaginary—actually is; and if the above account of the political quarrel be correct, as in my opinion it manifestly is, the part played in it by the majority in the House of Lords is just this: Acting on behalf of a minority who are unable to give effect to their wishes in the House of Commons, they have claimed the right to give practical effect to the Conservative argument above set forth, and to compel a reference of the redistribution question to the country. That is in effect the meaning of the charge and counter-charge that the Lords are arbitrarily endeavouring to force on dissolution, and that the Government are unconstitutionally shunning an appeal to the people. It means merely that the Government assert a "possessional" right of rearranging the constituencies on their own plan, and of using for that purpose the whole force of a large Parliamentary majority which might or might not be diminished, but could not possibly be increased by a general

election ; and that the Lords, denying the validity of that claim, on the grounds and under the circumstances stated, are bent upon compelling the Government, if possible, to go to the constituencies to obtain express authority to deal with the matter. The question then is, How far is this action on the part of the House of Lords theoretically and practically justified ?

The first step towards an answer must be, in my opinion, to dismiss altogether the extreme Radical view that under no circumstances could the existing House of Lords be justified in overruling a legislative decision of the House of Commons. Those who uphold this view imagine and sometimes declare it to be founded upon their objection to an hereditary Second Chamber ; as a matter of fact, its only logical basis would be an objection to any Second Chamber whatever. The Lords, as one of their number drily put it in the recent debate, "cannot help" being hereditary legislators, that being simply their qualification under the constitution ; and to argue that the vice of their origin should deter them from overruling any, or any important, legislative decision of the Lower House, is in effect to argue that it should deter them from acting at all as a Second Chamber in the very contingencies in which their action might be most imperatively demanded. And this is an argument which, as has been said, is consistent only in the mouths of objectors to any Second Chamber whatever. In theory, the only duty incumbent upon the House of Lords in the due exercise of their veto is to confine it to those cases in which, according to their best light, they deem its employment to be dictated by the spirit of the constitution. Practically, no doubt their non-representative character may, as Lord Derby told them, impose upon them the duty of considering with especial care whether a theoretically defensible exercise of their privilege will in any given case be as a matter of fact acceptable to the country. Were it not that the latter proviso almost compels a temporary suspension of judgment on their recent action, I should be disposed to hold, upon as impartial a survey of the question as is possible to me, that the action of the Lords on the Franchise Bill is justified.\* For in order to justify it from the constitutional point of view, it is not necessary to ascertain whether the constituencies will or will not approve of it in the ultimate result. All that is necessary is that the Lords should be able to allege reasonable and probable (not, be it observed, conclusive) grounds for supposing that the electorate will ratify their action ; and it appears to me to be altogether too much to contend that no such allegation is open to the Lords in the present instance. The wisdom of their line of conduct, the practical probability of its success, is a question on which there may be infinite divergence of opinion ; but I at least find it difficult to understand how any unprejudiced critic of the Lords' proceedings can pronounce them offhand to be *primâ facie* indefensible. The constituencies may, for aught I know,



condemn them unequivocally next year, or the year after; but the adverse verdict upon the issue of fact need carry with it no reflection on the *bona fides* of the unsuccessful litigant. Of course the mere assertion of an Upper House that it believes the Lower to have ceased to represent the mind of the country on a particular question is not to be lightly accepted, and the pretension of a right to force a dissolution of Parliament whenever it may suit the Upper House to advance such an assertion, would of course be intolerable. No Second Chamber could be allowed to delay business, and to distract the country by wanton and factious appeals to the electorate. Whether, however, any given appeal of that sort, or any given attempt to force such an appeal may be justly described as wanton and factious, is a question which depends on a variety of considerations. The justification of the adoption of such a course may be the novelty of the principle of legislation which a Government is seeking to introduce, the importance of its bearing on the interests of the existing electorate, the uncertainty after a course of years whether the Government who seek to introduce it retain the confidence of the country; these, or better still a combination of these, reasons must no doubt be assignable by any Second Chamber which claims to arrest a measure of legislation until the country has been consulted on the Ministerial mode of procedure with respect to it. Such reasons moreover must, I quite admit, possess a sufficient semblance of force to satisfy an impartial observer that they have reasonably overcome in the minds of those who yield to them the antecedent presumption in favour of the *representative* character of a Government which retains its Parliamentary majority substantially unimpaired. But it appears to me, as I have already said, that this justification on the ground of "reasonable and probable cause," apart altogether from the sufficiency of that cause in point of *fact*, is open to the House of Lords, and from the constitutional point of view that would be enough.

Unfortunately, however, the very strength of their theoretical case only serves to bring the weakness of their practical position into clearer relief. To the mere fact that their exercise of their right of veto, even coupled with the direct demand of an appeal to the people to ratify it, has excited, or can be made use of to excite, so much popular clamour, one ought not perhaps to attach any very great importance. In itself, at any rate—more especially in these days when the organization of the means of publicly expressing opinion has been brought to a pitch of somewhat deceptive perfection—the fact referred to is certainly not conclusive. What is far more significant is the absence of any support to the action of the Lords, and the circumstance that many even of those who are suspending their judgment on the matter until the nation has an opportunity of pronouncing upon it in the regular way, are evidently prepared in the adverse event to pronounce the severest condemnation on what, in

view of their own present uncertainty, they could hardly represent as an inexcusable mistake. Assuredly this is not the temper which the exercised veto of a Second Chamber should tend to arouse in comparatively neutral minds. If its action in such a case as the present, and on grounds so plausible as can be alleged for it, is so coldly and distrustfully viewed even by those who might be expected to give it a different reception, there must obviously be some alienating quality in the assembly whereby its natural supporters are repelled. A legislative body, which as a general rule enjoyed the confidence of the country, would not be likely to find its motives in particular cases so suspiciously judged. Nor do I think it can be denied, even by those who are least willing to recognize the weaknesses of an institution so extremely delicate to meddle with as the House of Lords, that it is sadly wanting in the moral prestige necessary for the due discharge of the most important of its functions. The causes of this deficiency are, some of them remediable, and some not; and personally I do not believe the chief cause to be what it is so often and so loudly asserted to be—the hereditary character of the House. Such a Legislative Chamber is, of course, an astonishingly anomalous institution amid its present surroundings; but there is no reason to believe that the grossest political anomaly provokes, *as such*, any widespread resentment in this country. Regard being had to the disparity of political power between the two Houses, hereditary rank has far less share in determining the destinies of the country than hereditary wealth. Many a peer, no doubt, is intellectually unfit for the duties of a legislator; but, on the other hand, is there any well-authenticated instance of a young man, born to a large fortune and well advised as to the best way of employing it for his political advancement, who has proved too great a fool to get into the House of Commons? No such instance is known to me. Yet, though the incapable commoner represents just as great an anomaly as the incapable peer, the English electorate has always shown itself perfectly content with him; and, until it displays a greater zeal for the cheapening of elections, and a less marked preference for “local” over individual claims upon its regard, we shall be justified in assuming that this contentment remains unimpaired.

The mere anomaly of a man being a legislator “because he has taken the trouble to be born,” would not greatly offend the English people, one may suspect, if only he were a good legislator, or rather if only he could claim to be in any genuine sense a legislator at all. The real weakness of the House of Lords; the real reason why it has to take momentous decisions as it has had to take the present one—that is to say, with bouncing threats of penalty ringing in its ears in the event of mistake, and with hardly more than the promise of a “Thank you for nothing,” in the event of its being right; the

real reason, in a word, why so many moderate-minded and not otherwise unfriendly observers regard the action of the Lords in such cases as this, with no antecedent confidence in its discretion, but rather, if anything, with a presumption against it,—is to be sought not in the *qualification* of the Upper House, but in its composition and mode of transacting business. No one who compares its average attendance with the numbers collected for a great division, can wonder for a moment at its want of authority. The influx of Peers summoned to decide on a question which they have not heard discussed, is a scandal comparable only to a “whip” of country parsons brought up to reject a Liberal “statute” at Oxford. Lord Salisbury put in a plea the other day for the competency of absentee Peers on the ground that the skilful administration of an estate in the country was as good a training as another for the faculties of the politician, and did not in the meantime disable the absentee from keeping abreast by means of the newspaper with the politics of the day. Lord Salisbury, however, would hardly say as much, we may suppose, for “training” of another sort. The race-course, the yacht, the cricket-field, Continental lounging, the pursuit of “big game” in remote countries, the rivalries of the “masher” at home—there is nothing in these scenes and occupations to develop political capacity, and one should know what proportion they engage of the habitual absentees brought up for great divisions, before the value of Lord Salisbury’s plea can be estimated. The general public, it is to be feared, will not rate it highly. They are apt to suspect that too many of the recruits resemble the hero of that story *ben trovato si non vero*—in which a young Peer, unable on one of these occasions to bring his unfamiliar face to the recollection of an officer of the House, was compelled at last to use this “one plain argument” to convince him. “Do you think,” asked his lordship, in half-humorous resentment at the recollection of the more congenial scenes from which he had torn himself at the call of duty, “do you think I should be such a —— fool as to come to this place if I were not a Peer?” Unquestionably this young man should obtain the dispensation which he evidently desires. Both the House of Lords and himself would be the gainers by his being relieved from attendance. It is here undoubtedly that the much-talked-of reform of the House of Lords will have to begin, whatever other improvements, if any, it may be found advisable or possible to introduce. Lord Rosebery recently brought up again the question of life Peers in one of his characteristically clever speeches; and his suggestion secured unwonted support—at any rate of the verbal kind—from various quarters of the House. But no creation of life Peers from among the distinguished men of the scientific, literary, and artistic professions—unless it were to be carried to an extent which nobody contemplates, and which might too probably

exhaust the supply of celebrities—would serve to neutralize the influence of the absentee Peer, and to abate the scandal which it creates. Unless that can be removed—as, for instance, by the nomination of a genuine legislative body, committee-fashion, by the Peers themselves, from among their working members—it is idle to expect that the decisions of the House on questions important enough to set the “party whips” vigorously at work, can ever possess the weight which ought to belong to the deliverances of a Second Chamber.

An infusion of the life Peer ingredient might have a useful result, however, in qualifying the now too predominantly party character of the Upper House. The cross-benches would be, or ought to be, the natural location of these new recruits; and it is impossible not to sympathize with the Duke of Argyll’s regrets for the time when the “cross-bench element” exercised more influence than it does at present over the deliberations of the Peers. It is highly desirable that the Conservatism which occasionally opposes itself to the progressive tendencies of the Lower House should possess more of the quality of the natural Conservatism of individual character and temperament, and less of the quality of the Conservatism of party. The one form of opposition would be much more patiently borne with even when it was regarded as mistaken than the other.

As to the more ambitious proposals for dealing with the House of Lords—from the cry for its “abolition” down to the demand that its veto should be made suspensive only—it is surely a little premature to discuss them just at present. One remark only suggests itself as to the “suspensive veto,” which is that a limitation of authority which can only be justified by assuming that there is a danger of hasty legislation in the Lower House, would have a somewhat absurd appearance in these days of Parliamentary obstruction. The “suspensive veto” at present enjoyed and exercised with so much vigilance by the Parnellite party may surely be trusted to prevent measures being hurried through the House of Commons without adequate deliberation—or at least, without sufficient time for it. As to the abolition of the House of Lords, or its conversion into one of those purely elective bodies which, as the creatures of democracies, have naturally never been allowed to call their souls their own in the presence of their creators—the precipitate advocacy of such measures as these appears hardly consistent with the respect which their advocates profess to entertain for the “voice of the people.” Whatever may be thought of the demand that the Franchise Bill should be referred to the constituencies, it is surely not too much to suggest that proposals of vast constitutional change should at least be held in reserve until the country has pronounced upon the minor issue.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN BELGIUM.

### THE TRIUMPH OF THE CLERICAL PARTY AND ITS CAUSES.

**B**ELGIAN life and thought is at the present moment summed up in the political question. The triumph of the Clerical party at the elections of June 10, 1884, has far surpassed its most sanguine expectations. As I have recently proved elsewhere, the reaction of public opinion is not so thorough as the number of returned Clerical deputies would lead one to suppose. Their overwhelming success is owing to the vices of our elective system, the *scrutin de liste* without the representation of minorities. 34,080 Clerical votes have returned 67 deputies, whereas 22,117 Liberal votes have only two. Consequent upon this is a complete inversion of the majority. The Liberals, who before numbered 79 in the House against 59 Clericals, have now only 52 representatives against 86. Amongst the causes which have led to the triumph of the Clerical party, some are of a transitory character, others more durable. The transitory causes are, first, the new taxes; second, the proposition to create a reserve force of 30,000 men; third, the agrarian and industrial crisis, engendering great discontent with the government; fourth, an excellent but expensive school-law, which was forcibly imposed upon the *Communes*. The lasting causes are the difficulties of the social and religious questions, which are of general importance and arouse widespread interest.

Heretofore, all those who wished to keep in check the Clerical authority, forgetting their differences of opinion, were united to defend the independence of the civil power, and thus formed the great Liberal party. But recently, a third party has sprung up, which heedless of the threatening dominion of the clergy, aspires to make it the special mission of the Liberal party to accomplish social reforms by a call to universal suffrage. Then, in the public meetings at Brussels, this party attacked with great violence the moderate Liberals, called by them *doctrinaires*, discouraging some, frightening others, and thus estranged those vacillating and timid electors, instinctively Conservative, who are very numerous in all countries.

The Radicals or *Intransigeants* called themselves *Progressists*; but those whom they called *Doctrinaires* also desire progress, which is the concluding refrain of all their discourses. That is true, say the *Progressists*, but we wish for a more marked and advancing progress. Then we may ask them: Whither do you wish to lead us? and to what end? As Lord Salisbury lately said, in his remarkable article in the *Quarterly Review*, on "Disintegration," the *Progressist* must not be like the Wandering Jew, doomed to endless walking. Art

for art, or aimless talk, has still less scope in politics than in literature. If the *Progressists* want to advance, and that rapidly, what will they come to? If they claim universal suffrage it is in order to improve the condition of the lower classes. In requiring political equality, they have in view economic equality, and this leads to so-called Socialism. They do not seek to conceal it, and I make no objection thereunto. I belong myself to this ethico-historical economical school, which has been called the Socialists of the Chair, and for my part, like our ancestors the "Gueux," I accept the epithet with which our adversaries have stigmatized my colleagues of German universities, invoking morals, justice and history to raise our science above the dedication of egotism, with the object of ameliorating the prospects of the working-class.

In a book lately published, "*Contemporary Socialism*," I endeavoured to extract the portions of truth contained in Socialistic doctrines, and I do not hesitate to say that these are considerable. The force of the conclusive arguments which lead to State-Socialism has by degrees impressed itself on the minds of great thinkers, such as Stuart Mill, Fichte, Schäffle, Minghetti; of Ministers, as Bismarck, Gladstone and Lord Salisbury; of Sovereigns, as the Kings of Italy and Denmark. The latter is just now occupied with the Socialistic schemes lately rejected by the German Parliament. As the oak springs from an acorn, so may Socialism be traced to Christianity. In every Christian there is the germ of Socialism, and every Socialist is unwittingly a Christian.

As Tocqueville, in speaking of democracy, remarks, the advance towards equality has continued without interruption in history. But if, instead of making Socialism a doctrine of Christian fraternity, impelling the rich to elevate the poor through schools, superannuation funds, saving-banks for young and old, shortening the hours of labour, and successive reforms, the Intransigents injure their own cause by a programme of popular agitation demanding universal suffrage, they will receive, in Belgium at least, many checks, and will provoke reaction. The reason is very evident. The social question is not ripe; it is looked at differently by different people. Thinkers have not solved it, and if they had, the people are not ready for its application.

All serious modification of the present social organization takes it for granted that the implements of labour are the rightful property of the labourer. But as industry exerts itself to-day collectively in large manufactures and by means of large capital, it is necessary that the workers should be ready to push forward large industrial associations, or, in other words, to manage production by *co-operative* societies. At present, it must be admitted, success of this kind is quite exceptional. Allow full scope to the ablest Socialist living, with every conceivable facility to modify as he pleases the existing organization, and to suppress by the quickest means doctrinaires, reactionists, and proprietors, he will fail to establish and to put in motion a new social organization with all its varied requirements. A political revolution may be got up in a day, and republicanism substituted for monarchy, or despotism for liberty; but a great change in the civil and economical state of affairs is only attainable by slow

evolution. German Socialists, such as Rodbertus, Marx and Lassalle, not misled by enthusiasm, foresaw the realization of their ideal in a very distant future. Rodbertus looked forward to five centuries, and Lassalle to one or two. It is in this period of preparation that, on the one hand, the wealthy classes will be penetrated by Christian social feelings and by the principle of human solidarity; and that, on the other hand, the people will develop political and industrial capacities. It is the *bourgeoisie* that is now accomplishing this preparatory work. By their untimely programme, the Progressists retard it; because by frightening the wealthy classes they incite reaction and thus impede the progress of equality.

In Belgium especially a call to universal suffrage would prove an irreparable mistake. No doubt every one being interested in the government, it is very desirable that all should vote. But in order that the vote may be of use to the public interest and to those to whom it is accorded, it is necessary that the elector should be well qualified to discern his own interest, and that he should not allow himself, through his vote, to fall a prey to a master or to the Roman clergy. But we see that an extended suffrage gives unlimited power to the Church of Rome in all those countries where the Catholic faith is dominant. Do not let us be deceived by any signs of the influence of the French freethinkers: this is restricted to small numbers in great towns. Belgium is thoroughly Catholic, and even Ultramontane. Allow me to make a few statements with regard to the different European countries I have visited. In those where, on Sundays, men go but seldom to Mass, the clergy has lost influence in politics; take, for instance, France, Portugal, and a great part of Italy. Where on the contrary, the people religiously perform their duties, the power of the priest is great, because he has in his hands that almost irresistible power—the refusal of the sacraments. In Belgium, before the priests had recourse to violence to fill their schools, nearly every one went to Mass on Sundays, in the small and large towns, as well as in the country. Even those who were lukewarm, with very few exceptions, sought the services of the priests on the important occasions of life—birth, marriage, and death. Give universal suffrage to these believing populations, and if the clergy make use of the confessional and the communion, they will be obeyed. Even in France, so free from the Roman yoke in comparison with Belgium, the power of the clergy is so great that M. Paul Bert dare not advise the adoption of a measure, so simple and so just as the separation of the Church from the State, though recommended by well-regulated minds such as those of Laboulaye, Pressensé, Vinet, &c. The following is an extract from a remarkable report made by M. Paul Bert on the Concordat: "This measure (separation of Church and State) may be adopted in Protestant countries where men, forming their own belief, can more easily unite religious exigencies and civic duties. But in countries where the Catholic religion has an important minority, and still more where she has a great majority, this solution would be very dangerous, because the religious influence takes an almost Divine authority and can silence all scruples of the citizens. In France, particularly, it is not yet ripe. . . . The factitious authority which the Church has acquired in this country must first be abolished."

Gambetta, without having elevated views, had a keen sense of realities, which was his strong characteristic. He said to me, speaking of Belgium: "Do not adopt universal suffrage in your country, it will put you under the yoke of the clergy." Our history proves how much greater is the influence of the Roman Church in Belgium than in France. The Spanish Terror of the sixteenth century has achieved its object better than the Terror of '93. It is enough to cite the Revolution of 1788 against Joseph II., the Revolution of 1830 against William I., and especially the resistance to our last school-law. The statistics of our actual Prime Minister, M. Malou, may be exaggerated; but it is none the less true that within eighteen months the bishops have been able to open schools in all the Communes, and have entered more pupils than there are in the Communal schools. A recent inquiry, made by our Parliament, has revealed by what objectionable means the priests have attained this success. But, nevertheless, there is the indisputable fact which should make us understand what would be the results of universal suffrage. The schools of the clergy were all full, while a great number of public schools were empty. In no country, excepting perhaps Tyrol, could a similar result be attained. In response to the appeal of the *Unvers*, it was attempted in France, but was a miserable failure. How very limited is the power of the Liberal party when compared with that of the Church! Some imagine Catholicism to be declining. So it may be; but the intensity of life is measured by productive energy and creative power; and never, at any other period, not even in the Middle Ages, has the Catholic Church established so many different institutions,—convents, brotherhoods, associations, schools, hospitals, refuges, journals, &c. In England and the United States Protestantism presents a similar scene, because there faith reigns,—that great power which the Progressists ignore. It is very extraordinary that Liberalism has not yet been submerged under the surging tide of Catholic works. It owed till now its safety to two causes—first, the general progress of thought, which, until now, has been in its favour; secondly, the unity of the Liberal party. This unity ceasing, the triumph of the Clerical party became inevitable, and I am afraid it will be of long standing. Abandoned by its ancient chiefs, the *bourgeois doctrinaires*—as it was formerly abandoned by the nobles, partisans of Voltaire, Joseph II., and the House of Orange—not being able, as in France, to trust to the masses, which here obey the clergy, having only for adherents a most variable section of the middle class, and a still smaller proportion of industrial working men of socialistic principles, the Liberals would, under universal suffrage, cease to form a constitutional party; they would be only a factious minority.

There are those in Belgium who think that for decided friends of progress it is better to be in the minority than to have in front a standstill majority, who only hinder all truly democratic improvements. The need of obtaining the support of the people, they say, will oblige the Liberals to adopt a democratic platform; hence when the Liberal party is again at the head of affairs, its reforms will be more thorough and more favourable to the lower classes. The subject is worthy of a calm and careful investigation. On the Continent, and principally in the Catholic countries, I am afraid we are on the eve of a general move-



ment, not of progress, but of retrogression. The present generation is overwhelmed by a strange feeling of sadness, anxiety, and deception. What was the crowning point of our ambitions twenty or thirty years ago? Constitutional *régime*, parliamentary government, necessary liberties, and the Republic for the most ardent. We have obtained all this and more besides. Is the end achieved? Does peace reign amongst nations? Does harmony exist between classes? Are the people satisfied? Nearly everywhere parliamentary rule leads to confusion and helplessness, owing to the instability of the Ministry. What means liberty for the mass who continue to live in ignorance and poverty? Has the Republic, called by M. Guizot the most noble form of government, bestowed all the promised benefits, and responded to the hopes of its partisans? In any case "progress" brings before us two formidable questions which we are unable at present to solve, and which drag us consequently into great difficulty—the social question, and the religious question. Liberals of Catholic countries, in order to free the population from the power of the clergy, must take from them the superintendence of education and establish State schools. Amongst certain Protestant nations, as in the United States, this is accepted by the whole nation.\* But in Catholic countries, particularly in France and in Belgium, the clergy condemn and attack the communal school and national education. The struggle against the Church has found its way into the remotest villages and into all consciences. As faith is the principal weapon of the priests, it is against faith that war is declared. This cannot be doubted. In France they have gone so far as to proscribe the word "God." A grave problem is before us: Will families accept education without any religion at all? Will they be satisfied to find, in the place of Christian beliefs, the theory of evolution as applied to morals? Will that suffice for the masses? Man has need of support and hope, because life is short, full of evil, and opening on the unknown hereafter so dreaded by Hamlet. This is a fact that must be admitted by positive science: it cannot hold out any consolation or hope for this need. Those who are capable of meeting this deficiency have a sure grasp upon souls. Is not man a "religious animal," as he was once designated by a naturalist? The recent and remarkable book of an able Belgian writer, Count Goblet d'Alviella, describing the religious evolution of our day, is proof positive of this statement. A non-denominational school organization, like that introduced by our last Ministry, can succeed in a Protestant country, where it will be accepted by the majority of the clergy. But in such a thoroughly Catholic country as Belgium the united opposition of the Church presents unconquerable difficulties. If a great proportion of men, and still more of women, could become unbelievers, or rather, indifferent on religious matters, there would be some chance of success. Is this attainable, and even desirable? Look at the wealthy classes, the great landowners, the peasants, and nearly all the women, and you will understand what remains to be done to have our country "deatholicized." Our small number of free-thinkers are incapable of attempting it.

Liberalism follows out the attempt made by the French Revolution to deliver society from the rule of the Catholic clergy, in the name of philosophy, as understood in the eighteenth century. Quinet proves, by historical research, the failure and its causes. It is impossible,

he says, "to make a truly political revolution succeed without a previous religious rising, and without substituting a new for an old creed." The near future seems likely to strengthen the truth of this affirmation. A Catholic is logical. He respects the Church; he obeys it; whilst the Belgian Liberal is, in his own mind and conduct, a contradiction even to himself. He spends his life in maligning the clergy, but, at the same time, yields his wife and children, and often himself, to them. How can strength come out of such weakness?

Social reform is another stumbling-block. Political equality exists: everywhere liberty is proclaimed and guaranteed: what more is required? Is this the climax of progress? Who would dare to state that henceforward mankind will remain contented? However, if new changes are necessary, they will only be possible in the line of greater equality; and that is what Socialism desires and promises. But if these claims are put forward violently at the elections, at public meetings, or in street risings, the wealthy classes will be intimidated, and will seek refuge under the power of a tyrant, as in 1848. If the lower classes tried to solve the problem by force, they could not establish durable institutions; were they temporarily victors, their success would only cause a prompt reaction.

Thus the imperfect working of Parliamentary rule, and the straits into which we are driven by social and religious questions, will, in all probability, arouse a general European movement of reaction. Owing to the fall of the Liberal Ministry, it has, to all appearance, commenced in Belgium. Exaggerated confidence must not be placed in continued progress; history teaches us that it encounters many obstacles, and even that sometimes retrogression occurs.

But it will be said, perhaps, Could not the Liberals avoid this struggle for the schools as a religious question?—How would it be possible? The future of a country belongs to those who have the direction of education. Therefore if the clergy rule the schools, sooner or later they will be the masters of the country. So the Liberals came to the conviction that they were obliged to deprive the clergy of school authority. How then, are secular schools to be established? Is religious instruction to be entirely omitted? Or must we combat Catholicism even in the schools, as in France? Naturally, the clergy advocate their own cause, and thus provoke religious disputes, not, as during the sixteenth century, with regard to certain dogmas, but, as at the time of the French Revolution, between unbelief and natural religion.

But, it may be said, Why are Liberals afraid of clerical influence? As it will favour Christianity, there is no cause for apprehension. To that the Liberals reply: If the Catholic clergy were masters, they would not respect the liberties guaranteed by the Belgian Constitution, which M. Thiers considered necessary liberties. All Catholics, particularly in England, maintain that this is not true, and that they are calumniated. They repudiate intolerance. Unfortunately, the condemnation of modern freedom, and especially of liberty of conscience, forms part of the traditions and even of the dogmas of the Roman Church. This is a recognized historical fact. According to Lord Acton, it belongs only to ancient history; but, alas! it may be traced in modern and contemporary times. I must prove this because it is the basis and origin of the Liberal movement on the

Continent. If intolerance were not a fundamental doctrine of the Catholic Church, the hostility of the Liberals against her in all Catholic countries would be groundless.

All who wish to know the truth about this much-debated question, have only to look at the memorable and instructive debate between Bossuet and the Bishop of Montauban in 1700. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, all Protestants remaining in France were forced to go to Mass. This measure was condemned by Bossuet—out of respect, not for liberty of conscience, but for the sanctity of the Mass. The Bishop of Montauban maintained that the Church required the extermination of heretics, which he proved in the following passage:—

“Saint Leon, in his 85th letter to the emperor Leon, addressed to him these beautiful words: Great Prince, you should punish the followers of Nestorius, Dioscorus, Eutychès, and not allow discord in the Church. Saint Gregory, who was one of the mildest fathers of the church, in his sixtieth sermon on the Song of Solomon, concluded that it was better to punish heretics by the sword of temporal power, than to suffer them to continue in error. It is upon these principles, strengthened by the unchanging tradition of the Church, that the Christian emperors sanctioned laws against heretics to force them to become Catholics.” It is certain that the Church never complained of the severity of these laws: on the contrary, it has been proved that they were solicited and approved of by the Councils. A great number of special Councils, particularly that of Aquileia in 381, of Milan under Saint Ambrose in 389, of Carthage in 400, of Mitylene in 418, besought the civil power to overthrow the heretics. The third Council of Orleans (533), the sixth of Tolèdo (38), that of Toulouse (1119), were the precursors of the Inquisition. Pope Innocent III. and the Councils of Toulouse (1229), Arles (1234), Narbonne (1245), Béziers (1246), and Albi (1254), accomplished the organization of that terrible power which became the executive power of dogmatic intolerance. Two general Councils ordered the extermination of the heretics in words which make one shudder. See what the third canon of the fourth General Council of Lateran (1216) says, under Pope Innocent III.: “That all authorities should be warned, exhorted, and, if necessary, constrained by ecclesiastical censure, to swear officially to the zealous defence of the faith and the extirpation of all heretics from territories under their jurisdiction. Whoever exercises the least authority is obliged by oath to accept this principle. Therefore, if a lord, warned by the Church, neglect to clear his territory of the heretical pest, he shall be excommunicated by the city and provincial bishops; if he is not submissive, the Pope is to be cognisant of it within a year, so that he may liberate the vassals and deliver the territory to faithful Catholics, who, after the extermination of the heretics, will retain it without dispute, and preserve it in the pure faith. And for those who, having taken the cross, are equipped for the uprooting of heretics, is the enjoyment of the holy privileges accorded to the Crusaders.”

Bossuet is of the same opinion as the Bishop of Montauban. He says: “I am convinced and have always maintained that princes can by penal laws compel all heretics to conform to the profession and practices of the Catholic Church; also that this doctrine should be considered unalterable in the Church, which not only has followed, but

demands similar ordinances of princes.”\* Will it be thought that Bossuet's views are obsolete? In modern times—namely, in 1815, we have William, King of the Netherlands, giving to Belgium a constitution sanctioning necessary liberties. All the Belgian bishops published a *Doctrinal decree*, condemning freedom and the constitution as contrary to the dogmas of the Church. The following are some of the articles referring to the liberty and equality of the various creeds:—“Art. 190. Liberty of religion is guaranteed to all. Art. 191. Protection is equally granted to all religious communities in the kingdom. Art. 192. All loyal subjects, without distinction of religious creeds, enjoy the same civil and political rights, and can aspire to all dignities and occupations. Art. 193. The public exercise of any worship cannot be hindered unless it disturbs the public peace.”

The condemnation of the bishops is as follows:—“Art. 190 and 191. To swear to maintain liberty of religious opinions and equal protection of all worship means the protection of error as well as truth, the development of anti-Catholic doctrines, the blending of the tares with the wheat, and the slow but certain extinction of the true faith in these happy countries. The Catholic Church has always repulsed error and heresy; she cannot regard as her children those who dare to approve of that which she has ever rejected. Art. 192. To swear fealty to a law bestowing equal rights on loyal subjects of varied beliefs, would sanction all measures entrusting the interests of our holy religion in thoroughly Catholic provinces to Protestant functionaries.”

In all Concordats concluded between Pius IX. and Governments ruled by the Church, he has stipulated that the Catholic religion only should be tolerated, and all others ruthlessly proscribed. Thus, in his allocution of September 5, 1851, Pius IX. boasted of having obtained from Spain a Concordat, according to which the Catholic religion “should as formerly be exclusively dominant in the kingdom in such a way that every other religion should be banned and forbidden there.” It will be remembered how these principles of intolerance were applied to Protestants. The first article of the Concordat concluded by Pius IX. with the Republic of Ecuador on September 26, 1862, was:—“The Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion continues to be the religion of the Republic of Ecuador. Consequently, the practice of no religion, and the existence of no society, that has been condemned by the Church can be permitted in the Republic.” Is this ancient history? It is a recognized fact, that wherever Catholics are in the minority, as in England, they claim liberty and equality; but when they are at the head of affairs they deprive others of these rights. Veuillot said openly to the Liberals: “We refuse you liberty because

\* The exposition of the Catholic faith concerning liberty of conscience is so important in the debate between Catholics and Liberals, that I give here the words of Bossuet himself. “Je declare que je suis et que j'ai toujours été du sentiment, premièrement, que les Princes peuvent contraindre par des lois pénales tous les hérétiques à se conformer à la profession et aux pratiques de l'Eglise catholique; deuxièmement que cette doctrine doit passer pour constante dans l'Eglise, qui non seulement, a suivi mais encore demandé de semblables ordonnances des Princes. En établissant ces maximes comme constantes et incontestables parmi les catholiques, voici où je mets la difficulté c'est à savoir si on a raison de faire une distinction particulière pour la messe et d'employer des contraintes particulières pour y forcer les hérétiques.”—Lettre du 12 Nov. 1700. If the Gallican Bossuet admits intolerance as a dogma, certainly the Roman Church cannot deny the fact.

it is not in accordance with our principles ; but from you we demand it, because it is your principle."

Do not these extracts afford convincing proof that the Liberals are justified in combating with energy the political power of the clergy ? The ultra-Conservative Protestants in Holland and elsewhere are satisfied with the recent defeat of the Liberals in Belgium, for they look upon them as enemies to all religion. Are they not aware it is the manner in which the clergy use their spiritual authority to acquire power that rouses this hostility to all worship and the anti-religious rage that one meets with in all Catholic countries ? It is indeed distressing to see the friends of liberty assail Christianity with such fury, since from the Gospel has sprung modern civilization ; but who should bear the responsibility, if not the Catholic clergy, who have made the religion of Christ a weapon of warfare in the political arena ?

Before entering the *Capella Sistina* in the Vatican you pass through a magnificent hall called the *Sala Regia*. On the walls are pictures by Vasari, representing the triumphs of the Church. Four of these frescoes show the horrors of the massacre of the Huguenots on the St. Bartholomew's eve. It was Pope Gregory XIII. who ordered the perpetuation on the walls of the Vatican of the memory of this crime, which drew tears from the eyes of old Voltaire. Stendhal says very well : "The palace of the Popes is the only place in the world where murder is publicly glorified." So long as these pictures are not obliterated, with a *mea culpa* by the head of the Catholic Church, the Liberals can say that when the Roman priests are completely masters they will enforce the dogma of intolerance.

In the remarkable and learned letter which Lord Acton wrote on November 21, 1874, in reply to the expostulations of Mr. Gladstone, he proved that Pope Pius V., who was made a saint by the Catholic Church, urged the assassination of Queen Elizabeth and the massacre of the French Protestants, conforming himself therein to the prescriptions of his faith. "He declared that a Pope who should permit the least grace to be shown to heretics would sin against faith, and would thus become subject to the judgment of men" ("*Catena*," p. 325). He required that they should be pursued until they were all destroyed—*ad internecionem usque donec deletis omnibus exinde nobilissimo isti regno pristinus Catholicæ religionis cultus restituatur* (Pii Quinti Epistolæ, p. 155). How could the Liberals fail to be alarmed with the prospect of power passing into the hands of the clergy in a country where there remains ineffaceable memories of decimated populations, of towns delivered to pillage, of Protestants slaughtered, of national prosperity annihilated, of the most atrocious persecutions committed in the name of the dogmatic intolerance which the Catholic Church continues to maintain in principle, and to apply without mercy wherever it has power ?

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

### J.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

**I**N recording the progress of Ecclesiastical History, place and precedence must always be given to the venerable company of the Bollandists, who have now for two centuries and a half been its most constant and indefatigable students. During that period every four or five years on an average have seen a new volume added to the stately series of more than sixty folios in which they have described the lives of the saints. Of late years a period of eight years has elapsed between each volume. 1867 saw one, 1875 another, followed in due course in 1883 by vol. xiii. for October,\* comprising the saints commemorated from the 29th to the 31st of that month. This new volume is a repertory not merely of hagiology but of archæology and history, secular and ecclesiastical. The Bollandists have taken tribute from all the resources of modern research, and brought all to bear upon the illustration of their subject. Thus, to take an instance, the student of the organization of Asia Minor under the Romans could not take a better guide for the literature of his subject than their voluminous commentary on the martyrdom of SS. Seleucus and Stratonice, who suffered at Cyzicum in Mysia, and whose acts have been preserved for us in an ancient Syriac MS. written by a contemporary. In their commentary the Bollandists quote every modern traveller, historian, or archæologist who has even remotely dealt with their subject. Mommsen, Marquardt, Boeckh, Perrot's "Exploration of Galatia," Curzon's "Monasteries of the Levant," Wright's "Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum," are only a few specimens of the wide reading which illustrates an apparently uninviting subject. I say "apparently," because another work which has lately appeared without attracting much attention among ourselves has placed such researches in a new light. The modern conception of history takes note not merely of the actions of kings and legislatures and generals. It also investigates the legends and folk-lore of ancient nations, when striving to realize the life of the past. Now, even in this lower light, regarded as mere legends, the lives of the saints are valuable illustrations of the social state of the Middle Ages. But M. le Blant, an eminent member of the French Academy, the head of the French School at Rome, and one of the best archæologists in Europe, has taught us in his last work to view the records of martyrdom belonging to Roman times in

\* "Acta Sanctorum Octobris, Commentariis et Observationibus." Illustrata a J. Van Hecke, B. Bossue, Vict. et Rem. de Buck. Soc. Jesu Presb. Theolog. t. xiii., Oct Paris 1883, pp. 1003.

quite a new light. Le Blant calls his work\* a supplement to the "Acta Sincera" of Ruinart, the celebrated Benedictine of the seventeenth century, and indeed he follows much the same plan as his great master, but on a larger scale. He contrasts the acts of the martyrs with the Roman criminal code, a method of investigation which he has already made use of in his very able and fruitful memoir on the trial and crucifixion of our Lord. He shows by a multitude of details that the acts of the martyrs embody authentic documents to a much greater extent than has been usually admitted, and that they are of the greatest importance to the student of Roman law and history as contemporary records of criminal trials. It is impossible, of course, to give in our limited space any examples of Le Blant's method, but it is evidently most conclusive, as the ignorant monks of the Middle Ages could never have forged or imagined the minute coincidences with Roman organization and jurisprudence which Le Blant points out. A distinguished French scholar, M. Boissier, reviewing it some time ago in the *Journal des Savants* says of it: "This work is indispensable to the church historian, but much more useful even to the historian of the empire and the student of Roman law. Some of his most curious pages have reconstructed the whole procedure of criminal law among the Romans, showing us the forms of interrogation and of condemnation, the conduct of the audience and of the officials." Another great work has lately made a long stride towards completion. The "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum" has now attained to the conclusion of the tenth out of the fourteen volumes originally projected. During the year 1883 volumes ix. and x. were published, containing between them more than 14,000 inscriptions from the southern half of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Mommsen, the general editor of the whole series, does not desire to write at large upon ecclesiastical or Christian inscriptions, and yet, though he limits himself to the first six centuries, he is unable to exclude them wholly. These volumes are rich in curious inscriptions both Jewish and Christian. The Jewish inscriptions are specially important for the Church historian, as they represent the synagogue organization of Southern Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries. The connexion between the Church and the synagogue seems pretty evident. In the Corpus,† t. ix., we find inscriptions commemorating or mentioning Presbyters and Presbyteresses, Rabbis, Teachers, Rulers of the Synagogues, Father and Mother (Pater and Pateressa) of the Synagogue, and most notable of all "Apostles." Most of these offices and titles were discussed some time ago in Schürer's "Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit." This last title "Apostle," however, sheds a new light upon the "Teaching of the Apostles," which I described in my April article. Some critics have seen a reason for dating that document as early as the closing years of the first century, in its use of the term apostle as applied to a distinct class of mission teachers. The title as they think had not yet been appropriated to the twelve alone, and therefore this document must be very

\* "Les Actes des Martyrs," supplement aux "Acta Sincera" de Dom Ruinart, par H. Le Blant. Paris. 1882.

† "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," t. ix., t. x. Part. i. ii. Ed. Theodor Mommsen, Berlin. 1883.

early. But Mommsen's inscription, t. ix. num. 648, seems to show that the Jews used the term till the sixth century for a special class of officials, a fact which is confirmed by the Theodosian legislation. Thus we find the Code\* speaking not only of Jewish Presbyters, but also of those "quos ipsi apostolos vocant," as the seventeenth century critic Salmasius pointed out long ago in his notes on the writers of the Augustan history. It is however only right to mention that Mommsen is largely indebted for his Jewish inscriptions to the learned dissertations of Ascoli, read some few years ago before the Florence International Congress of Orientalists, and since published as a separate treatise.† The "Teaching of the Apostles" has naturally occupied a good deal of attention both among home and foreign critics. It has been re-published in various shapes. In America it has been translated and published at the price of a few pence. At Leipzig Wünsche has published it with notes and translations at the low price of one mark, as J. J. Prins has also done at Leiden. Hilgenfeld has reviewed it in the third number of his *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie* in connection with an article on the "Two Ways," published by Krawutzky, in the *Tübingen Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1882. He has also incorporated it with the new edition of his celebrated *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem*; while Harnack, who, first of Western critics, noticed it in Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, of February last, published it during June at Leipzig in the series edited by himself and Gebhardt, some portions of which I described in my last record.‡ Harnack's edition of the  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$  is divided into two parts; first, the text, with translation, notes and introduction, which has already appeared; secondly, the Prolegomena, which will shortly appear. A brief account of this critical work will doubtless be acceptable to many. Harnack first gives the text of the  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$  accompanied by very exhaustive notes, a German translation, and an index of scriptural quotations and of ecclesiastical terms. This occupies seventy pages. We have then the introduction of the Prolegomena. He traces (pp. 1-24) the history of the document in question, both in the East and in the West. He then discusses its title, address and aim. He differs (p. 31) from Bryennius on this last point. The Bishop regards it as written by a Jewish Christian for the use of Jewish Christians. Harnack sees in the words of address " $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \xi\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ ," a conclusive proof that it was written by a Gentile Christian for the use of Gentile Christians; and in its contents a proof that it was written before any New Testament canon existed. On pp. 38-40, he offers a critical analysis of the document. On p. 63, he proceeds to the interesting question of the sources whence the author drew his materials. These were (1) the Old Testament; (2) a document called the Gospel; (3) The Epistle of Barnabas; and (4) the Shepherd of Hermas, and possibly the Gospel of St. John. He devotes twenty-five pages to an elaborate discussion of these various points. As to the Gospel used he

\* Lib. xvi., Tit. viii., Lex 14; t. vi. p. 229. Ed. Gothofred.

† "Iscrizioni, Greche, Latine, Ebraiche di Antichi Sepolcri Giudaici del Napolitano. Ed. G. I. Ascoli. Torino: Loescher.

‡ "Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Althristlichen Literatur." Von Osc. von Gebhardt u. A. Harnack, ii. Bd., i. Hft. Lehre der Zwölf Apostel. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1884.



maintains (p. 79) that it was a composite text, similar to our St. Matthew, but enriched out of St. Luke, and suggests that it may have been the Gospel of the Egyptians. From p. 88 to the end, he discusses the organization of the Church as revealed by the *Διδαχὴ*. His space permits him to treat only of apostles, prophets, and teachers. The nearest approach to this organization and to the earliest conception of the ministerial office, he sees, like Bunsen and all true Lutherans, in the Augsburg Confession of Faith. The views of English-speaking critics have been very diverse as to the age and authority of this document. An American writer influenced by its language about the sacraments has attributed it to a heretic of the fourth century; Archdeacon Farrar and Dean Reichel, on the other hand, have assigned it to the first century, because of its statements about Church government. Mr. Hatch has seen in it a confirmation of his own Bampton lectures, while Mr. Saddler, in the *Guardian* some weeks ago, urged some very acute reasons for dating it back to the earliest apostolic age. He ascribes it to the Jewish party in the early Church, and thinks it must have been written before the theology of St. Paul and St. Peter had permeated the entire Church; a view which agrees with Baur's famous contention that early Christianity was Ebionite in doctrine, and that St. Paul was the true founder of Catholic theology. The discovery of this valuable work ought naturally to awaken a fresh interest in the libraries of the East. We may yet hope to recover the apologies of Aristides and Quadratus. That of Aristides was said to have been extant in a monastery of Mount Pentelics near Athens so lately as the seventeenth century, while that of Quadratus was extant till the sixth century, when it was quoted by Eusebius of Thessalonica. Our hopes are raised the more in this direction by noting two facts. Last year the *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* announced the discovery in a Greek convent of Justin Martyr's lost work "Concerning the Soul;" while as to the richness of the mine to be worked, J. H. Mordtmann, one of our best authorities on Oriental literature, lately informed us in the first number of the *Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie* that the libraries attached to the forty-five principal mosques of Constantinople number no less than 62,152 volumes almost entirely in manuscript. A project has long been mooted to collect them into one central library, which Turkish poverty, to say nothing of Turkish ignorance and obstruction, will not, I fear, soon accomplish. No part of Europe is politically of greater interest than the Balkan peninsula; and yet no part is more unknown. To the student of ancient history and geography, of ethnography and of ecclesiastical history, the same district presents many a puzzling problem. The Manichean heresy is said to have lingered there till the last century. For aught we know, indeed, it may linger there still, for a paper read during last spring before the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. A. J. Evans, shows that a still older religion, the worship of Jupiter and old Roman paganism, is not yet quite extinct there. The subject of his paper was "Scupi, or the birthplace of Justinian." It embodied the results of several months' patient investigation on the spot last summer. In the course of it he mentioned that the inhabitants of the Turkish town of Skopia still venerate an ancient altar of Jupiter, dedicated originally by an

ædile of the colony of Skupi, in the days of Roman glory. When drought threatens them they still pour libations of wine on it, as their Dardanian ancestors did fifteen hundred years ago. In the course of his paper Mr. Evans controverted the views of one of the most learned of Austrian archæologists, whose investigations have shed much light on the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Balkan peninsula. In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy for 1881-82, t. xcix. p. 437, Professor Tomaschek, of the University of Graz, published an article on this very same subject of Justinian's birthplace, where, while disagreeing with Mr. Evans on some points, he at the same time strikingly illustrates the important results, philological as well as historical, supplied by investigations in that locality. In the same volume there also occurs a most interesting article by Dr. Moriz Hoernes, on the Antiquities of Herzegovina and Bosnia, where we are informed, p. 839, that the ancient cult of Dionysus lingers as yet in that locality. Among the works lately produced by English scholars, the volume of Dr. Swainson on the "Greek Liturgies" takes a leading position.\* In this quarto of 395 pp. Professor Swainson makes accessible to students much that has been hitherto buried in the scarce volumes of Fabricius' "Codices Apocryphi Novi Testamenti," of Goar, Renaudot, and of Joseph Aloysius Assemani. He presents the leading Eastern liturgies in nine different sections, including those of Saint Mark, Saint Chrysostom, and Saint James. He has also brought his work into connexion with the latest discoveries by inserting on p. xlv. of his preface the liturgical portions of the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Αποστόλων* and has prefixed a preface where the student will find the result of much diligent labour in Messina, Rome and Paris. The *Academy* of May 3 had an able review of this work by the Rev. Professor Dowden, D.D., of Edinburgh, one of our best English liturgical scholars. Dr. Swainson has, I fear, in some places supposed too wide a knowledge of foreign literature on the part of his readers. He has made considerable use of a Greek MS. liturgy from Rossano, a town in Calabria. On page xvi of his preface he refers to an early MS. of the Gospels found there in 1879 by Messrs. Harnack and Gebhardt. It is written in silver uncials on a purple ground, and is enriched with some very early specimens of Christian pictures. But though he refers in a long note to it, he gives not a hint of the title of the work published by these scholars in 1880, called "Evangeliorum Codex Græcus Purpureus Rossanensis," where English students can see the illustrations and a fac-simile of the text. Dr. Swainson's preface might also well have been a little more helpful to the reader if he had given, as Renaudot did, a dissertation on the origin, authority, and use of the liturgies. It may be, however, that the conditions of publication prevented this, as his work is published by the University of Cambridge. Dr. Swainson's work would, on some minor points, have been somewhat more accurate, or, perhaps we might say, up to date, if he had used the "Catholic Dictionary" of Messrs. Addis and Arnold.† Dr. Swainson seems to think the Greek rite and Greek Roman Catholics as things of the past in Italy. Now this

\* "The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Authorities." By C. A. Swainson, D.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. London: Clay & Son. 1884.

† "A Catholic Dictionary." By W. E. Addis and Thomas Arnold. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

Dictionary informs us on p. 822, in an article on "United Greeks," that the followers of the Greek rite in Italy have three seminaries of their own, three bishops solely for their own use, not diocesan bishops, but like those of ancient Celtic Church, resident in monasteries and devoting their attention to their own followers wherever found in the South Italian dioceses; and, strangest of all, a married priesthood living in communion with the Pope, and that in Italy itself. This Dictionary estimates the number of United Greeks in Italy at 30,000, of whom 25,000 live in Calabria. This Dictionary is very useful as giving authoritative details of the organization of the Roman Catholic Church. But when it ventures beyond its own sphere it betrays a wonderful lack of critical power. Any kind of proof suffices to establish a charge against the English Church, while the articles on the Bull of Deposition, the Deposing Power and the Holy House of Loretto show what idea of historical criticism its authors have when applied to the conduct of their own friends. Much the same remark indeed applies to another work lately republished in England, though published originally some years ago in Rome.\* Dr. W. Maziere Brady was formerly a clergyman of the Irish Establishment, where he ministered till the Act of 1869 destroyed its legal status. During his ministry he proved himself a very learned archæologist in matters pertaining to Irish Ecclesiastical History. He then joined the Roman Catholic Church, and now resides in the city of Rome, where he has devoted his energies to trace the succession of English and Irish bishops in obedience to Rome since the Reformation. His theory, as stated in his preface, is this:—The Roman rite alone, and not episcopal power, confers valid consecration. He discusses the case of Archbishop Parker's consecration, but determines that even if all the bishops who consecrated him had themselves been validly consecrated, "the claims of subsequent Protestant ordinations to validity would not be in the least advanced." Dr. Brady, indeed, though a Roman Catholic, remains a genuine Irishman. He cannot help taking a kick at England in favour of Ireland. He dwells on the weak points of Parker's consecration, and points out, p. 22, how superior the Irish Church is in this respect, "inasmuch as the Irish orders of the Protestant Church recently disestablished can be traced to Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, of whose ordination there was never any doubt entertained." The life and times of Swift have lately engaged much attention. Mr. Craik's life of the witty dean may seem to have exhausted all the facts of the case, and yet a work which has just appeared in Dublin sheds much new light on some disputed points in that strange career. Dean Swift, in virtue of his office as Dean of St. Patrick's, was also Rector of St. Bride's parish, in the City of Dublin. The present incumbent of that parish has now published a valuable work on the succession of the Rectors of St. Bride's, where he brings forward many facts hitherto unknown about Swift, Usher, and the great Duke of Marlborough. This volume is enriched with a preface by the learned Dean of Armagh, the Very Rev. William Reeves, D.D., than whom no one is more competent to discuss questions of Irish antiquarian history. No student of the

\* "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, A.D. 1533-1876, with a Dissertation on Anglican Orders." By W. M. Brady. London: Stark.

life of Swift can afford to overlook this work.\* While speaking of Dr. Reeves, I may mention that a work long expected from him has at length received a partial fulfilment at another's hands. The Book of Armagh is one of the great treasures of the University of Dublin. It is a composite volume containing a unique version of the New Testament, St. Patrick's "Confessio," and the earliest records of his life, dating from the seventh century. The MS. history of St. Patrick's life contained therein has now been printed by those indefatigable investigators, the Bollandists, in their new venture, the "Analecta Bollandiana," under the direction of the Rev. H. E. Hogan, S.J., Dublin. He has earned the thanks of all students of Celtic antiquity by publishing together with it a MS. discovered at Brussels, giving much the same account of the Irish Apostle. Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, have lately published two valuable works. The third volume of their translation of Bishop Hefele's Councils has long been expected.† It is marked with the same care and accuracy in translation which the previous volumes displayed. I have tested it in many places, comparing it with the original German, and with Mansi's great collection of the Councils, and have found it absolutely correct. Whilst speaking of the Councils, I may mention that Mansi's great edition thereof is now in process of republication. Messrs. Palmé, the Roman publishers, are now offering it with a much-needed index, at the price of 28s. a volume to the first 400 subscribers. All subsequent to that number must pay £2 per volume. The edition will extend to 31 vols. folio. Messrs. Clark have also given us an English translation of the first volume of Dr. Uhlhorn's book on Christian Charity, the second volume of which has just appeared in German.‡ The first volume deals with Christian Charity in the Early Church, as the second volume deals with Charity and Charitable Organizations in the Mediæval Church. It forms a valuable contribution to Christian evidences from the subjective side, and contains much that is new to the English reader, derived from a minute study of the best historical sources. He will find there an interesting account of the origin of hospitals, orphanages, and deaconesses. Uhlhorn has carefully studied the results of archæological investigation, yet he does not seem to have noticed in Waddington's "Voyage Archéologique," t. iii. num. 1916, that Job was regarded as the patron of Xenodochia, or poor-houses, at Bostra in Eastern Syria, where Justinian erected a magnificent hospital for the use of the poor. Rev. H. N. Oxenham, who translated one volume of "Hefele" for Messrs. Clark, has just republished a series of Essays in Ecclesiastical History, contributed by him to the *Saturday Review*. They are marked by great elegance, terseness, and vivacity of style, and embody the results of a wide scholarship. The volume would have been rendered more useful to scholars had he appended a more extensive list of authorities as well as an index.§ The Rev. Dr. Crossle

\* "Succession of Clergy in the parishes of S. Bride, S. Michael le Pole, and S. Stephen, Dublin;" with a Preface by the Very Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., Dean of Armagh. By W. G. Carroll, M.A. London: Parker. 1884.

† "History of the Church Councils, A.D. 431-451." By the Right Rev. C. J. Hefele, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

‡ Uhlhorn's "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church." Edinburgh: Clark.

§ "Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography." By H. N. Oxenham, M.A. London: Chapman & Hall.

publishes in the S.P.C.K. series a useful work which deals with much the same subject as Uhlhorn's work, but in a more distinctly evidential way. It is not so exhaustive as the German work, but it is cheaper and handier. It embodies the substance of his Donnellan lectures preached before the University of Dublin, and is the work of a sound scholar as well as an orthodox theologian. From Cambridge there has lately issued a valuable monograph by the Rev. W. Cunningham, University Lecturer in History. Its subject is "Usury in relation to Christianity." Mr. Cunningham deals with it in a very interesting manner, and displays a scholarship equally at home in political economy as well as in Patristic and the latest German learning.\* Canada again has just afforded us, in Mr. Norton's "Worship in Heaven and on Earth,"† a good instance of Evangelical Churchmanship, united with learning and toleration. His work will prove attractive to those who take an interest in liturgical studies. It is certainly very thorough, as it deals with the worship and ritual of Greeks, Romans, Jews, Buddhists, and Devil-worshippers, as well as of Christians of every church and denomination. But surely Mr. Norton loses something of his judicial moderation, and makes too sweeping an assertion when, on p. 539, he says, "Primitive Christian worship was pure and beautiful; Mediæval worship florid, idolatrous, irreverent and unedifying." Was it such worship produced a Thomas à Kempis?

GEORGE T. STOKES.

## II.—POETRY:

THE "Falcon"‡ is a story of Boccaccio's put into dramatic form. The original story is one of the most graceful in the Decameron: it does not gain by being made vivid and striking on the stage. The mediæval quaintness of spirit which is essential to the whole story can be appreciated better by the reader than by the man who looks on from the pit. The story is believed and loved when the actors are moving in some remote theatre of the fancy; when they are vague in the mists of idle reverie, with no orchestra to accompany them except some half-unconscious undersong, that keeps saying—

"This, all this, was in the olden  
Time long ago."

The story of the Falcon is almost as ill-suited for the stage as that of Patient Griselda. Each of these stories is admired by the reader; it is possible to read them again and again; but the pathos of

\* "Christian Opinion on Usury; with Special Reference to England." By William Cunningham, B.D. London: Macmillan.

† "Worship in Heaven and on Earth." By J. G. Norton, M.A., Rector of Montreal. London: Gardner, Darton & Co.

‡ "The Cup and the Falcon." By Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate. London: Macmillan. 1884.

them will not bear to be made a show of. It was too cruel to bring forward the martyred falcon *coram populo*. In all the bloodshed of the Elizabethan stage there is nothing more ruthless. But the story is told nobly, as it could not but be, by its second author. This is the solution of the tragedy, the speech in which the Count explains why he cannot grant the Lady Giovanna's request to give up his falcon to save the life of her son :—

“ Stay, stay, I am most unlucky, most unhappy.  
 You never had look'd in on me before,  
 And when you came and dipt your sovereign head  
 Thro' these low doors, you ask'd to eat with me  
 I had but emptiness to set before you—  
 No not a draught of milk, no not an egg,  
 Nothing but my brave bird, my noble falcon,  
 My comrade of the house and of the field.  
 She had to die for it—she died for you,  
 Perhaps I thought with those of old, the nobler  
 The victim was, the more acceptable  
 Might be the sacrifice. I fear you scarce  
 Will thank me for your entertainment now.

LADY GIOVANNA (*returning*).

I bear with him no longer.

COUNT.

No, Madonna !

And he will have to bear with it as he may.

LADY GIOVANNA.

I break with him for ever !

COUNT.

Yes, Giovanna,

But he will keep his love to you for ever !

LADY GIOVANNA.

You ? you ? not you ! my brother ! my hard brother !  
 O Federigo, Federigo, I love you !  
 Spite of ten thousand brothers, Federigo.”

The “Cup” is really, as much as the “Falcon,” a *novella* put into dramatic form—not a drama founded upon a *novella*. The characters are not interesting in themselves—it is the story of treachery and of just vengeance in which they are actors that gives them all their interest, not they that give substantiality and life to the story. Camma is more real than either Sinnatus or Synorix ; her speech in answer to the message of Synorix (“Tell him there is one shadow among the shadows”), and the speech before the end (“O women, ye will have Roman masters”)—these have living words in them. But the mis-giving will arise that they are the words of the master of the show, not of the individual character in whose mouth they are placed. In any case, however, gratitude is the only proper frame of mind in which to receive these and the other gifts of eloquence that are contained in this volume.

James Thomson will be remembered for “The City of Dreadful Night,” and not for any of the poems in this posthumous volume. He could have well afforded to keep back these poems from publication ; even “A Voice from the Nile,”\* by far the best of them, is rhetoric and not poetry. “Insomnia,” and “The Poet and his Muse”

\* “A Voice from the Nile, and other Poems.” By the late James Thomson. London: Reeves & Turner. 1884. .

are valuable as biographical documents. "Low Life, as overheard in the Train" (1865), will be profitable reading for those who are ignorant of the limitations of James Thomson's pessimism, of his unaffected sympathy with those fellow men and women of London who have hitherto been without a poet. This is not a poem to be placed beside "Sunday at Hampstead," but for those who are interested in Thomson's character, it is a proof even more convincing of his permanent faith in the real worth and hope for the true welfare of some at any rate of the despised vulgar. The other poems in the book are examples of the author's fluency, but not of his strength. There is little to remind any one of the weighty stanzas of "The City of Dreadful Night," or of the power of vision which explored that city, or of the poet's despair turning into fortitude in the unrelenting acceptance of the worst.

"A Voice from the Nile" shows that the poet might have found a new field for his art—perhaps a new creed. It is too much a piece of reasoning, too like a prose argument; but that does not prevent it from being good literature. Nile and the Land of the Nile—these know nothing of the City of Night. Mother Earth is eternal, man and his gods change, and the immortal river of Nile knows the changes and does not feel them, but pities "these sad-eyed peoples of the sons of men" who never remain the same. The gravity of this conception and the austerity with which it is expressed are in marked contrast to the fluctuating and formless verses of many of the poems that follow. The grave irony of the poem is not complimentary to mankind, but it is also fatal to the temper which conceived the City of Dreadful Night. It is the wisdom of the Epicureans, which is hostile to darkness.

Mr. Watson's hundred epigrams, followed by "a Note on Epigram,"\* make up a book which is certainly not too heavily weighted. Epigrams that are poems are not so common in English that these can be passed over without notice. They are poems of different sorts; some are metaphors, some thoughts without images. Analogies are the stuff out of which epigrams are made; they may give scope to a nobler wit than that which leads up with three dull lines to one line of impertinence—the usual pattern of epigram in this country. This is an example of one of Mr. Watson's images—

## XXVI.

"Daily by his own hands are writ out fair  
In a great book the great thoughts of the king,  
We can but mark the purport here and there  
For very wonder at the handwriting."

The next is a thought; the wit is shown not in finding a new analogy but in the quick movement of debate—

## XXVII.

"If Nature be a phantasm as thou say'st,  
A splendid fiction and prodigious dream,  
To reach the real and true I'll make no haste  
More than content with worlds that only seem."

There are much better epigrams than these in Mr. Watson's collection (v., lxx.), but these do well enough to show what he means by epigram. There are also worse ones, such as xxxvi.:—

\* "Epigrams of Art, Life and Nature." By William Watson. Liverpool: Gilbert G. Walmsley. 1884.

" Like leaves on the swoln stream of the swift days,  
Do all men somewhither move rushingly,  
While Man stands at the brink, with eyes that gaze  
Back to the source and forward to the sea."

This has too much the sound of peroration about it: one hears the applause of flattered and edified humanity. *Man* in the abstract, "*ingens hominis archetypus gigas*," has apparently taken refuge with the poets from the persecution of the schools. In lxx. there is nothing but a versification of a piece of criticism by Mr. Swinburne, which was pithier and livelier in its original prose. Some are less good than others among the hundred, but they do not spoil the general success of the bright poems.

The title of Miss Robinson's book\* has too much the character of a paradox, of a challenge. The prologue, which defends the title, is too scornful towards the old Arcadia and too hostile towards the poetry of that land. It argues almost as if the old Arcadia (by which is meant all the beauty of the world) were a snare and an enchantment, making people blind to the hunger and pain, the spiritless labour and the despair, which are the reality of life, or of three-fourths of it, "not only in great cities." This point of view is not maintained throughout the book, not even throughout the prologue; but it is a pity that the noble and eloquent appeal to those who are too much at ease in the world should have contained what appears a Puritan condemnation of the old land of Arcadia—the land that belongs not only to poets and shepherds, but to thousands—even in great cities—who are in no danger of forgetting what is "real."

The idylls of the new Arcadia neglect the argument of the prologue and epilogue in another point. The prologue and epilogue speak of a general misery which is possibly curable by the effort of those who are powerful and fortunate. But this misery, which belongs especially to the poor, does not form the tragedy of all the separate poems. Two of them at most—"Man and Wife" and the "Scapegoat"—deal with wrongs that are caused by the general stupidity, the impersonal cruelty of mankind—that is to say, by the absence of proper sympathy and proper succour for the unfortunate.

The poems of "Janet Fisher," "The Rothers," "Cottar's Girl," are tragical enough, but it is hard to see how they support the appeal of the prologue—the appeal for help, and the general indictment against the lovers of Arcadia.

" Look at the dumb brute souls who suffer and strive,  
Leave the dead world, and make their souls alive!"

How is this strengthened by the story of "The Rothers," a story of a young wife whose heart is gradually hardened by her husband, Sir Thomas Thorn, "a bitter, dark, bad, cruel man," till she causes the death of her old aunt by making her, though known to be dying, leave the house exactly at the end of the three months for which she had been invited? The country where such things happen is neither Arcadia nor the antipodes of Arcadia.

The idylls are very remarkable poems; luckily they can be judged on their own merits. They are clearly and strongly expressed—"The

\* "The New Arcadia, and other Poems." By A. Mary F. Robinson. London: Ellis & White. 1884.



Rothers," especially, with great command of detail; "Cottar's Girl," with almost an excess of suspense and horror. "The School Children" is a relief to the gloom; it is the vision of David Joris, a Flemish painter, who saw kings and knights, priests and prelates, putting off their crowns and swords at the feet of the children.

"Till at length as when a breeze  
Bends the rushes well,  
Captains, kings, great sovereignties,  
Bent and bowed and fell,  
Kneeling all upon their knees."

The poems that follow may reconcile the offended guardians of the old Arcadia. The Tuscan *rispetti* and "Love among the Saints" are songs to no new power. It is "The Conquest of Fairyland" that proves best the author's artistic faculty. This ballad of fairy enchantment is not meant as anything very serious; it is a romance of a king of Persia who was led by a fairy singer to march against Fairyland, and came to a bad end there. The verses are a perfect expression of the fairy charm; there is a sort of irresistible dance in the syllables, as if the words were following the music of the fairy piper. It is a ballad metre something like that of "Chevy Chase," like the tune of "Chevy Chase" blown on the horns of Elfland.

"What is the song you play, and what the theme your praises sing?  
It is sweet, I knew not I owned a thing so sweet," said the weary king.  
'I sing my country,' said the singer, 'a land that is sweeter than song.'  
'Which of my kingdoms is your country? Thither would I along.'  
'Great, O king, is thy power, and the earth a footstool for thy feet;  
But my country is free, and my own country, and oh, my country is sweet!'

\* \* \* \* \*

'O for my distant home!' he sighed; 'oh, alas! away and afar  
I watch thee now as a lost sailor watches a shining star.  
O that a wind would take me there, that a bird would set me down  
Where the golden streets shine red at sunset in my father's town.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'O the way to my country is ever north till you pass the mouth of hell,  
Past the limbo of dreams and the desolate land where shadows dwell.  
And when you have reached the fount of wonder, you ford the waters wan  
To the land of elves and the land of fairies, enchanted Masinderan!'

One can listen to this kind of poetry. It has the secret of compelling an audience—the secret of all the ballad poets.

India is gradually being discovered by the English.\* Mr. Webb follows Dr. Aberigh Mackay with materials for the psychology of the colonel, the surgeon-major, the chaplain, the ryot, the Bengali Babu ("whether it has a soul?") and other types. This is a good example of his plain and realistic style:—

#### "THE CHAPLAIN.

"Placed in this land with no soul-mastering aim,  
Feeding a flock that little needs his care,  
That wont to hear perchance or else forbear  
His weekly sermon albeit brief the same;  
The station chaplain seeketh still to frame  
His stubborn world, the worse for Indian wear,  
To fit a Western groove, till to its ear  
Repentance seems a dream and Faith a name.

\* "Indian Lyrics." By W. Trego Webb. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co: 1884.

So smaller duties claim him; schools are planned,  
Or tombs repaired, or when such labours fall,  
In grassy courts he smites the flying ball;  
Or goeth here and there with careful hand  
Collecting various moneys. Like a wall  
About him frowns the darkness of the land."

The poetry of M. Leconte de Lisle\* is inspired by an ambition like that of philosophy or science; it is the poetry of knowledge, which goes out to conquer the unknown world. It might almost take "*De Rerum Naturâ*" as its title; it has the grandeur of Lucretius, a trust in knowledge as the least unsatisfactory thing which man can pursue, a sense of the sublimity of the universe in which man and all his doings are accidents that pass and are as if they had never been. In this volume M. Leconte de Lisle has found new subjects among men and beasts for his scientific genius; he has repeated in new forms his creed of the Supreme Illusion—nothingness, is the mother and the grave of all things—.

"Soit! la poussière humaine, en proie au temps rapide,  
Ses voluptés, ses pleurs, ses combats, ses remords,  
Les Dieux qu'elle a conçus et l'univers stupide  
Ne valent pas la paix impassible des morts."—(*L'Illusion Suprême*, p. 58).

And, again, in the sonnet to a dead poet, he says:—

"Moi, je t'envie, au fond du tombeau calme et noir  
D'être affranchi de vivre et de ne plus savoir  
La honte de penser et l'horreur d'être un homme!"

But no poems of our day are more faithful in the service of Nature, or filled more with the just pride of intellect. All is vanity, but the vanity is worth a detailed study, and man is still worth a song or two, and one's city is worth a sword-stroke in its defence. "To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire" is the task laid upon the poet, and accepted by him in the spirit of Lucretius as the only way to freedom. The poems of human action are for the most part taken from the Middle Ages. It is a blemish on the poet's impartiality that he should have gone out of his way ("*Les Siècles Maudits*") to curse the Middle Ages, as though there had been nothing in them but Jacquerie, Jew-baiting, and Albigensian crusades. This sort of invective is surely rather antiquated now. The poet is more successful in "*Hiérouymus*," a dramatic romance, in which two ideals of life are in conflict—that of the monastic contemplative life and that of the religious persecutor. "*Le Lévrier de Magnus*" is a poem of the Crusades with some resemblance to the Don Juan story, though Magnus is far below Don Juan in strength of will—his defiant end is not the sublimity of consistent wickedness, but mere boorish perversity. The Spanish romances which follow are a new tribute to the land that has given so much to French imaginations. Don Rui Diaz de Vivar is a confutation of the belief in the transitoriness of things. The allegiance of French poets to Spain and to the Cid is unalterable. It is well justified by poems like "*la Tête du Comte*" and "*Ximena*." "*La Chasse de l'Aigle*," "*Sacra Fames*," "*l'Albatros*," "*l'Aboma*," are studies of that kind in which "*Le Sommeil du Condor*" is the unsurpassed masterpiece. In "*l'Incantation du Loup*" the poet

\* Leconte de Lisle, "*Poèmes tragiques*." Paris: Lemerre. 1884.

again finds refuge with the wild beasts from the meanness of human complacency—

“ L'Homme, le massacreur antique des aïeux,  
De ses enfants et de la royale femelle  
Qui leur versait le lait ardent de sa mamelle  
Hante immuablement son rêve furieux.

“ Une braise rougit sa prunelle énergique ;  
Et redressant ses poils roides comme des clous,  
Il évoque, en hurlant, l'Âme des anciens loups  
Qui dorment dans la lune éclatante et magique.”

The “Pantoums Malais” are full of tropic fervour, with a savage pathos in them that makes them perhaps the most memorable pieces in this volume. “L'Astre Rouge” is a poem of the end of all things, when there is left one red star in the abyss of heaven, the last of all the worlds. M. Leconte de Lisle has found in this the image that expresses best his conception of the universal tragedy.

“ Génie, amour, douleur, désespoir, haine, envie,  
Ce qu'on rêve, ce qu'on adore et ce qui ment,  
Terre et ciel, rien n'est plus de l'antique Moment.  
Sur le songe oublié de l'Homme et de la Vie  
L'Œil rouge de Sahil saigne éternellement.”

This is not the haphazard language or the forced sublimity of a novice. In this, and in all the poems of the book, there is the precision and force of a poet who works with the patience of a man of science, who can judge his own work with perfect accuracy.

W. P. KER.

### III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—Mr. MacGeorge's “William Leighton Leitch”\* is a brief and simple memoir of a talented artist and interesting man. He devoted himself to water-colour; and besides his skill with the brush, he seems to have had a special aptitude as a teacher of the art, and was employed to teach the Queen and various members of the Royal Family. Her Majesty it seems was a very apt pupil, and one of her paintings, which was lying in Leitch's studio, struck Stanfield so much, that he would not believe Leitch when he said it was done by a pupil and a lady. He looked at it again and said, “Well, she paints too well for an amateur, she will be soon entering the ranks as a professional artist.”—The Rev. J. Inches Hillocks writes an account of his own life under the appropriate title of “Hard Battles for Life and Usefulness.”† His battles have been unusually hard, and as Dr. Walter Smith points out in the preface he writes for the book, they differed from those of most others in that they were struggles for usefulness as well as for life—“to raise himself only by raising the poor round about him.” It is a story of much interest, fruitful in solid and sometimes strange experience, and in helpful lessons

\* London : Blackie & Son.

† London : W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

of many sorts.—One of the best Lives of Wycliffe which the quincentenary of his death has called forth, is that of Canon Pennington.\* In brief compass he gives a very complete and readable account of the life and work of the great Reformer.—The Viscountess Enfield has published another volume of "Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville," bringing it down to the year 1856, and prefacing it with a brief memoir and excellent portrait of her uncle.† These entries, in which not a word seems to have been set down in malice, bear chiefly upon the parliamentary changes and struggles of the hour, and they are mainly valuable for their indications of the current feeling in Whig society about men and affairs. Nothing in the shape of revelations of any kind is contained in the book, and it must be owned that though interesting people are continually mentioned, what is mentioned is never very interesting. Occasionally, however, a good story is registered, and occasionally a fact is mentioned that seems to reflect light on some point of policy.

TRAVELS.—Sir Lepel Griffin doubts whether "the so-called civilized peoples of the Old World," as he is pleased to describe them, have benefited by the discovery of America, which has in his opinion only substituted for "the savage picturesqueness of the Indian tribes" that "apothecosis of Philistinism," the Republic of the United States; but he has written a decidedly Philistine book about that Republic.‡ He boasts of "some experience of every country in the civilized world"—so-called, we suppose; nevertheless, the basis of a good deal of his criticism is essentially provincial. Not that many of his remarks are not sound and forcible and entertaining, and well worthy of being considered, as it appears they have to some extent been, by the people they are spoken of; but he gives no evidence of more desire or capacity than most other travellers to see things in their true relations and proportions or to judge them from broad points of view.—Mongolia is a country but little known in Western Europe, and the most interesting part of M. Piassetsky's travels, of which a translation has just appeared,§ describes his experiences in going and coming through that country. He has much to say also of China, where, being charged with an official mission, he saw a good deal of many important people, and some phases of what may be called high life among the Chinese; but in Mongolia he wandered—sometimes unintentionally—out of beaten tracks, and had many exciting adventures. Having had a scientific education, his eye is open to all points of general interest in the regions he passes through and the tribes he meets with, and on the whole his book is both readable and informing.—Mr. Clarence Deming has collected a number of what seem to be newspaper descriptive sketches, and published them under the title of "Byways of Nature and Life."|| They treat of the most various subjects, from London fog to Newfoundland fishermen, as they happen to have fallen in the author's way in wandering through the world, and they are all very

\* "John Wiclif." By the Rev. A. Pennington. London: S.P.C.K.

† London: Smith, Elder & Co.

‡ "The Great Republic." By Sir Lepel Henry Griffin, K.C.S.I. London: Chapman & Hall.

§ "Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China." By P. Piassetsky. Translated by J. Gordon Cumming. London: Chapman & Hall.

|| New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

readable, and some of them contain a good deal of curious information.—Dr. Alfred Wright's "*Adventures in Servia*"\* is accompanied by a curious preface from the editor, in which we are candidly informed that only three out of every four of the incidents recorded in the book really took place as they are there described to have done, and that the others have been made up with "such a proportion of romantic dressing as would enable them to harmonize with the rest" of the work. Dr. Alfred Wright (unless his name, as seems probable, is also part of his romantic dressing) appears to have been a medical student, who entered the medical service of the Servian army in the year 1876, and he has certainly some startling and amusing experiences to tell us of his life among the Bashi-Bazouks.

MISCELLANEOUS.—"*Euphorion*"† is the strongest and best work Vernon Lee has yet given us. It is the fruit, as every page testifies, of singularly wide reading and independent thought, and the style combines with much picturesqueness a certain largeness of volume, that reminds us more of our earlier writers than those of our own time, but which frequently runs over into exuberance. *Euphorion* was the name given by Goethe to the child of Faust, the type of the mediæval spirit, by Helena, the type of Greek culture, and has been appropriately enough chosen for the title of studies on the Renaissance, the growth of the modern spirit out of the union of the antique and mediæval. These studies make no claim to describe more than particular aspects of the subject, but these aspects are so various, and the problems they suggest are followed out into their most important ramifications with such tenacious thoroughness of research, that the reader cannot fail to obtain from the book a better understanding of the whole period. The authoress is more successful, however, in explaining concrete phenomena than in her more general teleological philosophizing on the course of historical evolution. Mr. Henry Craik's book on "*The State in its relation to Education*,"‡ completes the English Citizen Series of political manuals. It describes very lucidly the growth of our State system of national education in England and Scotland, and it judges in a fair spirit of the various efforts, compromises and modifications that have been made from time to time; but why has it no word to say of the educational arrangements of Ireland?—Mr. Blackley's little work on "*Thrift and Independence*,"§ is partly devoted to an interesting and, on the whole, accurate description of savings banks, friendly societies, and their provident agencies, and partly to a plea for his own now well-known scheme of compulsory national insurance, which would certainly produce neither thrift nor independence.

\* Edited by A. G. Farquhar-Bernard, M.R.C.S. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

† "*Euphorion*: being Studies of the Antique and the Mediæval in the Renaissance." By Vernon Lee. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

‡ London: Macmillan & Co.

§ By the Rev. W. L. Blackley, M.A. London: S.P.C.K.

## THE CONFLICT WITH THE LORDS.

THE process of coercing the House of Lords by popular demonstrations on which the country is once more entering, is surely most irrational and pernicious. What can be more irrational than to retain a branch of the legislature nominally invested with co-ordinate power, and, each time that it votes freely on any important question, to bully it out of its convictions? What can be more pernicious, especially in times like these, than to familiarize the people with the use of violence, or of the show of violence, as the means of overriding legislative authority and forcing their will upon the Government? A class of agitators is called into being and passions are excited only less venomous than those of civil war. Prejudice tempered by street parade is surely not the constitution of the future.

The burst of surprise and indignation with which the rejection of the Franchise Bill by the Lords has been received, if it is not feigned, can only be called fatuous. What do people expect? Is any physical law more certain in its operation than the tendency of hereditary legislators representing privileged families to vote against political change? Has not the House, ever since it ceased to be a feudal baronage placed in antagonism with the Crown and became a modern aristocracy, invariably obeyed the law of its being? Has it not always shown its natural fear of progress by opposing not only political change, but change in every line? Did it not struggle against Habeas Corpus, the Reform of the Criminal Law, and the Emancipation of the Press, as well as against the Abolition of Rotten Boroughs? Did it not even by its attitude and its well-known disposition delay the Abolition of the Slave Trade? If at two periods, in the contest with Charles I., and in that with James II., it for a moment ranged itself, or half ranged itself, on the side of

liberty, and both cases alarmed for its own power and property, and not in both revert at once to its natural course. It was hardly enough the Franchise Bill of 1867, though it gave the suffrage to the cities to which that Bill extended the suffrage, less trustworthy in essential respects than the peasantry, which it is now proposed to enfranchise. But this was an exception which proved the rule with a vengeance, since a crafty leader had assured the party that the measure would practically strengthen reaction by swamping the progressive intelligence of the country. A more signal proof could hardly be imagined of the futility of expecting the Lords to act in a spirit of senatorial wisdom, and as a calm court of legislative revision. As a court of legislative revision they have never acted in the whole course of their history: they have acted invariably as a privileged body, the privilege of which was every day growing more obsolete, and was therefore every day placed in greater jeopardy by progress. Decisive experience combines with reason in telling the nation what must be the conduct of an assembly so constituted as the House of Lords, and in teaching the people that if they do not like such conduct, instead of bullying the Upper House, they ought to amend the constitution, or rather to make a real constitution, and have done with constitutional figments. Coercion almost puts one's sympathies on the side of the House of Lords.

The hereditary principle of government has manifestly had its day, and done its work, so far as the more advanced nations are concerned. Nobody wants to withhold from it the credit due for historical services. No man of sense wants prematurely to set it aside if it can be of any further use to humanity. But it is manifestly dead at the root, though it may retain, as such a tree was sure long to retain, a feeble and fast waning life in some of its branches. A glance over Europe satisfies us of the fact. In two or three Legislatures only does an aristocratic element linger; while the dynasties are, for the most part, either faineant, like that of England, or the offspring of revolutions which have broken the hereditary line. None of the dynasties, except that of semi-civilized Russia, retain their ancient prerogatives, or the halo of divine right. All the cognate beliefs and congenial surroundings of hereditism have passed away. Election is now the only source of real authority, and the only solid foundation for a government. The elective system may not be final, and it may not be perfect, but it has come: to recognize it and regulate it is in this generation the appointed task of statesmen. The French Empire finds it necessary to invoke the sanction of a *plebiscite*, and its

\* There is a passage in Fielding's "True Patriot" which seems to show that the restoration of abbey lands had not ceased to be an object of apprehension to the aristocracy even in 1745.

attempt to make election extinguish itself in favour of dynasticism meets the inevitable doom. A notion prevails that hereditism is still a guarantee for stability; but this is confuted by the history of European dynasties during the last half-century. In England there has been no revolution, because the dynasty was merely a name at the head of the almanack. There has been no dynastic revolution; but the revolutions of government, the real organ of which is the Cabinet, have been incessant and often pernicious, especially in the department of foreign affairs.

The real basis of the House of Lords at the present day is territorial wealth. A titular aristocracy, even with its Norman pedigrees clipped by the ruthless shears of history in the hands of Mr. Freeman, might still retain a certain social position, and its titles might have a value in the marriage market: it would have no more political strength than a ghost. But to keep together the estates, which otherwise spendthrift idleness would soon dissipate or a large progeny divide, primogeniture and entail are indispensable; and primogeniture and entail are doomed. Agrarian change is rife; Mr. George has hundreds of thousands of readers, and not a few disciples even in high places; the territorial aristocracy of Ireland has already been dispossessed and its domains have been reduced to a rent charge, though the old feudal law is left standing, with truly Irish incongruity, beside the legislation of the Gracchi. It is evident that confiscation can be averted only by surrendering privilege, and letting the people feel that the acquisition of land is perfectly free to all who have the means of buying it, and who want to use it. It may be questioned whether democracy armed with the extended franchise will do all the things which have been threatened in its name; but it will certainly abolish primogeniture and entail.

It has been urged that the peerage furnishes the country with an order of men dedicated from their earliest years to the duties of public life. Dedicated they may be; but devoted they are not. The scantiness of the attendance in the House of Lords, when London is full of peers, residing there for their pleasure, is notorious, and the anxious fathers of the House have preached against it in vain. Hereditary wealth and rank, by removing the incentives to exertion, infallibly beget sybaritism, and sybaritism wants to enjoy itself, not to read Blue Books and listen to debates. Even the rural duties of the landowner are now neglected to a dangerous extent, while the greater part of his year is spent in a pleasure city.

By the admission of life peers the House of Lords might have gained a respite. Threatened privilege, whether in England or in France, never knows its hour; it always prefers suicide to reform. But there are objections to the proposal of a different kind from those which led the peers to shut their door against Lord Wensley-



dale. Nomination is hardly a stronger basis than inheritance. The nominated Senate of Canada is a cypher, nor did that of France ever prove itself an anchor which would hold. Exempted from responsibility, the legislator is divorced from public confidence. Election alone can now confer real authority. Two elements, both weak, though one perhaps weaker than the other, would hardly make up between them a strong Conservative institution; and unless they are strong, be it always remembered, Conservative institutions are worse than nothing; they are deadeners of responsibility and provocatives of revolution. An elective element, on the other hand, introduced into an hereditary house would be a new patch on an old garment. An invidious contrast would always be drawn; and, as soon as the elective element was outvoted, the agitation against the hereditary element would be renewed. If, on the other hand, the new element were assimilated by the old, as some prognosticate, the antagonism between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, which is the source of these troubles, would continue, and fresh troubles would ensue. The reduction of the power of the Lords to a suspensive veto, which some have suggested, seems to be rather an expression of impatience than a serious proposal, and, as a moment's reflection must show, would produce a legislative machine of the most ridiculous kind. As to election of members of the House of Lords by their own order, we know from the results in the case of the representative peers of Scotland and Ireland, that it would simply produce the quintessence of that which it is the reformer's object to avoid.

What is now going on is in effect the reduction of the House of Lords to faineancy by a process somewhat similar to that by which the Crown was finally divested of power, though less tranquil, inasmuch as in the case of the Crown, nothing was required but the refusal of a Minister to serve without a majority, while, in the case of the House of Lords, it is necessary to get up national agitations and menacing parades in the streets. This method is no doubt congenial to British temperament and consistent with British history; it is the method which those who are called practical men prefer. Let them adhere to it if they will; and if they deem such scenes as the present beneficial to the political character of the nation; but let them remember that reduction to faineancy is abolition, and that henceforth the House of Commons will be the supreme and sole government of the country. They still treat it as if it were only the representation of the people, and as if the Crown were still the government. When they pass Franchise Bills, the practical effect of which on government they have apparently not attempted to forecast, they still talk of uniting the whole nation in a compact body round its ancient throne, though the throne, as they must know,

is a pageant, while some of the most powerful of their own number are sounding beforehand the tocsin of social war. With all their practical wisdom and greatness, they are hoodwinked by traditional forms, and their blindness is leading the country into great peril. The American Constitution, to the success of which they point, was framed in full view of democracy, and was therefore provided with safeguards, real though not adequate, such as the Presidential veto, a Senate elected in a Conservative way, an Executive which, though elected in a way the reverse of Conservative or desirable, still holds power for its legal term by a tenure independent of parties in the Legislature, a written Constitution in the keeping of a Supreme Court, added to which is the highly Conservative influence of the Federal system which localizes the majority of disturbing questions, and sets bounds everywhere to the legislative sweep of dominant opinion. But in England democracy has entered unawares beneath the mantle of an old feudal constitution, in the monarchical and aristocratic portions of which power was fancied and is still fancied to reside. Consequently, no safeguards were ever provided except by chance, and in an indefensible form, such as that of the Rotten Boroughs. Apart from the moribund authority of the House of Lords, the only Conservative institution in England now retaining real force is the non-payment of members of Parliament, which, combined with the expensiveness of public life, practically confines the representation for the most part to the rich; and this is not a satisfactory sort of security or one which can be expected long to endure.

Is the House of Commons, as it is at present constituted, or as it will be constituted after the extension of the Franchise, fit to be the sole and absolute depository of supreme power? Can an assembly of six or seven hundred men, elected on the demagogic principle, and by something like universal suffrage, be trusted to govern the country? This is the question which presents itself to British statesmen, and which it is necessary that they should answer before they plunge into blind extension of the franchise and to abolition, actual or virtual, of the House of Lords. Appearances could hardly be more adverse than they are at present. The new rules of procedure, which were to introduce order into chaos, seem to have only afforded one more illustration of the futility of a change of laws without a change of character. Faction rides rampant over patriotism, and on both sides of the House seeks to compass its ends by intriguing with rebellion, in which, as in everything else that is disloyal and destructive of the character and dignity of the legislature, representatives of hereditary aristocracy play a leading part. The disunionist movement in Ireland, which, at the outset, having no military force, might have been easily brought to an end by patriotic unanimity and firmness, has been rendered dangerous in

the highest degree, and the nation has been almost laid at the feet of a knot of conspirators against its integrity by the weakness and the vices of the House of Commons. Nobody feels assured that, amidst all the factiousness, self-seeking, and distraction, a steadfast resistance will be made even to dismemberment. The House complains of the excessive amount of business, and is almost ready to surrender legislative unity in order to relieve itself of a part of its load. But nine-tenths of its time are not spent in business; they are spent in faction fights, in declamation which is often little more than a reproduction of leading articles in the newspapers, and in asking questions for the sake of annoyance or of self-display. Actual obstruction has now become a regular mode of party warfare; it is practised not upon one side of the House only; it has wrecked one Session at least, and to its powers of mischief there seems to be practically no bounds. Grand Committees may do—indeed they have done—something, but they cannot do very much, because party will insist on overriding their decisions in the full House. In such councils there can be no steadiness or consistency. Foreign affairs and Imperial questions especially cannot fail to suffer from such treatment as they must receive. Instead of being the moderator, the House, with its evil game of faction, is the source of agitation: there, not in the nation, the present disturbances have their seat. Even decency of debate threatens to depart since the social law of “the best club in London” has lost its controlling power. These are merely echoes of the complaints which come over to us from England, and members of the House of Commons itself confess their fear that when the personal authority of Mr. Gladstone is removed, all order and organization will be lost. A governing assembly which is suspended over the brink of anarchy by the thread of one aged statesman’s life, may well be regarded with anxiety by the country. If the decadence of the House of Lords is manifest, scarcely less manifest seems to be the catastrophe of the House of Commons. If the hereditary principle is in evil plight, the demagogic principle appears to be in a plight scarcely less evil.

The organization of the House of Commons hitherto has been party. But now party fails. It can be rational and moral only so long as there is some one great issue dividing the community pretty equally into two camps. In fact, it is almost an accident of English history, which was filled for centuries with the struggle between the party of prerogative and the party of Parliamentary government. Theories that mankind is naturally divided into Whigs and Tories by temperament, that, as comedy puts it, every boy and girl is born a little Liberal or a little Conservative, are desperate attempts to give a universal and permanent character to that which is temporary and

almost local. To form a basis for parties the issue must be single as well as of paramount importance; cross lines of cleavage are fatal to the system, as is beginning to appear in the United States, where all is confusion because the line of tariff reduction crosses that of administrative reform. But the number of such issues is limited, and when they are exhausted, a party becomes a faction which can be held together only by passion or corruption. Sectionalism has now hopelessly set in and is rapidly breaking up the basis of party government in all the Legislatures of Europe. This is the inevitable tendency of things as minds grow more active and independent, to say nothing of the multiplication and increased intensity of individual ambitions. So it will be till politics become a science, in the deductions of which all must alike acquiesce, when party will receive its death-blow in another way. The malady of sectionalism attacks the Liberal party especially, because there are many lines and rates of progress, while there is only one mode of standing still; but the unity of Toryism, too, is threatened by idiosyncrasy, which there is no general principle of sufficient influence to restrain, if not by divergence of opinion. In vain are homilies preached by those who wish for the attainment of their own special object to restore the strict party organization. In vain is the Prohibitionist or the Anti-vaccinationist exhorted to lay aside his crotchet and give his mind to the main issue; he replies that the main issue is that to which his mind is already given. The Irish have now entirely left the party camp, in which they were long laboriously kept by the compact of the Whigs with O'Connell, and now form a flying squadron hovering between the two camps and making government impossible. If there is to be no authority in England henceforth but that of organized faction, there is likely to be no authority at all, or only an authority as unstable and as fugitive as the tumbling way.

The organizing force of the House of Commons has failed, and the principle upon which it is elected has at the same time proved unsound. The principle is that of direct election by large constituencies with extended suffrage. Nothing has been more clearly proved than that this means practically election by wirepullers. The nominal electors, numbering perhaps many thousands, and scattered, if may be, over a large district, are hopelessly incapable of laying their heads together for the purpose of agreeing on a man, even supposing the mass of them to be otherwise qualified for the task. The ascendancy of the wirepuller is the inevitable result; and the wirepuller is too often a man who deserts honest callings to make a trade of politics. Both the political parties are now finding it necessary to set up the Caucus and the machine, as the indispensable instruments of victory over their opponents. The growth of sectionalism conspires, with the loose texture of the constituencies, to render necessary this method

of preserving party unity. The machine once fairly constructed and installed in power, the country is in the hands of the machinists. In the hands of the mass of the citizens, the franchise becomes illusory, or amounts only to the privilege of choosing between the candidates of the two machines. Attendance of independent electors at "primaries" has been preached and tried in vain; everything is settled beforehand by the managers, and the independent elector finds himself a laughing-stock. With the wirepuller hand-in-hand comes the demagogue, at whose approach truth, integrity, and patriotism fly from the political scene. Stump oratory will oust statesmanship; it is ousting statesmanship already; and it is difficult to see how control over the national councils will be obtained henceforth except by men who have the gift of stirring masses by oratory, which is far from being identical with fitness to rule a nation. The larger the masses become, and the less capable they are of intelligent devotion to principle, the more they will require the rhetorical stimulant, and, as a necessary part of it, the power of voice which American politicians have cultivated to an extraordinary degree. Already statesmen, instead of spending their vacations in repose or reflection, are compelled to spend them on the stump. General elections are another dangerous part of the present system. They render it necessary to raise questions for the purpose of exciting the electorate, and they make the policy of the country one of electioneering agitation.

An attempt has been made by the writer elsewhere to set forth the probable advantages of indirect election—that is, of the election of the central legislature, not by the people at large, but by local councils, elected in their turn by the people, and to show how this might be the means of redeeming the elective system from the wirepuller and the demagogue, giving to the people more of real power in the elections than they now possess, securing high character and intelligence for the central legislature by the process of twofold selection, and renewing the connection of the Government with the solid worth and patriotism of the country. It is assumed, of course, that the local councils shall be first properly constituted and invested with their proper functions, to which, when the function of choosing the central legislators was added, they would hardly fail to attract the best citizens of the district. An attempt has been also made to commend, as the best substitute for the party system, the regular election of the executive by the legislature, for a term certain, and with such rotation as might preserve the necessary degree of harmony between the two bodies. Further, the writer has contended that the system of two chambers, which is an attempt to divide the supreme power against itself, is at once chimerical and noxious, that it has its origin in a misconception as to the nature of the House of Lords, which is not really a Senate but a privileged interest, and that

experience is in favour of a single assembly, in which all the best elements, conservative as well as progressive, may find their place, and temper each other's action by mutual influence, not as under the bicameral system by collision. Assuredly, whatever of real worth there is in the House of Lords, would find its position better in such an assembly than in the practical ostracism to which, under the guise of privilege, it is at present condemned, and in which odium is added to impotence. In a country in which social influences are very strong, rank and local station would perhaps be only too sure of election.

To help, or try to help, in forming a constitution, however, is not the object of this brief paper. Its object is to suggest that the forming of a constitution has become necessary. The long revolution, extending over three centuries, by which the Crown and the House of Lords have been stripped of practical authority, and power has been concentrated in the House of Commons, now touches on its close. It has demolished the old government, but it has not founded a new one. A government must now be founded, if the nation is to be secured against anarchy; and it will not be founded, the work of founding it will only be made more difficult, by blind extensions of the franchise. Democracy has come; it must be recognized; but, at the same time, it must be organized and regulated in England as it has been in the United States, though much more effectively, with the improvements which the experience of the last century suggests. Unorganized and unregulated, it will be confusion; and it is into unorganized and unregulated democracy that England, by the conflict of parties, is being drawn. The days are not evil, but they are stormy, and the outlook is stormier still. The masses, rendered sensitive and speculative by education, have become keenly alive to the inequalities of the human lot, and they believe that they can remove them and indefinitely improve their own condition by the use of political power. Social science, which might teach them the limits of legislative change, has not yet penetrated their minds, and the controlling faith in an ordering and compensating Providence has lost its hold. Concessions once made to democracy can never be retracted except through a counter-revolution, and it is difficult to see, when an unlimited franchise has been granted, what leverage constructive statesmanship will be able to employ. Without much delay, then, a government must be founded—a government, elective, national, and responsible, but, at the same time, strong enough to maintain political order and afford the country a stable administration amidst the movements of social and economical change. The task is formidable: to a mere party leader it is almost impossible; but it cannot be declined.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

# THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE.

## A STUDY IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

THE somewhat trite saying that few English readers of Dante get beyond the "Inferno" and that few who talk of the "Inferno" know more than the Francesca and Ugolino episodes, is probably less true now than it was half a century ago. Cary and Longfellow, not to speak of other translations, each with merits of its own, have helped to familiarize men with the idea of Dante as a whole. Mr. A. J. Butler's admirable prose version of the "Purgatorio" has done something to call special attention to the section of the great "Commedia" of which I now propose to treat. I will state briefly why I have been led to make this selection. It has seemed to me, as I have read the "Purgatorio" that in it, far more than in the "Inferno" or the "Paradiso," the man Dante Alighieri reveals himself to us in all the distinctness of his personality, that the poem is essentially autobiographical. It is something more than a polemic against the crimes of the Roman *curia* or the citizens of Florence; something more than the summing-up of the creed of mediæval Christendom, or the veiled symbolism of a new and mystic heresy destructive of that creed. In the "Inferno" he passes on stern and ruthless, condemning sins which were not his, hardly touched, except in the Francesca story, with the thought of the pity of it all. In the "Paradiso" he paints a blessedness to which he has not attained, on which he gazes as from a far-off distance, which he can but dimly apprehend. But in the "Purgatorio" he is with those who are not only of like passions with himself but are passing through a like stage of moral and spiritual experience. The seer paints the process of the purification of his own soul from the seven deadly sins that had eaten into his life. We might almost speak of this section of his poem as "the Confessions of Dante Alighieri."

We have scarcely entered on the threshold of the poem before this essentially self-scrutinizing analysis meets us. At first, indeed, his soul, as if in the joy of its escape from the darkness of the pit, exults in its recovered freedom, in its old joy, in itself a purifying joy, in light and the fresh breeze of dawn. If we would understand the opening of the "Purgatorio" we must go back to the Stygian waters of the nether world, wherein were plunged by a righteous Nemesis the souls of those who had in the bitterness of their discontent lost the capacity for entering into that joy:—

"Beneath the pool are those that sigh and groan,  
And make the water bubble, as to thee,  
• Where'er thou look'st is at the surface shown.  
Fixed in the mire they say, 'Full sad were we  
Where the sun gladdens all the pleasant clime,  
Bearing within dull mists of melancholy;  
Now are we sadder in this black foul slime'"—*Inf.* vii. 115-121.

Of that sullen discontent Dante had not been guilty even under the heavy burdens of exile and poverty, and therefore he had not lost the capacity for hope which was denied to those who dwelt in the "dolorous city." And so when he has left the region where "silent is the sun" and can once more "look upon the stars," his spirit exults in its liberation:—

"For fairer waters now before the wind  
My spirit's little boat her sails doth spread,  
And leaveth all that cruel sea behind;  
And I will sing that second realm instead,  
Wherein man's spirit frees itself from stain,  
And groweth worthy Heaven's high courts to tread."—*Purg.* i. 1-6.

Nowhere in the whole poem, one might almost say in all poetry, is the brightness of that dawn, at once of the earthly and the heavenly morning, more beautifully painted:—

"The Orient sapphire's hue of sweetest tone,  
Which gathered in the aspect calm and bright  
Of that pure air, through all the Heaven's first zone,  
Now to mine eyes brought back the old delight,  
Soon as I passed forth from the deathlike air  
Which eyes and heart had filled with sore despite.  
The planet love-inbreathing, sweet and fair,  
Made all the East to smile with her sweet grace."—*Purg.* i. 13-20.

Or once again, in that marvellous picture of which it is hard to say whether it excels most in beauty or in truth:—

"Just then the dawn its victory did gain  
O'er morning's mist that vanished, so that I  
Saw the light trembling on the open main" —*Purg.* i. 115-117.

But not the less, in the midst of this natural joy is there the thought present to the poet's mind that he is entering on a solemn work, that it is he himself, his own soul, that needs the cleansing which he is about to describe. Bearing that thought in mind, we shall be able to follow his progress through the seven circles of the Mount of Purification with a clearer insight, to note what were the sins that weighed most heavily on his conscience, what



were the healing remedies which he had found most effective against them. I start with the words in which Virgil, as the poet's guide, sets forth to Cato, who, as the representative of the natural virtues of which the four stars that cast their light upon his face are symbols, is the guardian of the entrance to Purgatory, the errand on which they have come :—

" His life's last eve he hath not seen indeed,  
But through his madness came to it so near  
He had but few short moments to recede.  
So, as I said, this mission I did bear  
To rescue him, nor was there other way  
Than this by which I came, and now am here.  
'Twas mine the race accurs'd to display,  
And now I purpose he those souls should know  
Who here are cleansed beneath thy sov'reign sway ;  
How I have led, 'twere long to thee to show,  
But power to help me doth from Heaven descend  
That he may see thee, hear thee, as we go ;  
Him on his course I pray thee now befriend ;  
He wanders seeking freedom, gift men bless,  
As he knows well who life for it doth spend."—*Purg.* i. 58-72.

As we advance we note a more distinct confession. He is conscious of the over-sensitiveness which makes him keenly alive to men's looks of wonder or their words of scorn, as the souls gazed at him, marvelling that his form, unlike theirs, cast a shadow :—

" Mine eyes I turned on hearing him speak so,  
And saw them watching with astonishment  
Me, only me, and that light's broken glow :  
' Why is thy mind thus on itself intent '  
Then said my Master, ' that thou'rt slow to walk ?  
What boots it thee what's by their whispers meant ?  
Come behind me, and let the people talk ;  
Be thou like tower that bendeth not its height,  
And doth the fierce winds of their victory baulk.  
For aye the man in whom thoughts spring to light,  
One on the other, from the goal doth roam,  
For this still weakens all the other's might.  
What could I answer more than just ' I come.'  
So spake I, somewhat touched with that same hue,  
Which worthy of compassion rendereth some."—*Purg.* v. 7-21.

A little further on and we find a like confession of the love of praise, of which that sensitiveness was the natural outcome. He is in the circle where the pride of life is chastened by the bowed-down prostration of an enforced lowliness, which he thus describes :—

" As to give roof or ceiling bearing meet,  
As corbel fixed, a form is often seen,  
Of which the knees upthrust the bosom meet,  
And by its pain untrue gives true pain keen  
To him who on it looks, so these I saw,  
With good heed gazing on their act and mien.  
'Tis true their limbs did to each other draw,  
As they upon their back bore more or less,  
And he who most of patience owned the law  
' I can no more,' seemed crying in distress."—*Purg.* x. 130-140.

One of these tells him his name and his sin—

" My ancient blood and brave deeds nobly done  
By my forefathers, me so haughty made  
That I forgot our mother was but one,  
And towards all men my proud scorn displayed."—*Purg.* xi. 61-64.

And Dante as he listens, as if conscience pricked him, bowed his face low as if to hide his shame. In another of these he recognizes the painter Oderisi of Agubbio, who in like manner confesses that he had so gloried in his art as to speak contemptuously of his rivals.

"My courteous praise had then been far more faint  
While I was living, so by longings made  
For eminence, on which my heart was bent :  
Of that foul pride the forfeit here is paid.  
Yet had I not attained this place and hour  
Save that to God, with power to sin, I prayed."

And then he moralizes on the transitoriness of human fame in words which touched at once the poet and two, at least, of his dearest friends :—

"Oh empty glory of all human power !  
How little green doth on its height endure,  
Save when rough times that follow darkly lour !  
Once Cimabue seemed to hold full sure  
His own 'gainst all ; the palm now Giotto bears,  
So that his fame the other's doth obscure.  
So, too, one Guido from the other tears.  
The crown of poesy ; and one perchance  
Lives who to drive both from their high nest dares.  
The world's best fame no higher doth advance  
Than breath of wind whose fickle gusts deceive,  
And changing side, leave name to change and chance."

*Purg.* xi. 85-104.

And again—

"Your high repute, as bloom of grass, doth fly,  
Which comes and goes, and that doth mar its grace  
Through which from earth it burgeons verdantly."

And then the conscience of the seer makes answer—

"And I to him, 'Thy words in my heart trace  
Lessons that humble, and bring low my pride.'—*Purg.* xi. 115-119.

He does not, however, indulge in indiscriminate self-accusations. He passes into the circle where souls are purified from the sin of envy, by being for a time blinded. They had looked as with an evil eye on the good fortune of others, and this was their righteous chastisement. To that fault Dante does not plead guilty, as he did in the case of pride.

"'I too,' I said, 'shall part here from mine eyes ;'  
But for brief time, for little the offence  
Which they have given by envious jealousies ;  
The fear which comes o'ermastering all my sense  
Is from the torment working there below,  
For even now I feel that weight immense."—*Purg.* xiii. 133-138.

But the supreme confession of unworthiness comes, as it was meet it should do, when the poet stands, after he has passed through the cleansing fire, face to face with his transfigured and glorified Beatrice. He sees her first, clothed in a green mantle and with a snow-white olive-bordered veil :—

"Though nothing more to vision was displayed,  
Through secret power that passed from her to me,  
I the strong spell of ancient love obeyed."—*Purg.* xxx. 37-39.

That intuitive consciousness of the presence of her who was at once beautiful and terrible in her purity filled him, at first, as it had filled him in his boyhood, with an overpowering awe, which made him look for help to the poet who had thus far been his guide :—

"I to the left with wistful look did start,—  
As when an infant seeks his mother's breast,  
When fear and anguish vex his troubled heart,—  
To say to Virgil, 'Trembling, fear-oppress'd  
Is every drop of blood in every vein ;  
The signs of that old flame stand forth confest.'—*Purg.* xxx. 43-48.

But Virgil was there no longer. Human guidance, the teaching of the wise, the traditions of a venerable past, these had done their work, and he finds himself alone face to face with her whom he had loved as a woman, with an absorbing and passionate devotion, and who now met him on her chariot of glory as the embodied form of heavenly wisdom, the transfigured and glorified conscience of humanity. He stood awc-stricken, and the bitter tears flowed fast and cleansed his cheeks, and then a voice came from her which thrilled the abysmal depths of personality. "Dante," it said—it is the one solitary passage in the whole poem in which the poet names himself—

"Dante, weep not because thy Virgil's gone ;  
Weep not as yet ; as yet weep thou no more,  
For other sword-wounds must thy tears flow down."

*Purg.* xxx. 55-57.

He turns on hearing himself thus addressed by name, and then—

"I saw the lady whom I erst discerned,  
Veiled underneath the angelic festal show :  
Her eyes on me, across the stream she turned ;  
Although the veil that from her head did flow,  
By the wreath circled to Minerva dear,  
Allowed no glimpse of that which lay below.  
Queen-like in look and gesture yet severe,  
She then resumed, as one whose speech flows free,  
Yet keeps behind a speech too sharp to bear.  
'Behold, in me thy Beatrice see !  
How didst thou think it meet to climb the hill ?  
Didst thou not know that here the blessed be ?'  
Mine eyes then fell upon the waters still,  
But there myself beholding, to the grass  
I turned, and shame upon my brow weighed ill.  
As mother to her son for proud doth pass,  
So she to me, for with a bitter twang  
Tastes pity, which in sternness doth o'erpass.'—*Purg.* xxx. 54-61.

The immediate result of this was, that the poet felt as if his heart was frost-bound, as are the Apennines when the snow lies heavy on the trees. His tears ceased to flow, as in the misery of that congelation of the soul. But the healing came from the angelic ministers who accompanied Beatrice, and sang their anthem of *In te Domine speravi*.

"So stood I tearless, sighless, for a time,  
While yet they sang whose praise ascends on high,  
After the high spheres' everlasting chime,  
But when I heard in their sweet melody  
How me they pitied, more than if they said  
'Why seek'st thou, lady, him to mortify ?'

The ice that all around my heart was laid,  
Passed into wind and water, and with pain  
Through mouth and eyes from breast its issue made."

*Purg.* xxx. 91-99.

But the stern work of the illumined conscience which Beatrice represents has yet to be done, and she speaks to her over-pitiful attendants—

"Ye in the day eternal know no rest,  
So that nor night nor sleep from you can steal  
One step the world upon its path hath prest;  
Therefore my answer greater care must seal,  
That he may hear me well who there doth weep,  
And so a grief to guilt proportioned feel."—*Purg.* xxx. 103-108.

She presses on him the remembrance of his early days, naming the very book which he had consecrated to his reverential love for her :—

"He, when his New Life he did first attain,  
Potentially was such that every good  
In him had power a wondrous height to gain;  
But all the more perverse and wild and rude  
Becomes the soil, with ill seed, left untilld,  
As 'tis with more of natural strength endued.  
Awhile my face was strong his life to build,  
And I, unveiling to him my young eyes,  
In the straight path to lead him on was skilled.  
But soon as I had reached the point where lies  
Our second age, and I my life had changed,  
He left me, following other fantasies.  
And when I had from flesh to spirit ranged,  
And loveliness and beauty in me grew,  
I was to him less dear and more estranged.  
His feet he turned to way that was not true,  
Following of good the semblance counterfeit  
Which ne'er to promise gives fulfilment due.  
Nought it availed the spirit to entreat,  
Wherein in visions oft and otherwise,  
I called him back, but little heed to meet.  
So low he fell that ways, however wise,  
Were all too feeble found his soul to save,  
Save showing him the lost ones' miseries.  
For this I trod the gateways of the grave,  
And unto him who thus far was his guide  
The prayers were borne with which my tears I gave,  
The sov'reign will of God would be defied  
If Lethe should be passed, and such a food  
Be tasted, yet no reckoning be supplied  
Of penitence that pours its tears in blood."—*Purg.* xxx. 115-145.

This was terrible enough. It was, as it were, Dante's anticipation of the time when the books shall be opened, and the things done in the body shall be made manifest to Christ and to His angels. But this was not all. The voice of the Judge, which is also the voice of the Beloved, for Beatrice unites both characters, must say to the accused, as Nathan did to David, "Thou art the man." The sinner must confess his guilt, as David confessed it,—“Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in Thy sight.” And so Beatrice speaks to the lover of her youth :—

"O thou who art beyond the sacred stream,  
Turning her utterance then point-blank to me,  
Which even edgewise keen and sharp did seem."

She then began again immediately—

"Say, say, if this be true ; with charge like this  
Thine own confession should commingled be."

At first he stands speechless in his dismay—

"My powers their wonted strength so much did miss,  
That my voice moved, and yet all-broken fled."

But the question is pressed home. The confession of the sinner  
must be articulate and audible—

"Awhile she bore it; then 'What think'st thou,' said,  
'Answer me now; for those thy memories sad  
Are by the stream not yet extinguished.'  
Confusion and dismay together bade  
A 'yes' from out my lips in such wise flow  
That to hear it sight's help must needs be had."

The state of unnerved prostration into which he fell leads, as it was  
meant to lead, to penitential tears—

"E'en as a cross-bow, when both string and bow  
Are overstrained, and with full force no more  
The arrow to its destined mark doth go,  
So I gave way beneath that burden sore,  
Pouring full flood of many tears and sighs,  
And my voice failed ere half its course was o'er.  
Whence she to me, 'To my desires to rise  
That led thee on to love the highest good,  
Beyond which nought that men can strive for, lies,  
What pits that lay athwart, what chains withstood,  
So that thy hope of passing further on,  
Thou so hadst laid aside, as all subdued?  
And what allurements or what vantage shone  
Upon the brow of others to thine eye  
So that thy steps to seek for them were won?'"

And then comes the confession which Beatrice sought for:—

"Then after I had drawn one bitter sigh  
Scarce had I voice wherewith to answer her,  
And my lips struggled hard to make reply;  
Weeping I said, 'The things that present were  
With their false pleasure led my steps aside,  
Soon as thy face was hidden from me there,'"—*Purg.* xxxi. 1-30.

Confession brings, as ever, the sense of pardon and absolution;  
but the wound has yet to be probed, and reproof and warning are  
needed for the coming years, lest they should reproduce the  
failures of the past:—

"And she, 'Hadst thou been silent or denied  
What thou confessest, not less known had been  
Thy guilt, so great the Judge by whom thou'rt tried.  
But when a man's own mouth is open seen  
Himself of sin accusing, then the wheel  
In our court turns against the sword-edge keen!  
Howe'er this be, that thou more shame may'st feel  
For that thine error, and in future years,  
Hearing the Sirens more thine heart mayst steel;  
List thou, and cease awhile to sow in tears,  
So shalt thou hear how, buried in the tomb,  
I should have been thy guide to other spheres.  
Never to thee did such full rapture come  
From art or nature as from that fair frame  
Wherein I dwelt, now finding earth its home.  
And if to thee, through my departure, came  
The loss of highest joy, what mortal thing  
Should thus have stirred thee with hot passion's flame?"

By the first stroke that did experience bring  
 Of earth's false shows, thou shouldst have upward striven,  
 Thy flight to me, no longer such, to wing.  
 Ill was it when thy pinions down were driven  
 To wait new blows—some girl of little price,  
 Or other vain thing, for but brief use given.  
 The callow bird makes trial once or twice,  
 But all in vain the net is spread, or dart  
 Shot from the bow, before the fledged one's eyes.' ”

We cannot wonder that the poet who has thus thrown his self-reproach with such wonderful dramatic force into the lips of another should paint also his own self-humiliation.

“ As little children, dumb for shame of heart,  
 Will listening stand with eyes upon the ground,  
 Owning their faults with penitential smart,  
 So thus stood I.”—*Purg.* xxxi. 37-67.

Here, for the present, I stop, great as is the fascination which would lead me on at once to the close of that wonderful scene which restores to the sinner his lost purity and peace. We are dealing now, not with the process of restoration, but with the confession which was its antecedent and condition. It may well be asked, I think, whether the whole wide region of literature presents anything more intensely autobiographical. We read it in its dramatic form, which half veils from us its intense reality; but we have to remember that it was his pen that wrote it all—that it was the man, proud, reserved, reticent, craving for the praises of men and sensitive to their censure, that thus laid bare the secrets of his soul. The reproofs of Beatrice are, as I have said, those of his own illumined and transfigured conscience. The “*Purgatorio*” takes its place, in spite of all differences of form and character, side by side with the “*Confessions of Augustine*.” One who has entered into its meaning will at least have learnt one lesson. He will have felt the power of Dante's intense truthfulness. The theories which see in the “*Commedia*,” from first to last, the symbolic cypher of a crypto-heresy, the writings of a man in a mask, veiling a pantheistic license under the garb of a scholastic theology, will seem absolutely incredible.\*

Starting from the point thus gained, we may venture, without undue boldness, to trace in the cleansing processes which he describes the results, in greater or less measure, of his own experience, the record of what he had found purifying and healing in its influences upon his soul.

Of his joy in the serene influences of light and sky I have already spoken as one of those influences. It is worth while to note how often he returns in the “*Purgatorio*” to descriptions of a like character, sometimes in their purely natural beauty, more often in

\* I refer, I need hardly say, to the theories put forth by the elder Rossetti in his “*Spirito Anti-papale*,” and elaborated even more systematically by Aroux, in his “*Dante, Heretique, Revolutionnaire et Socialiste*.”

the tender human memories which are associated with them. So, while he still stands by the sea on which he had seen the trembling of the waters, he notes the change that dawn brought with it.

"So that the clear white and the crimson rose  
Which on Aurora's beauteous cheeks are seen  
Where I stood, passed, with time, to orange glows.

\* \* \* \*

And, lo, as when the morning draweth nigh,  
Through the thick vapour Mars grows fiery red  
Down in the West where Ocean's wide plains lie."—*Purg.* ii. 5-15.

Not without significance is the poet told by Sordello that the Mountain of Purification can only be ascended while the sunlight falls on it—

"But see how day e'en now doth downward move;  
We cannot take our upward course by night,  
And it were well some shelter fair to prove."—*Purg.* vii. 43-45.

They find that shelter in a fair valley which is painted with a jewelled beauty that reminds us of Fra Angelico, and which we have to picture to ourselves as lit up with the glow of the westering sun—

"Gold, silver, crimson, white-lead's whitest bit,  
The Indian wood so lucent and serene,  
Bright emeralds at the moment when they split,  
Placed in that vale the plants and flowers between,  
Would each and all be found surpassed in hue,  
As less by greater overpowered is seen.  
Nor did we Nature's painting only view,  
But of a thousand fragrant odours sweet  
She made a mingled perfume strange and new."—*Purg.* vii. 73-81.

But evening has its human memories, and these also come on the mind which has been opened to enter into the depths of its outward splendour, and to consider the beauty of the lilies of the field that are more wonderful than Solomon in all his glory, with a chastening and purifying influence—

"The hour was come which yearning doth renew  
To those far out at sea, and melts their heart,  
The day that they have bid sweet friends adieu.  
Which makes the wanderer young with love to start  
If he perchance hear vesper bell afar,  
That seems to mourn as day's life doth depart."—*Purg.* viii. 1-6.

The slumber of the night that follows is succeeded by another dawn. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night declareth knowledge to the soul that has eyes to see and ears to hear. And here the outward beauty touched yet another chord, and there is an apocalypse to the inward eye such as Dante, we must believe, had known in the glories of a sunrise on the Apennines.

"She who, of yore, shared old Tithonus' bed,  
Already whitened all the Orient far,  
As from her sweet friend's arms her steps were led,  
Her brow was bright with many a jewelled star."—ix. 1.

And Dante—

"as by his Adam-flesh down-weighed  
Conquered by sleep upon the grass reclined,"

where he and his companions had been resting.

"It was the hour when swallow to the wind  
Chants her sad songs as morning's dawn draws near;  
Perchance as old woes vex and haunt her mind.

And when our soul more alien from the sphere  
Of flesh, and less by many a hot thought driven,  
As half-divine looks forth in vision clear."—*Purg.* ix. 1-13.

Or take Virgil's words, as he addresses the visible sun, not without a scarcely veiled reference to the true Light that lighteth every man—

"O pleasant light," with trust in whom I take  
This our new path, do thou our footsteps guide,  
E'en as 'tis meet, lest we the way forsake.  
Thou warm'st the world, thy beams shine far and wide ;  
Unless some good cause bid the contrary,  
Thy rays should be to us as leaders tried."—*Purg.* xiii. 16-21.

Or his warning counsel to the poet whom he has led up the mountain slopes :—

"The heavens call on you, wheeling round on high,  
And show to you their beauteous orbs eterne,  
And yet your gaze upon the earth doth lie."—*Purg.* xiv. 148-150.

Or Dante's own memory of the sweet influences of spring :—

"And e'en as comes, proclaiming day's clear rise,  
The breath of May, with odours fresh and sweet  
Impregnate, that from grass and flowers arise,  
So felt I then the gentle breezes meet  
My brow, and heard of wings the rustling sound,  
Wafting ambrosial airs the sense to greet."—*Purg.* xxiv. 145-150.

Or of his vision of the night when he and Virgil and Statius are seated on the rock-hewn steps :—

"So were we three seen then in silence deep,  
I as the goat, and eke as goatherds they,  
On either side hemmed in by craggy steep :  
Little we saw of what beyond us lay,  
But through that little I beheld each star,  
Larger than is their wont, with brighter ray."—*Purg.* xxvii. 88-93.

As far as proving the point in Dante's character which I have sought to illustrate, my induction is already more than sufficiently complete. But the supreme witness to the healing power of the outward beauty of Nature to the eye that has been purged and illumined is found in the parting words with which Virgil leaves the disciple who no longer needs his guidance, and in the new abounding joy with which that disciple yields himself to its influence, all the more suggestive from the intermingling with that imagined ideal of what might be in the soul's future, of the memories which sprang from his own solitary walks in the pine-woods of Ravenna :—

"And when the whole ascent below us lay,  
And we stood where no step upmounteth higher,  
Virgil on me his eyes intent did stay,  
And said, 'The temporal and the eternal fire  
Thou hast beheld, my son, and hast attained  
Where to see further I may not aspire.  
To bring thee here my skill and art I've strained ;  
Now let thine own will take the true guide's place :  
In steep and strait paths thou'rt no more detained.  
Behold the sun that shines upon thy face,  
See the green grass, the flowers, the tender trees,  
Which the fair land brings forth itself to grace.  
Until shall come, now bright with thoughts at ease,



The eyes, which, weeping, led me thee to seek,  
 Thou mayst sit still, or wander among these.  
 Look not for me to signal or to speak :  
 Free, upright, healthy is thine own will now,  
 And not to do its bidding now were weak.  
 So place I crown and mitre on thy brow."—*Purg.* xxvii. 124–142.

And then the poet opens a new canto for that new experience :—

"Eager, within it and around, 'each way,  
 To search that heavenly forest, dense and green,  
 That tempered to mine eye the new-born day,  
 Waiting no more, where I till then had been,  
 Upon the bank I went on slowly, slow,  
 On ground which fragrance breathed o'er all the scene.  
 And a sweet breeze toward me then did blow  
 With calm unvarying course upon my face,  
 Not with more force than gentlest gale doth know.  
 Thereat the leaves, set trembling all apace,  
 Bent themselves one and all towards the side  
 Where its first shade the Holy Mount doth trace.  
 Yet from the upright swerved they not aside,  
 So far that any birds upon the spray  
 Ceased by their wonted task-work to abide,  
 But with full heart of joy, the breeze of day  
 They welcomed now within their leafy bower,  
 Which to their songs its music deep did play,  
 Like that which through the pine-wood runs each hour,  
 From branch to branch, upon Chiassi's shore,  
 When Æolus lets loose Sirocco's power."—*Purg.* xxviii. 1–21.

But side by side with this yielding of the soul, as with the openness of a renewed childhood, in the very spirit of Wordsworth, to the teaching of Nature, the voices of the silent stars, the whisperings of the winds, the music of the waters, the beauty of the hills and woods, the "Purgatorio" describes other processes, each of them suggestive of an experience through which Dante had himself passed, and of an insight into the hygiene and therapeutics of the soul gained by that experience. One of these meets us on the very threshold of the poem. The master and the scholar, Virgil and Dante, have asked for guidance. How is the latter to qualify himself for the ascent of the Mount of Purification? And the answer comes from Cato as the representative of natural ethics pointing to something beyond itself, and is addressed to Virgil :—

"Go, therefore, now, and that he gird him teach  
 With a smooth rush, and see thou cleanse his face  
 So that each stain that lingers there thou bleach ;  
 For 'twere not meet his eye with any trace  
 Of that thick mist before the angel go  
 Who holds in Paradise the foremost place."—*Purg.* i. 94–99.

And so while the green grass was wet with the dew of morning, Virgil lays his hands upon it, and with a "sweetness wonderful" prepares him for the task assigned him. And then Dante goes on :—

"I turned to him my cheeks, where tears fell full,  
 And then he laved and cleansed my face all o'er  
 From hue that Hell had left there, dark and dull."—*Purg.* i. 126–128.

And then he girds him with the rush which was to be the symbol, not of the strength and vigour which men look on as conditions of success in their great enterprises—intellectual, moral, spiritual—but

of the humility which ceases to assert itself, and yields itself to the chastisements which God appoints for it, and is content with low estate, and seeks not great things for itself.

"No other plant that leaves and branches bore,  
Or hardened grew, could there sustain its life,  
For they yield not as each stroke passeth o'er."—*Purg.* i. 103-105.

I do not enter now into the vexed question whether Dante had ever entered on the life which was for his generation the ideal pattern of humility, and had become, as a member of the Tertiary Order of the Brethren, a follower of Francis of Assisi. The unmistakable appearance of Dante's features in Giotto's fresco at Assisi, coming in, with the ardour of a new-born life, to present himself to the great bridegroom of poverty, and the reverence which utters itself in the "Paradiso," at least tend to confirm what is, in any case, a respectable tradition. What I note here is that this passage in the "Purgatorio" shows that he had grasped in its completeness the idea of that "cord of lowliness" which was one of the outward badges of the Franciscan Order.

That other process of the cleansing of the face from the smoky grime of the Inferno is hardly less significant in its symbolism. Contact with evil, even with the righteous Nemesis that falls on evil, is not without its perils. The man catches something of the taint of the vices on which he looks. He is infected as with the *bassa voglia*, which lingers as it listens to the revilings of the base. He becomes hard and relentless as he dwells with those who have perished in their hatred. He looks on the sufferings of the lost, not only with awe and dread, but with a Tertullian-like ferocity of exultation. He analyses the foulness of their guilt as with the cynical realism which is dominant in modern French literature. Before the work of purification can begin, before he can prepare himself to meet the gaze of the angel-guard of Paradise, he must cleanse himself from that blackness of the pit. The eye cannot see clearly the beauty, outward or spiritual, which is to work out its restoration to humanity and holiness, until its memories of the abyss of evil are made less keen and virulent. And when that process begins, and the pilgrim has at last arrived at the gate of Purgatory, the symbolism becomes yet richer and more suggestive. He had dreamt that he had been borne upward, as on eagles' wings, into a region terrible in its brightness.

"There seemed both he and I to feel the flame;  
And that imagined fire so scorched, it broke  
Perforce the slumber which my soul o'ercame."—*Purg.* ix. 31-33.

But the dream has its interpretation. He wakes in terror, but his comforter is nigh at hand.

"Then said my Master, 'Cast off thy dismay,  
Be sure that we a goodly time have won;  
Check not thy powers, but let them have full play;

Now shall thy steps through Purgatory run.  
See there the high cliffs that around it go,  
See, where it seems disjoined, the entrance won.'—*Purg.* ix. 46-48.

He had been transported in that ecstasy of his morning slumber by Lucia, at once a saint in whose church at Florence he may have worshipped, to whom he may have turned in the simplicity of his youthful faith, as the healer of that dimness of sight, the outcome of intense study and intense grief, which at one time threatened to place him, no less than Milton, in the list of the great poets of the world who had suffered from a like privation,

"Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old,  
Blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides :—"

and one who was for him, in the after-glow of his age, when he had learnt to transfigure all his early memories, the symbol of heavenly illumination. That diviner insight was needed for what was to follow. Sitting on the topmost of three steps of varied hue, he sees the angel of Purgatory with a face of transcendent brightness.

"In his right hand a naked sword he bare,  
Which upon us its rays reflected still,  
So that in vain mine eyes did meet its glare."—*Purg.* ix. 82-84.

And the fashion of those three steps was this :—

"Thither did we draw nigh, and that first stair  
Was of white marble, polished so and clean,  
It mirrored all my features as they were."

There is the self-knowledge which sees itself in the mirror of the Divine word :—

"The second darker than dusk perse was seen,  
Of stone, all crumbling, rough and coarse in grain,  
With many a crack its length and breadth between."

There is the rough sternness of mortification, which is far other than the soft couch of self-indulgence, in which the natural man delights.

"The third, which o'er the others towers amain,  
Appeared as if of fiery porphyry,  
Like blood that gushes crimson from the vein."—*Purg.* ix. 94-102.

There is the glow of burning love, not without a latent hint of the supreme instance of that love in the blood that flowed from hands and feet and wounded side upon the Cross.

These were the steps that, had to be surmounted before the soul could enter on its steep ascent, and then, passing these, he falls before the angelic guardian.

"Then prostrate at the holy feet I lay.  
Mercy I begged, and opening of the gate;  
And thrice I smote my breast in contrite way.  
Then on my brow he did delineate,  
With his sword's point, seven P's, and said, 'When there  
Thou go'st within, cleanse these wounds obstinate.'"

*Purg.* ix. 100-114.

And so the gates are opened with the silver and the golden keys of command and counsel, of which the angel says :—

“ From Peter hold I them ; from him I learn  
 Rather to ope in error than to close,  
 If only at my feet men kneel and mourn.’  
 And then the second door he open throws,  
 Saying, ‘ Enter in, but also take good heed ;  
 He is cast forth who looks back as he goes.’—*Purg.* ix. 127–132.

Yes, the seven P’s of the seven Peccata, the mortal sins of the ethics of mediæval Christendom, are all thus traced upon the poet’s brow, for in him, as in all of us, there were the possibilities, and even the actualities, of all. He might be conscious, as we have seen in the instances of pride and envy, of one form of evil as more dominant in him than another, of its being, as we say, his “ besetting ” sin ; but not the less did he need to pass through each successive stage in the great ascent and to experience the working of all that was most potent to heal and deliver from the sin which there was purged.

It is every way characteristic both of the man and of his time that so large a share in that healing work should be assigned to music, and that the music of the Church. He may possibly have studied, he certainly shared, the visions of the great English Franciscan thinker, between whose writings and his own I have elsewhere traced so many points of parallelism, as to the regenerating and purifying power of sacred psalmody.\* He had known, as Milton, Hooker, Newman knew, how it could soothe the troubles and attune the discords of the soul ; how, when married to immortal words, it could give them wings, like those of Ezekiel’s vision, that made them fit vehicles for the utterance of divinest mysteries. Shall we be wrong in thinking that here also we have in the “ Purgatorio ” an autobiographical element, reminiscences of hours when in the Duomo of Florence, or in his own beloved St. John, or elsewhere in church or monastery, he had had new thoughts of penitence and pardon, of high resolve and aspirations after holiness ?

Let us examine some at least of these instances by way of an induction. He is still on the shore of the sea where he had laved his face and seen the angel guide’s boat bearing more than a hundred souls, and they were all chanting as with one voice : , *In exitu Israel de Egypto*. That was the fit opening hymn of this “ pilgrim’s progress.” After the fashion of his time, Dante had read in it a deeper meaning than at first appeared. It spoke to him of the deliverance of the Israel of God from another house of bondage than that of the literal Egypt. When he notes, as with special care, that they did not stop at those opening words, but

“ So with one voice they chanted out their lay,  
 With all the psalm doth afterwards unfold.”—*Purg.* ii. 46, 47.

we feel that that mystical interpretation had guided his thoughts

\* See article on “ Dante and Roger Bacon,” in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for December, 1881.

to its closing words and that for him, the wanderer in a desert land, thirsting after righteousness, it bore its witness of the Power that would turn "the hard rock into a standing water and the flint-stone into a springing well." In what follows there is surely something intensely personal. Among these newly arrived souls was that of the Casella, whose meeting with his former friend, in the "milder shades of Purgatory," Milton's sonnet has made familiar to us all. Time and death have not changed the old affection. After the vain embrace of the shadow of the one with the mortal body of the other, after the recognition which revives the memories of past days—

"And I, 'If thy new law to thee doth spare  
The skill and memory of thy songs of love,  
Which calmed of yore my every eager care,  
I pray thee still thy power to comfort prove  
On this my soul, which with its fleshly mould  
O'erburdened, slow and heavily doth move.'  
'O Love who with my soul dost converse hold,'  
He then began so sweetly to intone,  
That still its sweetness thrills me as of old;  
That music did the thoughts of all arrest,  
Fixed and intent."—*Purg.* ii. 106–114.

It is, I think, impossible not to recognize in this something more than the memory of the pleasant days of youthful friendship. There is the distinct recognition that the mysterious, religious, purifying power of music is not limited to that which we commonly call sacred, that a song of love may touch that which is most essentially spiritual in us, and may stir up thoughts that lie too deep for tears. This, however, stands as a solitary episode, the exception which proves the rule, that it was not from minstrels or troubadours, Italian or Provençal, but from the singers and choristers of the church, that Dante had heard the melodies that chased away the evil phantasms of his soul. So, as he advances, he hears other souls sing their *Miserere* of penitence. So, as the gates are unlocked with the gold and silver keys—

"At the first thund'rous peal I turned again,  
And *Te Deum Laudamus* seemed to hear,  
In voices mingled with melodious strain,  
And what I heard upon my mind did bear  
Such impress as it oft is wont to take,  
When men their singing with the organ share,  
For now were heard, now not the words they spake."

*Purg.* ix. 109–115.

But chiefest in its power, and therefore worthy of fuller reproduction, was the prayer which men learn in childhood at their mother's knees, and which retains its power to utter the soul's wants to extremest age:—

"Our Father, Thou who dwellest in the heavens,  
Not circumscribed, save as by greater sense  
Of love which Thou to Thy first works hast given,  
Praised be Thy name and Thine omnipotence  
By every creature, as is meet and right  
To render thanks to Thy sweet effluence.  
Thy kingdom come to us in peace and might,  
For of ourselves we may not it attain,

If it come not, with all our reason's height :  
 As of their will Thine angels chant their strain,  
 And high hosannas offer up alway,  
 So may all men like will to offer gain.  
 Our daily manna give to us this day,  
 Without which whoso through the desert bleak  
 Journeys, goes back, though pressing on his way.  
 And as the trespass men upon us wreak,  
 We forgive each, so, Lord, do Thou forgive,  
 Of Thy great goodness, nor our merit seek.  
 Our virtue, which so soon doth harm receive,  
 Put not to peril with our ancient foe,  
 But from his evil sting deliverance give.  
 This final prayer, dear Lord, from us doth flow,  
 Not for ourselves, for we no longer need,  
 But for their sakes whom we have left below.—*Purg.* xi. 1-24.

What follows is given, as before, more in the way of brief and suggestive hints. The poet is in the circle of the proud, and—

"*Beati pauperes spiritu* did rise,  
 From voices with a charm ineffable,  
 Ah me, how diverse are these entrances  
 From those of Hell, for hero with anthems clear  
 Men enter, there with wail of miseries."—*Purg.* xii. 110-114.

He passes among the envious, and the words "*Vinum non habent*" and "Love ye your enemies" speak to him of the charity which cares for the wants of others and overcomes evil with good. He is with the wrathful:—

"We mounted thence and as we went therein  
 'Yea, blessed are the merciful,' behind.  
 We heard them sing, 'Rejoice ye, ye that win.'"—*Purg.* xv. 37-39.

And later on, in the same company—

"Voices I heard, and each one piteously  
 Appeared for mercy and for peace to pray  
 The Lamb of God who all our sins puts by :  
 Still *Agnus Dei* led them on their way,  
 One word for all, for all one melody,  
 So that their song full concord did display."—*Purg.* xvi. 19-24.

And yet once more—

"I heard the whirr, as if of wings flow by  
 And fan me in the face, and utter, 'Blest,  
 Are they that make peace, free from enmity.'"—*Purg.* xvii. 67-69.

So "*Beati qui angust*" comes as the message for the covetous (xix. 50), and "*Adhæsit pavimento anima mea*" is their penitential cry (xix. 73); and when the trembling of the mountain shows that a soul has accomplished its purgation, there rises from all the souls who hear it the "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*" (xx. 136); and "*Beati qui sitiunt*" corrects the inordinate appetite of the gluttonous (xxii. 5), and "*Labia mea, Domine, \*aperi*" comes from the lips of one who is paying the penalty of that vice: and as the pilgrims approach the circle of fire, they hear from its central burning the suggestive words "*summe Deus clementie*" and "*Virum non cognosco*," and further on the highest of the beatitudes "*Beati mundi corde*" (xxvii. 8). The poet writes as if conscious that this was what called for the sharpest pain of all. He all but shrinks back from that ordeal of fire.

"But Virgil said, 'My son, here pain may be,  
And torment; death thou leavest far behind.

\* \* \* \* \*

Be well assured that, shouldst thou here abide  
Within this womb of flame a thousand year,  
No loss of e'en one hair should thee betide."—*Purg.* xxvii. 20-27.

That assurance, however, fails to give him the courage which he needs. In vain he is told that the flame will purify, but not destroy.

"Now lay aside, now lay aside all dread,  
Turn thee to it, and enter free from care,  
And I stood still, and conscience disobeyed,  
And when he saw me fixed and hard stand there,  
A little vexed he said, 'Now look, my son,  
This wall parts thee from Beatrice fair!'"

That name at last prevails over all coward fear, all human weakness—

"So then, my hardness melted, did I stir  
Myself to my wise leader at the name  
Which ever in my mind wells full and clear."

And so he plunges in—comfort mingling with the pain,—

"When I reached it, I could myself have cast  
In molten glass to cool mine agony,  
The fire was there so measureless and vast.  
Then my sweet Father, as to comfort me  
Went on, of Beatrice speaking still,  
Saying 'E'en now I seem her eyes to see.'"—*Purg.* xxvii. 40-54.

And when he has passed through that wall of fire, we again trace the memories of the anthems of past years.

"For guide we had a voice whose song did thrill  
From thence, and we on it alone intent  
Came forth where rose the steep side of the hill.  
'Venite, benedicti Patris,' sent  
That voice from out a light so dazzling clear  
That I, o'ercome, could no more gaze attend."—*Purg.* xxvii. 55-60.

And so he enters on the earthly Paradise, where even by night the stars are larger than their wont; and where, when the day dawns, he sees the stream, at once dark and crystal clear, and the fair lady whom he identified with the Countess Matilda as the great representative type of active holiness in the history of the mediæval Church. Her hands are full of flowers and her eyes are bright with the brightness of a benign and sympathizing love. That he may understand what he sees, she bids him remember the psalm, of which he gives but the opening word (xxviii. 80), but of which at least the first two verses must have been present to his thoughts.

"Quia delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua,  
Et in operibus manuum Tuarum exultavi."

Here was the supreme sanction for man's delight in the work of God, for the witness borne by all forms of visible beauty to that which is invisible and eternal. It is significant that she reveals, after she has told of the mystic rivers which he still has to pass, the secret of this full capacity for joy,—

"Singing like lady fair whom love doth sway,  
She carried on the close of her discourse,  
*Quarum peccata tecta*, blest are they."—*Purg.* xxix. 1-3.

I pass over the mystic vision that follows, as being more deliberately symbolic, and therefore showing more the skill of the apocalyptic artist than the personality of the man : but the immediate prelude to the revelation of the glorified Beatrice as the impersonation of the eternal Wisdom is again distinctly personal as blending together the two influences of natural beauty and of sacred song, of which I have already spoken. In that vision, apparently from the lips of the Seer of Patmos, he hears a voice of power—

"And one of them as if by Heaven sent there,  
Sang '*Veni Sponsa*, come from Lebanon,'  
Three times, and all the rest took up the air,  
As at the last call, every blessed one  
Shall rise full quick from out his caverned bourne.  
And '*Alleluias*' sing with voice rowon.  
So where the heavenly chariot on was borne,  
A hundred rose *ad vocem tanti senis*,  
Angels and heralds of the life eterne,  
And all said *Benedictus es qui venis*,  
And scattering flowers above them and around,  
'*Manibus O date lilia plenis*.'—*Purg.* xxx. 10-21.

These herald songs that meet the ear have their counterpart in what meets the eye :—

"Oft have I seen how all the East was crowned  
Just at the break of day, with roscate hue,  
And all the sky beyond serener found,  
And the sun's face o'erclouded came in view,  
The vapours so attempering its power  
That the eye gazed long while nor weary grow."—*Purg.* xxx. 22-27.

And then there comes the final revelation of Beatrice, Madonna-like in her beauty, and arrayed in the symbolic colours with which early Italian art clothed their ideal of that Madonna :—

"And so enveloped in a cloud of flowers  
Which leapt up, scattered by angelic hands,  
And part within, and part without sent showers,  
And in white veil with olive-wreathed bands,  
'Neath mantle green a lady came in sight,  
And clad in garb all red as burning brands."—*Purg.* xxx. 28-33.

Of that meeting as far as it belonged to Dante's confessions, I have already spoken fully. It remains, however, to note the significance of the place which it occupies in the long process of purification. It is not till the soul has been cleansed from its last baseness and conquered the last besetting sin, and passed through the agonizing fire, that it learns to comprehend fully the root-evil of which the seven deadly sins were but the manifold outgrowth. Then at last it sees that there had been from the first an unfaithfulness to the truth of God. Disloyalty to her who had first wakened in him the sense of a higher life, of an eternal good, had been disloyalty to Him, who through her had sought to lead him to Himself. When that confession has been made, and not till then, the time has come for the baptism of a new regeneration.



"Then when my heart new outward strength did gain,  
 The lady fair whom I had found alone,  
 Near me I saw, saying, 'Hold me, hold,' again.  
 Up to the throat, within the river thrown,  
 She drew me on behind her, while she went,  
 As though a shuttle o'er the stream had flown,  
 And as my way to that blest shore I bent,  
 'Asperges me' I heard so sweetly sung.  
 I cannot it in thought or speech present.  
 And then her arms the beauteous lady flung  
 Around my head, and plunged me in the tide,  
 So that the water flowed down o'er my tongue;  
 Thence me she drew and led me purified  
 Within the dance of that quaternion bright,  
 And each embraced me in her arms oped wide."—*Purg.* xxxi. 91-105.

The river which he thus crossed was none other than the stream of Lethe, which Dante, with a profound insight, though in defiance of all Christian traditions, thus places as all but the final stage of purification. He had felt, as all souls that have passed through the crisis of conversion have felt, that what is needed for the soul is that its memory may be cleansed of all the evil of the past, that as God blots out its transgressions as a cloud, and as a thick cloud its sins, so it too may forget the past, or remember it only as belonging to an alien and a vanished self. That cleansing of the conscience, as with the blood of sprinkling so that it becomes white as snow, makes the vision of the Eternal Truth no longer overwhelming, for it is coupled with the vision of the Christ in His divine and human unity..

"Think, reader, what my wonder must have been,  
 When I beheld the object changeless stand,  
 Yet in its image changed in form and mien,  
 While full of joy, yet slow to understand,  
 My soul its hunger fed with nourishment  
 Which satisfies yet stimulates demand.  
 Showing in every act their high descent,  
 The other three moved on in harmonies  
 With their angelic dancing in concert:  
 'Turn, Beatrice, turn, thine holy eyes,'  
 So sang their song, 'to this thy servant true,  
 Who to see thee has dared such enterprise:  
 For grace' sake, grant this grace, to yield to view  
 Thy face to him, that he may well discern  
 What thou dost hide, thy second beauty new.  
 O splendour of the living light eterne!  
 Who is there that beneath Parnassus' shade  
 Hath paled, or quenched his thirst from its fresh burn,  
 And would not seem to have his mind down-weighed,  
 Seeking thy form and presence to make known,  
 O'ershadowed by the heavens that sunrise made,  
 When to the open air that form was shown?"—*Purg.* xxxi. 124-145.

The power of that vision of the unveiled truth, falling short only of the ineffably beatific vision of the Divine glory which ends the "Paradiso" as this ends the "Purgatorio," to complete the work of Lethe in blotting out the memory of the evil past, is indicated by a touch of the skill of the supreme artist. Beatrice unfolds to him an apocalypse of the coming history of the Church and the Empire, which is to correct his former theories.

“ ‘That thou mayst know,’ she said, ‘how stands that school  
Which thou hast followed, and its doctrines scan,  
And learn how far it follows my true rule.’ ”

And then, unconscious of reproach, the very confessions which had just passed from his lips remembered no more, he makes his reply :—

“ And then I answered, ‘Memory dwells not here  
That I have so estranged-myself from thee,  
Nor doth my conscience wake remorseful fear.’ ”—*Purg.* xxxii. 85-93.

Well may Beatrice tell him that his Lethe-draught has been free and full, and feel that the time has come for it to be followed by that of the other mystic river, which revives the memory of every good deed done, and so completing the transformation wrought out by Lethe, gives to the new man, the true self, the continuity of life which had seemed before to belong to the old and false and evil self. I do not inquire now how far such a philosophy of consciousness is tenable in itself, or may be reconciled with acknowledged truths of ethics or theology ; but it will be admitted that there is a mystic greatness in its very conception which places Dante high among the spiritual teachers of mankind. One who could picture that state to himself as the completion of his pilgrimage, the perfected result of the regenerate life begun in baptism, must at least have had some foretastes of ecstatic rapture, of communion with the eternal Wisdom, and of the infinite Goodness which had convinced him of its possibility, and so the closing lines of the “Purgatorio” have definitely the autobiographical element which I have been endeavouring to trace throughout the poem.

“ Just on a dim dark shadow’s border side,  
Shade such as with swards, boughs, and foliage green,  
O’er their cold streams the Alps throw far and wide,  
Euphrates, Tigris, both in front were seen,  
So deemed I, as from one clear fount to flow,  
Like dear friends, slow to leave a space between.  
‘O light, O glory of all man doth know,  
What stream is this that thus itself doth pair,  
From out one source, and from itself doth go?’  
And to my quest came answer, ‘Let thy prayer  
Matilda ask to tell thee;’ and reply  
Came, as from one full loth the blame to bear,  
From that fair lady’s lips, ‘These things have I,  
And much else, told him, and full clear I see  
That Lethe has not hid them from his eye.’  
And Beatrice, ‘Deeper cares, may be  
Which often memory of her strength deprive,  
Have clouded o’er his mental vision free,  
But see Eunoe’s waters hence derive,  
Lead him to them, and, as thou’rt wont to do,  
Once more his half-dead energy revive.’  
As gentle soul that works without ado  
The will of others, e’en as ’twere its own,  
When patent it is made by token true,  
Soon as my hand she clasped, that beauteous one  
Moved on, and as a gracious lady, spake  
To Statius, saying, ‘With him come thou on.’  
Could I, O reader, wider limits take,  
For writing, I might hope to sing in part  
Of that sweet drink which never thirst can slake,

But since I've filled each corner of my chart,  
 To this my second Cantique given as due,  
 My course is hemmed by barriers of my art.  
 I, from that stream that holy is and true  
 Returned refreshed, as tender flowerets are,  
 Reborn, revived, and with a foliage new,  
 Pure and made sweet to mount where shines each star."

*Purg.* xxxiii. 110-145.

The passage which I have just quoted warns me that I too must stop with my task hardly more than half completed. A wide region of inquiry tending to like results opens itself in the other elements which enter into the processes of the Mount of Purgatory, the teachings of art as indicated in the marvellous forecast of the possibilities of the future in the description of the sculptured cornices in Canto XII., which seems almost as a prophecy of the doors of the Baptistery at Florence, the reminiscences of history or literature, which suggest in the poem, as they had suggested in the poet's experience, thoughts that take their place in fashioning his character, deterring from evil, impulsive to new strivings after good. But I, too, have "filled every corner of my chart," and dare not now ask for "wider limits." It will be enough for the present if what I have written in free and loving reverence for the great Florentine, shall lead here and there a few to study the great master-work of his genius, and in so studying to find in the poem the man himself, greater even than his work.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

## SEA STORIES.

EVERY one who has read the voyage to Brobdingnag remembers the passage in which Swift exhibits his nautical knowledge. It has been said that sailors have been deceived by the clever muddle of marine terms; but this I take leave to doubt. No seaman could discern the least sense in the passage. To "belay the fore down haul," to "haul off upon the laniard of the whipstaff," to "bring the ship to under foresail and mainsail;" and later on, "under mizen, main topsail and fore topsail," with the "mizen tack" to windward, and then whilst hove-to "to keep her full and bye," sound unquestionably very nautical; but there is no satire in the description, because there is no sense in it; and to pretend that any mariner could have taken it seriously is a notion that should find no further place in treatises on the famous Dean's writings. But it is a jumble that might very easily deceive a landsman. Greater blunders have been made in books about the sea, and very honestly submitted by the authors as accurate representations of the maritime calling. Unfortunately for writers who really know all about the sea, who have "gone through the mill and come out ground," and who have learnt in suffering what they teach in song; unfortunately for such men the people of this great maritime nation cannot distinguish between what is true and what is absurd. They take for granted that the setting or furling of such and such canvas, the behaviour of the vessel, the manœuvring of her under such and such conditions of weather, are all correct because they know nothing about it and find it all duly set forth in print. Books which no sailor could endure to read, have been perused with applause, have passed through many editions and may yet be bought at prices ranging from 3s. 6d. down to 6d. One consequence of the writings of the tribes of men

and women who have dealt with the sea has been the depression of the marine novel to the level of the intelligence of boys. The spacious and glorious deep whose thrilling, whose noble, whose beneficent inspirations come from its blue and boundless breast to the heart of the student even as the lights of heaven fall upon the worshipful and enthusiastic spirit of the astronomer; that vast expanse, symbol of the eternity we contemplate when we gaze skywards, has been crowded by ignorant human invention with vulgar incidents, with spiritless traditions, with coarse poetic fancies based upon 'long-shore observation of the mighty world of waters, so that it does not and never yet has appealed to us as the land has been made to appeal by the exquisite perceptions of such poets as Milton and Wordsworth and Keats. Who are the poets of the deep? Their names may be counted upon the fingers of one hand: they are Herman Melville, and I rank him first; Michael Scott; Dana, the author of "Two Years before the Mast," and Captain Cupples, the author of "The Green Hand." These men are great in their special walk; and they are great not only because they have interpreted the meanings of the ocean and informed the ships and calling they write about with the spirit of the sea, even as the song of the wind in the rigging of a vessel becomes a part of her life as she leans before the blast, but they have written as seamen also: as men who have eaten and drank with sailors, who know the few pleasures, the long hardships of the life, whose intimacy with Nature at sea ranges from her wildest to her sweetest moods, from the black hurricane of the North Atlantic to the moonlighted calm of the Doldrums. Of course it cannot be pretended that Michael Scott had the special seafaring knowledge that Dana, for instance, possessed; but no man could have written "Tom Cringle's Log" whose acquaintance with the sea and ships and sailors was not as thorough as that of men who had passed years in the calling. These men wrote in prose—they are not the less poets for that—and they are true to the life in the scores of lovely pictures they have given us. Byron was a great poet; yet I know no such illustration to show how far his art may be vitiated by ignorance of his subject, spite of noble language and rhymes, and vivid, beautiful, pathetic touches as his famous "Shipwreck," in Don Juan, which, by being compounded of a lot of extracts from a collection of shipwrecks (probably Archibald Duncan's, published in 1804), will not bear the criticism of a seaman. Byron could swim—Byron was fond of the sea—he sneered at the Lake poets when they deviated into nautical imagery, but he was no sailor; he took Swift's view of the calling, and picking out odds and ends from a dozen records of marine catastrophes, he offered a picture which, for truthfulness, cannot compare with the wonderful oceanic spirit and atmosphere that you find in the "The Ancient Mariner,"

the composition of a poet who actually needed to stand on board a ship in motion to find out whether the "furrow," in other words "the wake" followed free or streamed off free!

As a man who went to sea in the merchant service at the age of thirteen and a half, and who stuck to the calling to the age of twenty, who for seven and a half years ate bad pork and beef, scrubbed decks, slushed masts, and underwent the whole routine, from furling the mizen royal to helping to pass the weather main topsail earring in days when topsails were single sails, I claim a right to complain with some bitterness of soul of those writers who, knowing nothing about the sea, write marine stories in one, two, or three volumes, and so go on sinking the maritime literature of this country by another and yet another stone fastened to it. Girls may read of captains singing out to "vast pumping," whilst the carpenter peers with one eye down the well to see how high the water stands in it; girls may read of such things, I say, and consider with the author that the well of a ship is like the well in a backyard; and they may also read of the flying jibboom having been furled during a squall, and of a spare rudder having been got out of the maintop when the ship struck and flung the man at the wheel down the forehatch; and they may prettily wonder how men can be found willing to enter into such a dangerous calling as the ocean. But blunders of this nature become very injurious in course of time. Most circles have nautical friends: the current sea-books are talked about, are cruelly laughed at, and flung to the boys, who become critical too, and absolutely disdainful; as I once saw a lad toss aside one of the late Mr. Kingston's books, because of some error in that gentleman's description of a sea-fight, I think it was. So that my fear comes to this: that if sea-novelists will not make up their minds to go to sea as sailors, and learn to be correct by pulling and hauling and going aloft and the like, even the little boys will give us up, and the end of it must be that the greatest maritime nation in the world will have no other marine literature but the novels of Marryat and one or two others; for we must remember that Cooper, Dana, and Melville belong to the Americans.

Whether the stock of novels we possess, so far as the Navy is concerned, will suffice it is difficult to conjecture. Our naval changes since the days of Marryat are so great that I know of no condition of the old life such as he wrote about that still lingers. Another Marryat should seem to be wanted for this iron age; only were such another to arise, what will be his materials? It must be admitted that there is very little romance to be found in the Royal Navy now-a-days. All the old seaman-like conditions which one expected to find on the quarter-deck have changed their character, and must now be sought in the engine-room. Manœuvres are effected by propellers, not by tacks and sheets and braces. And, as if there were not

enough to accentuate and utterly confirm the change that has been worked by the marine engine, you have as a great proportion of State ships the very ugliest vessels that were ever launched since the days of Noah's Ark. Besides, there never can be any more fighting as in the days of old. Even ramming, or its opposite, the long shot, from pieces of eighty and one hundred tons will probably yield to the submerged explosive; and we shall have to turn to the old naval chronicles to recall that the time was when engagements at sea were matters of pure seamanship; when opposing ships rubbed their channels together yard-arm to yard-arm; and when victory in single actions was nearly always decided by the boarding party and the deadly pike, the weapon that has achieved more for England than all her guns, cutlasses, and muskets put together. It is because of this wonderful marine transformation, that Marryat is one of the few novelists by the extinction of whose works our national literature would be a heavy loser. He is much more historical than history; and in his pages we have such pictures of life aboard the old line-of-battle ships, frigates, ten-gun brigs, cutters, and what not; there is so much vivid depicting of cockpit existence, forecastle yarning, masthead emotions, and of the wonderful capers which used to be cut by midshipmen, that a man fresh from the perusal of Marryat's novels might fairly feel that he pretty well knew as much about the Royal Navy, as it was fifty years ago, as if, like Midshipman Easy, he had argued the point with first lieutenants, or, like Percival Keene, raised an alarm of fire on board ship by burning a purser's wig. Marryat's is a wonderful art. There is no poetry in him such as you find in Michael Scott or Captain Cupples; he always writes as if he were on the broad grin, and as if the yarn he is working his way through is a joke and nothing else. When he tries his hand at sentiment he cuts an awkward figure; his heroes make love with the bluntness of a forecastle hand courting his Susie; his descriptive passages will not bear comparison with those even of writers who have looked at the sea from the shore without ever being afloat. For, take his description of a wreck in "Newton Forster," a piece of writing he evidently put all that was best of him in that way into, and observe the thinness of its ideas and how unsuggestive to him is this most suggestive of all topics the mind could deal with:—

"And where," he inquires, "is the object exciting more serious reflection than a *wreck*? (the italics are his). The pride and ingenuity of man humbled and overcome; the elements of the Lord occupying the fabric which has set them at defiance; tumbling, tossing, and dancing, as if in mockery of their success! the structure but a few hours past as perfect as human intellect could desire, towering with its proud canvas over space, and bearing man to greet his fellow-man over the *surface of death*! dashing the billows from her stem, as if in scorn, whilst she pursued her trackless way; bearing tidings of peace and security, of war and devastation—tidings of joy or grief, affecting whole

kingdoms and empires as if they were but individuals! Now the waters delight in their revenge, and sparkle with joy as the sun shines upon their victory. That keel which, with the sharpness of a scythe, has so often mowed its course through the reluctant wave, is now buried—buried deep in the sand which the angry surge accumulates each minute, as if determined that it never will be subject to its weight."

There is nothing in this and what follows to excite much admiration; but when he quits a job he is but a poor hand at for humorous scenes, for descriptions of life on shipboard, of encounters between ships, of slaving, of practical joking, who so admirable? who so inimitable? After Dickens I know no author whose characters are so clear cut, who leaves so completely the impression that they are real people, whom one thinks of as personal and even dear friends. He gives us a portrait, more suggestive than an elaborate painting could be in a few lines; as for instance: "Mr. Dragwell was the curate of the parish, a little fat man with bow legs, who always sat upon the edge of a chair, leaning against the back and twiddling his thumbs before him." All his strokes are in this brief form, and just as Michael Scott is out and away his master in his descriptions of the sea and the land—notably the tropical magnificence of the scenery of the West Indies—so Marryat, in his power of putting his personages before you in a few sentences, is miles ahead of the Scotchman who fills, for example, one knows not how many pages with a tedious drawing (in the "*Cruise of the Midge*,") of Commodore Oakplank and Lieutenant Sprawl. But the comfort the sailor gets in reading Marryat is, that he finds every manœuvre, every order, every account of sea adventure right. Routine, of course, has vastly changed since the days of "*Peter Simple*," but no landsman can follow Marryat without the sense that here is an author who perfectly understands his subject, and whose pictures, extraordinarily as they differ from to-day's discipline and practice, may be implicitly accepted; albeit the reader who thus confides in him should not be able to explain the difference between the main-tack and the fore-sheet. It is not hard to account for his popularity; he not only paints to the life; his humour is overwhelming; his fun is rich, naïve, perfectly sailor-like; one recalls the jokes, the horse-play, the fine comedy touches, the farcical absurdities in which his novels abound, again and again, and always with hearty laughter. There are chapters in "*Peter Simple*," "*Midshipman Easy*," "*Newton Forster*," and "*Percival Keene*," which to my fancy are infinitely droller than anything in Smollett, though here too we have as great a humorist as ever wrote in the English language. Who but a real genius could have put Mr. Chucks, the boatswain, before you as Marryat did? What deep and sly perception of character there is in the creation of Mr. Midshipman Easy and his father? Then take such fine comedy as the scene in "*Newton Forster*," where a young midshipman, at the time mastheaded,



is shown to have become a lord by the sudden death of his father. The effect of the news upon the mind of the tuft-hunting captain, who reproves the first lieutenant for sending the boy to the masthead, the lieutenant's indignation, the confusion of ideas which follows when the midshipman meets the captain, form an amazingly clever incident—but one only of hundreds which may be read in Marryat's novels. Now and then, indeed, you meet with a passage that comes very near to a poetic rendering of ocean incident. I take the club-hauling description in "Peter Simple" to be one of these; but such touches are widely sundered. We read Marryat because of his sailorly accuracy, his fine arch humour, his plots which please in spite of their being a good deal alike, in spite of the heroines being usually in a situation of danger when the youthful heroes first encounter them, and in spite of the most boyish intelligence being able to foretell after a few chapters that the end of the book will end in a marriage, an income of many thousands a year, and in all probability a title. And most of us read him also because he was one of those authors who, when we were boys, gilded our imagination and shaped the course of romance oceanwards to where the deep blue sea of our childlike fancy lay with a shaft of silver in its heart, under the high white sun and the cloudless azure dome; and also because he is endeared to us by association, and by memories which put the wholesome sweetness of a little pathos into our laughter when we turn over his merry pages, full of fighting and love-making, and "larking," and think of what lies between the days when we hid ourselves away to devour his stories, and the Now that is upon us.

He could not be spared. One novel of his is worth all Brenton and James put together, in its power of showing us how our grand-sires won their astounding naval victories. And, in a sense, Michael Scott is equally worthy of immortality, because he, too, has given us superb records of how Englishmen fought in the days of oak and canvas; with accuracy and without exaggeration, like Marryat, drawing faithful and admirable likenesses of the noble tars of his day, and leaving to the Incedons and T. P. Cookes of the stage, the Douglas Jerrolds of the drama, and the hundred-and-one freshwatermen of the nautical novel, the unenviable task of making the public suppose that the typical British seaman is little better than a common blackguard, with his mouth full of oaths and his head full of rum, yet with the capacity of talking the most unearthly nonsense in big words, when the occasion arises, about the union jack, capstan bars, the roast beef of old England, and the lass that loves a sailor. But, though I honour the memory and genius of Marryat, taste, which may be quite wrong, and conscience, which I know is perfectly sincere, force me to confess that I regard Michael Scott as by far the finer writer and the bigger man. One could certainly

wish that he had not been so much under the influence of Byron's genius; that in dealing with his pirates and sea-villains whom he wanted to tinge with romance, he had forgotten all about Conrad and Gulnare, and even Selim and Zuleika. There is no harm in his making his handsome villains Scotsmen, nor in even discovering a Caledonian under the black skin of a negro and the tawny hide of a Don Ricardo Campana; but his love of Byronic melodrama carries him dangerously close to the absurd at times—as, for instance, when Mr. Adderfang, the pirate, in the "Cruise of the Midge," is supposed to die in a thunderstorm. Just before "a strong shiver passed over his face, and his jaw fell," a priest undertook to marry him to a young lady "he had kept company with," named Antonia. The scene is the cell of a prison. The priest says: "Do you take this woman to be your wife?" and Adderfang says "Yes."

"Ha! what is that? A flash of lightning—a piercing shriek echoed through the room, loud above the rolling thunder—and then a convulsive giggle—something fell heavily on the floor—the wind howled—the lights were blown out—'Ave Maria purissima—sancta madre—soy ciega, soy ciega!' (Holy Mother of God, I am struck blind!). The unfortunate girl had indeed been struck blind by the electric fluid, and was now writhing sightless on the floor."

One or two combinations of pirates and thunderstorms, death-bed marriages stopped by flashes of lightning, holy fathers, jails, and a variety of those elements for which Matthew Lewis was renowned in his day, might be pardoned. But the "Cruise of the Midge," and "Tom Cringle's Log," are both irradiated by too much blue-fire; the horrors are inevitable, but they are made awful and monstrous by the manner in which the author illuminates them by an array of corpse-lights, and hangs over them, and gloats over them, and garnishes them. A single example will suffice. A bloodhound is tearing at a dead Spaniard:—

"Every now and then he would clap his head sideways on the ground, so as to get the back grinders to bear on his prey; and there the creature was, with the dead blue fingers across his teeth, crunching and crunching and gasping, with his mouth full of froth and blood and marrow and white splinters of the crushed bones, the sinews and nerves of the dead limb hanging like bloody cords and threads from— Bâh! you have given us a little *de trop* of this, Master Benjie."

Yes, the author's own judgment cannot be questioned; both in "Tom Cringle" and the "Midge" there is a great deal too much of this, yet at times this sort of agony is piled with wonderful effect, as, for example, in the description in "Tom Cringle" of the action with the slaver. The vessel takes fire during the engagement: scores of slaves are below, unable to get on deck, and many of them lie shrieking in agony from wounds caused by shot poured down upon them. At last she blows up; and then follows a dreadful, a shock-

ing, but a most magnificently coloured, picture. We see the doomed craft going headlong down right in the wake of the setting sun, "whose level rays make the thick dun wreaths that burst from her as she disappears, glow with the hue of the amethyst;" and then, when the water had closed over her in a silver surface, shining like a mirror, whilst all around was dark blue ripple,

"a puff of fat black smoke, denser than any we had yet seen, suddenly emerged with a loud gurgling noise from out the deep bosom of the calm sea, and rose like a balloon, rolling slowly upwards until it reached a little way above our mastheads, where it melted and spread out into a dark pall, that overhung the scene of death as if the incense of such a horrible and polluted sacrifice could not ascend into the pure heaven, but had been again crushed back upon our devoted heads as a palpable manifestation of the wrath of Him who hath said 'Thou shalt not kill.' For a few moments all was silent as the grave. . . . Presently, about one hundred and fifty of the slaves, men, women, and children, who had been drawn down by the vortex, rose amidst numberless pieces of smoking wreck."

Nothing could be finer and truer, in scores of minute touches perceptible to the sailor, than this and many other similar bits in Scott's wonderful stories. He has not indeed the humour of Marryat. Much of his fun is little more than broad and coarse farce, in which there is no lack of drink and grinning through collars. His sense of mirth belongs to the Theodore Hook school, or to Hook's age, at all events; there is a deal of tumbling about and sprawling and splashing, intermixed with practical jokes, of which many would be quite impossible out of the pages of a work of fiction. Undenially he makes one laugh, especially when he deals with the negroes; but his humour does not dwell in the memory like Marryatt's, whilst much of the conversation he puts into the mouths of his people carries a forced, unreal, stagey tone. I think every one must find Michael Scott's main merit to lie in his profound poetic perception of the deep and its mighty surface-wonders of shadow and light, calm and storm. And not that only; he has never been approached in his power of describing a ship. Take his description in the "Cruise of the Midge," of the frigate coming round the point, heaving to, signalling to the crew of the "Midge" up the river, and then gathering way and falling off to secure her former offing; or his picture in "Tom Cringle," of the corvette sailing abreast of the smuggling craft, and keeping away to bring her guns to bear in succession upon the swift little schooner owned by lanky Obed, whose second in command is Paul Brandywine. These and many more such representations are inimitable drawings, full of the richest poetry, which could only be flattened by metre and dulled by rhymes. In knowledge of effect he has no equal that I can think of. The conception of the shark floating high alongside a moving boat, and then sinking slowly into the dark profound as the boat loses way,

till nothing but the outline of the malignant beast is visible in the sparkling outline it makes in the phosphorescent water, shows the hand of a master in its cunning to introduce into incidents exactly such minute details as shall give the subtlest vitality to his canvas. He misses nothing when he writes about the sea and ships. I cannot imagine that when he wrote "Tom Cringle's Log" there was anything left for him to learn about the tropical waters he seems to have loved so well, with their marvellous grandeurs of sunsets and sunrises, the tempests of rain flashing up the phosphorescent sea into a sheet of fire, and the framework of the West Indies regal with mountain and radiant with the glories of a thousand shining growths. I know nothing of this superb writer's life; it remains to be told, and should be told, I think, for I am sure he has countless admirers. I am only conscious that he was in extreme ill-health when he wrote "The Midge," which makes the genius in that work a quite marvellous revelation to me; but it must also assure one that had his life been prolonged with a renewal of health or at least of the good spirits he exhibits in "Tom Cringle," our marine literature would have been enriched with more examples of a species of writing it very badly needs.

The tendency of sea-books to fall down to the platform of boys was unpleasantly illustrated to me by a recent edition of "The Green Hand," which I bought for the purpose of this article. I had read this admirable work years ago, in a form that was at all events as much meant for men and women as for children; but I now find it announced on the title-page as "A Sea Story for Boys," as if publishers and author feared that a notice of that kind gave the story its best chance. For boys! why, half the book at least is made up of descriptions so beautiful and perfect that I do not know where to look to find their parallel, unless I turn to the pages of "Omoo," or "Moby Dick," and these are just the parts which youngsters who like movement and fights and hair-breadth escapes, and object to all references to the sun, moon and stars, would skip. Why should this excellently planned and nobly told sea narrative be made to appear as if it were only fit for boys? Imagine "David Copperfield," or "Silas Marner," represented as a "story for the young!" yet the assertion would not be absurder than the statement I find printed on the title-page of "The Green Hand." But Captain Cupples, like Marryat, Cooper, and, to a great extent, Richard Dana, has to suffer for dealing with a species of fiction which has been miserably degraded, and to an immense extent rendered really only fit for boys by people who have written about the sea in profound ignorance of marine nomenclature and customs, of the character of the sailor, of the elementary principles of seamanship and navigation, and without the least visible capacity of being moved by the grandeur

and meanings of the mighty ocean, into whose summer surf they have waded knee-high and not one inch higher. Therefore "The Green Hand" is now offered as a story for boys. But let us not admit this depression of one of the finest narratives in the English language. Let us insist upon hoisting it to the literary masthead again, for if it be too puerile for the perusal of men, then assuredly much of what is best in Byron, much of what is most touching by virtue of its truth in Wordsworth, along with all the best marine yarns by the few masters in that line, ought in justice to be carried up into the nursery for the little ones to thumb, for the very same reason. We quit the man-of-war in this book for the old East Indiaman. The hero, to be sure, is a naval lieutenant, and I could certainly wish, as a merchantman, that Captain Cupples had taken less trouble to glorify one service by the degradation of the other. To represent the chief mate of the ship as a malignant dandy is all very well; but I very strongly object to the picturing of the captain and mates in the employ of famous old John Company as being helplessly inferior as seamen to a young naval lieutenant, and standing idle and confused in squalls and the like, whilst "The Green Hand" bawls the needful instructions to the men under cover of the darkness. Moreover, one should say that the barest probability is very gravely violated when we find a ship outward bound to the East Indies close in with the West African coast, and skipper and mates wildly wrong in their reckoning. In what longitude vessels crossed the Equator in those times I do not know; but I suppose that the practice was pretty much as it is now with sailing ships, and that they would aim rather for Cape St. Roque than Cape Roxo. But even assuming that these be blemishes, which need not necessarily be the case, who will find fault with them when he marks their brilliant and beautiful surroundings? Nothing, surely, could be finer than the second chapter of the novel, in which the appearance of the *Gloucester* is described as the evening shadows close around her; when—

"High, out of and over all rose the lofty upper outline of the noble ship, statelier and statelier as the dusk closed in about her—the expanse of canvas whitening with sharper edge upon the gloom; the hauled-up clews of the main course, with their huge blocks, swelling and lifting to the fair wind—and the breasts of the topsails divided by the tightened bunt-lines, like the shape of some full-bosomed maiden, on which the reef-points heaved like silken fringes, as if three sisters, shadowy and goddess-like, trod in each other's steps towards the deeper solitude of the ocean."

What image could be more perfect? and yet this is but a fragment of a sketch, every line of which is instinct with the poetry that comes from the sea to one who has looked at her with love; who, in many a quiet or stormy watch has held commune with the noble fabric whose deck he walked; who has interpreted the midnight voices

of the wind in the invisible tracery on high; who has beheld a hundred marvellous meanings and been inspired by a hundred solemn inspirations in and by the procession of vast ocean waves melting into snow as they roll, in the loneliness of leagues of moonlit calm, in the flaming splendours of the sun rising and setting, in the wild flying of the small green moon through the smoke-like scud rushing athwart the stars on the wings of the gale. Nor is there any lack of seamanship in this book. Some of the sailors are painted with a very black brush; but then, to be sure, they are great scoundrels. The manners are old-fashioned; young ladies say "Sir" to young gentlemen, "Griffins" are very considerably accentuated, and the judge is the surliest and most tyrannical old rogue I ever met with in fiction. But Violet Hyde is a sweet creature; plenty of fun is got out of the passengers, notably the Yankee, Daniel Snout; and there is surely nothing droller in anecdotic lore than the incident of the shark and Mrs. Brady's dog. And as a record of life at sea, in a passenger vessel fifty or sixty years ago, "The Green Hand" is not less valuable than the best of Marryat's novels which deals with naval life as it was much about the same period. The transformation that has been wrought by time in the navy is matched by the mercantile marine in its passenger service. We don't take four or five months to get to India now; we skip the Cape and sail through the desert, and our vessels do not lift mountains of white canvas to the sky, but are sumptuously furnished hotels, built of iron and driven by steam against a head wind, much faster than a whole gale could have impelled the swiftest of those old East Indiamen which Captain Cupples writes so delightfully about. The change is prodigious; and it is well that we have such accurate and stirring and beautiful memorials of the past as "The Green Hand," to enable us to understand whether we are better off, and if so, how much we are better off, than our grandfathers were when they took ships for foreign parts.

In the same way many of Fenimore Cooper's novels are useful, only, unfortunately, the American possesses neither the seamanlike accuracy nor the fine poetic insight of Captain Cupples. In such books as "Homeward Bound," "Afloat and Ashore," and others of Cooper's tales, the old Atlantic passenger clipper lives, and we are enabled to contrast the old-fashioned passage of over six weeks across the Atlantic with the present passage of a few hours over six days. Cooper has written a great number of sea stories, and to point out what is good and bad in them would fill many pages. I cannot profess myself much of an admirer of his writings. His style is ponderous, and rather priggish; his sea-pictures are full of inaccuracies; he has little or no humour; and I believe the only narrative of his in which a sailor could pick but few holes is "Ned Myers,"

the whole of which, he himself declares, he took down from the dictation of a man who had been at sea with him. "The Pilot," I believe, is the most popular of his works. It was received with prodigious applause in this country on its appearance, which probably convinced Mr. Fenimore Cooper how profoundly insensible the people of the greatest maritime nation in the world were to the nautical absurdities of the book, and how still more profoundly indifferent they were to the ridiculous insults which the author, whether in the conversation of his characters or in the behaviour of his extraordinary war-vessels, never loses an opportunity to level at Great Britain and her throne and her people. The character of Long Tom Coffin has been praised as a very fine creation; but I will venture to say that if the like of such a man were at any period to have shipped aboard a vessel as able seaman, or in any other capacity, he would have been sent ashore by the captain as a lunatic. Compare this seaman of Cooper with the sailors of Dana; the one invents a stage mariner, and makes him growl out a lot of stilted talk, and move his cadaverous body about like some cheap tragedian at a country theatre; the other gives you Jack as he is, as he has always been, and as he is bound to remain until the slowly shifting conditions of his life have blackened his face and sent him to live with a shovel in his hand in the bunkers. There are unquestionably some fine dramatic scenes in "The Pilot," though a haunting sense of improbability—I will not say absurdity—neutralizes much of the effect they would have produced had Cooper gone to work more conscientiously. As a sample of his inaccuracy he makes Tom Coffin kill a whale off the north-eastern portion of the English coast, and then surrounds the dead carcase with shovel-nosed sharks. How would our bathers relish this if it were true? A whale has certainly now and again been seen off these shores; it either floats in dead or is chased; and a shark has also now and again been observed near these coasts, just as mosquitos are to be caught at Bristol. But imagine the people of Scarborough, let me say, watching a Long Tom Coffin killing an immense whale close inshore, and then after the whale has been dead a few hours, perceiving it to be surrounded by sharks, as though indeed the North Sea were the equatorial Pacific or the waters on the Polar verge of the South-East Trade Wind. The oddest ideas of discipline prevail in this book, considering the vessels are men-of-war. The first lieutenant insults the pilot, the pilot orders him off with much such a gesture as Coleridge's ancient mariner would have made with his long, lank hand; and the captain of the frigate is submitted as a perfect old woman whose capacity as a seaman Cooper never doubts, but whom he allows the first lieutenant—and for that matter everybody else who is so "disposed"—to talk to as if he were a sort of ship's idiot whom all hands are allowed to laugh

at. Royals are loosed and set when a gale of wind is approaching ; and in the thick of the smother a jib made of duck is hoisted, and very properly blows out of the bolt-rope ; the frigate manages to steer safely enough into an intricate part of the coast without a pilot, but cannot get out without one ; the tops are hailed to ascertain which way the wind is blowing ; the schooner and frigate come within hail, a heavy swell is rolling, and the vessels are under sail, yet in spite of the distracting sounds which arise from the beating and flapping of canvas against masts in a calm, an observation made in a very low voice on board the schooner is distinctly heard on board the frigate ; then the courses are suspended " in the brails," when brails are only used for fore and aft canvas, such as spankers, trysails, and the like ; again, the frigate, close-hauled under close-reefed topsails, " dashes at a prodigious rate through the waves." The seamanship which these samples (selected from dozens of specimens I have no room for) illustrate, naturally goes to work in the matter of sea-fights with the same result as regards the judgment of nautical readers. The American schooner and an English cutter engage ; the English are deplorably beaten—as they always were in marine encounters, of course—but they rally for an instant only to witness their commander pinned to the mast by the harpoon of Long Tom Coffin (fancy a man-of-war'sman always wandering about with a harpoon in his hand !), " whereupon a few of the Englishmen stood chained to the spot in silent horror at the sight, but most of them fled to the lower deck or hastened to conceal themselves in the secret parts of the vessel, leaving to the Americans the undisputed possession of the *Alacrity*." But this is mere trifling compared to what follows. A British line-of-battle-ship, mounting ninety guns, arises, and the American frigate receives her broadside. The Yankee makes haste, very wisely, to take to her heels ; but lo ! to leeward are two frigates, one of which in passing she almost knocks to pieces, not smashing the enemy's bowsprit short off as an ordinary frigate would, but tearing it bodily out of the bows, as if it were a decayed tooth, and letting it drop overboard, whilst she engages the other in a running fight, eventually saving herself, after the manner of our own *De Saumarez*, by rushing through a long narrow foaming channel into which the Englishman, though in his own waters, had not the pluck to follow him. As to the pilot himself, I can only say that if his real name was Paul Jones, he must, as a freebooter, have been but a poor creature. He is invariably lost in reverie when his attention as a pilot is most needed ; he gasps out stage talk in the ears of the justly bewildered American officers when he ought to be singing out orders ; he professes to have a name which, were he to yell it forth to the crew of the British frigate, would paralyze their efforts and cause them to haul down their flag with many apologies for daring



to oppose such an awful and murderous creature. Cooper pleases and has pleased, and is to this day read and admired by thousands; but speaking from a sailor's point of view, I really have no words to express the delight with which I quit his novels for the narratives of his countrymen, Dana and Herman Melville.

Whoever has read the writings of Melville must I think feel disposed to consider "*Moby Dick*" as his finest work. It is indeed all about the sea, whilst "*Typee*" and "*Omoo*," are chiefly famous for their lovely descriptions of the South Sea Islands, and of the wild and curious inhabitants of those coral strands; but though the action of the story is altogether on shipboard, the narrative is not in the least degree nautical in the sense that Cooper's and Marryat's novels are. The thread that strings a wonderful set of fancies and incidents together, is that of a whaler, whose master, Captain Ahab, having lost his leg by the teeth of a monstrous white whale, to which the name of *Moby Dick* has been given, vows to sail in pursuit of his enemy. The narrator embarks in the ship that is called the *Pequod*, which he describes as having an "old-fashioned, claw-footed look about her."

"She was apparelled like any barbaric Ethiopic Emperor, his neck heavy with pendants of polished ivory. She was a thing of trophies. A cannibal of a craft, tricking herself forth in the chased bones of her enemies. All round her unpanelled, open bulwarks were garnished like one continuous jaw, with the long sharp teeth of the sperm-whale, inserted there for pins to fasten her old hempen thews and tendons to. Those thews ran not through base blocks of land wood, but deftly travelled over sheaves of ivory. Scorning a turnstile wheel at her reverend helm she sported there a tiller; and that tiller was in one mass, curiously carved from the long narrow jaw of her hereditary foe. The helmsman, who steered by that tiller in a tempest, felt like the Tartar when he holds back his fiery steed by clutching its jaw. A noble craft, but somehow a most melancholy! All noble things are touched with that."

Melville takes this vessel, fills her full of strange men, and starts her on her insane quest, that he may have the ocean under and around him to muse upon, as though he were in a spacious burial-ground, with the alternations of sunlight and moonlight and deep starless darkness to set his thoughts to. "*Moby Dick*" is not a sea-story—one could not read it as such—it is a medley of noble impassioned thoughts born of the deep, pervaded by a grotesque human interest, owing to the contrast it suggests between the rough realities of the cabin and the fore-castle, and the phantasms of men conversing in rich poetry, and strangely moving and acting in that dim weather-worn Nantucket whaler. There is a chapter where the sailors are represented as gathered together on the fore-castle; and what is made to pass among them, and the sayings which are put into their mouths, might truly be thought to have come down to us from some giant mind of the Shakspearean era. As we read, we do not need to be told that seamen don't talk as those men do;

probabilities are not thought of in this story. It is like a drawing by William Blake, if you please; or, better yet, it is of the "Ancient Mariner" pattern, madly fantastic in places, full of extraordinary thoughts, yet gloriously coherent—the work of a hand which, if the desire for such a thing had ever been, would have given a sailor's distinctness to the portrait of the solemn and strange Miltonic fancy of a ship built in the eclipse and rigged with curses dark. In "Typee," and "Omoo," and "Redburn," he takes other ground, and writes—always with the finest fancy—in a straight-headed way. I am concerned with him only as a seafarer. In "Redburn" he tells a sailor's yarn, and the dream-like figures of the crew of the *Pegquod* make place for Liverpool and Yankce seamen, who chew tobacco and use bad language. His account of the sufferings of the emigrants in this book leaves a deep impression upon the mind. His accuracy is unimpeachable here, for the horrors he relates were as well known thirty and forty years ago as those of the middle passages were in times earlier still. In "Omoo," again, he gives us a good deal of the sea, and presumably relates his own experiences on board a whaler. He seems proud of his calling, for in "Moby Dick" he says:—

"And as for me, if by any possibility there be any as yet undiscovered prime thing in me; if I shall ever deserve any real repute in that small but high-hushed world which I might not be unreasonably ambitious of; if hereafter I shall do anything that, upon the whole, a man might rather have done than left undone; if at my death my executors, or more properly my creditors, find any precious MSS. in my desk, then here I prospectively ascribe all the honour and the glory to whaling; for a whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard."

He returns to the whaleman in "Omoo," and in his barque, the *Little Jule*, charms the nautical reader with the faithfulness of his portraiture, and the humour and the poetry he puts into it. There is some remarkable character-drawing in this book: notably John Jermin, the mate of the *Little Jule*, and Doctor Long Ghost, the nickname given by the sailors to a man who shipped as a physician, and was rated as a gentleman and lived in the cabin, until both the captain and he falling drunk, he drove home his views on politics by knocking the skipper down, after which he went to live forward. He is as quaint, striking, and original a personage as may be found in English fiction, and we find him in the dingy and leaky fore-castle of the *Little Jule*, where he is surrounded by coarse and worn whalemén in Scotch caps and ragged clothes quoting Virgil, talking of Hobbes, "besides repeating poetry by the canto, especially 'Hudibras.'" Yet his portrait does not match that of John Jermin, the mate, whom, spite of his love of rum and homely method of reasoning with a man by means of a handspike, one gets to heartily like and to follow about with laughter as, intoxicated, he chases the

sun all over the deck at noon with an old quadrant at his eye, or tumbles into the forecabin after a seaman who has enraged him by contemptuous remarks. Both Melville and Dana, who deal with the Merchant Service, show us in their books how trifling has been the change in the inner life of the sea during the forty or fifty years since they wrote about it. The merchant sailor of 1884 has still the same complaint to make that was made by his predecessor in 1840 and during many a long year before. "The *Julia's* provisions," says Herman Melville, "were very poor;" and he proceeds to point out that the pork looked as if preserved in iron rust, and smelt like stale ragout; that the beef was a mahogany-coloured fibrous substance, tough and tasteless, that the biscuit was broken into hard little gunflints, honeycombed through and through "as if the worms usually infesting this article in long tropical voyages had, in boring after nutriment, come out at the antipodes without finding anything." Their soup consisted of great round peas, polishing themselves like pebbles by rolling about in tepid water; and of their tea he declares himself certain that the Hong merchants never had the shipping of it. To this day, Mercantile Jack is suffering from the traditional forecabin fare served out to him, supplemented by a niggardliness such as was not known in days when there was less competition in our shipping interests, and when the single-boat company and the managing owner had no existence. He is frequently fed upon victuals which have performed several voyages round the world, and he no longer receives the "tot," or small glass of rum, which in former days helped the old salts to digest food which even an ostrich would look at doubtfully. Sailors were injuriously fed and housed in Melville's day, and they are no better off now. There have been scores of Acts of Parliament relating to them, but the ills of their inner lives have been untouched chiefly because the people who have legislated for them knew absolutely nothing about the forecabin's requirements. To acquaint oneself with such matters, a man must ship as a sailor, eat and live and sleep with foremast hands, know what it is to be washed out of his bunk, to live on foul water and biscuit full of worms, when the bad weather will not allow the cook to light the galley fire that the rancid pork or the five-year-old square of "beef" may be cooked. It will not do for a man who wants to be reckoned a friend of seamen to get his knowledge of the sea out of yachting, and to write books about what Mercantile Jack ought to and ought not to expect in a luxurious cabin, with flunkeys in livery to fill his inkbottle for him when he has wasted the contents of it. Whenever I read a book or a pamphlet by gentry of this type, I long to send the author to sea for three years in any such capacity before the mast, from A.B. down to cook's mate, as he is able to discharge the duties of. This question of food increases in

importance, because the quality of the stuff served out to the men grows worse and worse. Board of Trade surveyors are supposed to supervise the provisions put on board ship; but how often are the biscuit and beef and the like examined by these functionaries? The neglect indeed is so great, that for a long time it has been the custom of many owners to leave the victualling of the ship to the captain, who finds it good policy so far as his own interests are concerned, to "buy cheap." It is well indeed when men who have suffered the experiences and preserved the knowledge of sailors write books about the sea, that they should include all harsh facts which may help to teach the world what the mariner's life is. Dana and Melville have written thus, and whatever they say is stamped with genius and truth. The ocean is the theatre of more interests than boys would care to follow. We laugh with Marryat; we read Cooper for his "plots;" we find much that is dashing and flattering to our patriotism in the "Tom Bowlings," and "Will Watches," and "Tough Yarns," and "Topsail Sheet-blocks;" in the sprawling and fighting and drinking school of sea yarns; but when we turn to Dana and Melville, we find that the real life of the sea is not to be found between yellow covers adorned with catching cuts; that all the romance does not lie in cocked-hats and epaulets, but that by far the largest proportion of the sentiment, the pathos of the deep, the bitterness and suffering of the sailor's life, must be sought in the gloomy fore-castle of the humble coaster, in the deckhouses of the deep-laden cargo-steamer, in the crew's dwelling-place on board the big ship trading to Australia and India and China. It is because only two or three writers have kept their eye steadfastly on this walk of the marine calling, and it is because all the rest who have written about the sea have represented the sailor as a jolly, drinking, dancing, sky-larking fellow, that the shore-going public have come to get the wildest, absurdest notion of Jack's real character and professional life. For one who reads Dana and Melville, thousands read Marryat and Michael Scott, and Chamier, and Cupples, and Neale. It is in these books that we find Jack always on the broad grin, always smart in pumps for cutting capers, always yarning and smoking, and lounging, unless drubbing the French: "Pass the grog," he said:—

"Pass the grog! pass the grog! your sailor is a jolly dog,  
Ever laughing, ever gay, sings at night and works by day;  
Cares no more for wounds and wealth  
Than doctors for their patients' health."

Yes, it is always passing the grog, and singing all night, with lovely Sue to join in the chorus! And this great maritime nation has for generations accepted all this sort of thing as true of Jack's calling, just as on the stage they dress up a man meant to play the part of a merchant sailor in the dress of a naval blue jacket. But it is the nautical novelist who has misled the public, who, knowing perfectly

what is right, has deliberately melodramatized the unfortunate sailor, whether mercantile or naval, until readers look with incredulity upon the truthful portraits offered them by such men as Dana and Melville, and refuse to regard any representation of a nautical man as correct unless he is constantly swearing, constantly getting tipsy, constantly speaking a language crowded with marine expressions; and unless he makes his bow in a tarpaulin hat at the back of his head, a laniard round his neck, an immense collar down his back, and a pair of feet scarcely visible in the bell-mouthed trousers which run extravagantly tight to his hips. For example: Captain Chamier was a seaman, and must, consequently, have been well acquainted with the character of sailors; he must have heard them converse hundreds of times; and yet, in spite of his well knowing that seamen—unless, indeed, they are boys making their first voyage—seldom or never load their talk with professional jargon, any more than soldiers introduce “eyes right” and “shoulder arms,” and the like expressions into their conversation; Captain Chamier, I say, puts such a speech as this into the mouth of what he calls a *beau idéal* of a sailor:—

“Go on, Tom, my boy, don’t blush so; what does it signify who your father was. If he had been better than you, why then, I’m blessed if you would not have been like a potato, the best part of you under ground; whereas now you’re like the tall spars of a line-of-battle ship, seen, first and last, above the hull that bore you, with a good character for carrying your canvas like a stout spar through every squall. So, go on, and keep that blush for pretty Susan when we get into harbour.”

This old country has produced many thousands of sailors in her time, and there are many thousands still living; but I will venture to say, that never since she became a naval power was there a sailor, whether serving under the white or red ensign, who made such a speech, off the stage, as the above that is put into the mouth of a “*beau idéal*” of a tar by a man who knew the life. One forgives absurdities in landmen when they deal with the sea, though I am of opinion that writers make a fatal mistake in handling what they have no knowledge of. It was but the other day that I was reading “*Foul Play*,” by the late Charles Reade and Mr. Dion Boucicault. The story is profoundly interesting, and full of that high and original talent for which Charles Reade was distinguished. There is a great deal about the sea in it, and all about the sea is full of nonsense. The cocksureness of the authors could not fail to render the blunders doubly ludicrous. The ship leaves Sydney and makes slow progress, “being close-hauled, which was her worst point of sailing.” A sailor would appreciate this explanation of slow progress. The vessel, though apparently a fine large ship, has only one mate! Probably the second mate was the carpenter, but we are not told so. Then this only mate has several barrels of spirits stowed away in his cabin,

and by means of them he keeps the skipper continuously drunk. The mate goes below, presumably into the after-peak, to scuttle the ship. It is blowing very fresh; the ship is plunging and rolling heavily; yet, despite all the noise raised by boiling seas and thunderous canvas, the hero on deck can distinctly hear the sounds caused by the mate plugging with a mallet the holes he had bored with an auger. Then, to take soundings, the skipper "chalks a plumb-line," and drops it into the well. A vessel is "cauted" that her decks may be washed. It is evident by what follows that the authors meant "careened;" but think of careening a ship to "wash down!" Then, speaking of a square-rigged vessel, a sailor says, "Somebody got into the chains to sound, and cut the lee halyards; next tack the masts went over the side." Why a man should take the trouble to descend into the channels to cut away the "lee halyards," and why the masts should go overboard on the next tack, because the "lee halyards" are literally "all gone," I confess I do not understand. But these and the like errors are a landsman's; the manifest faith shown by the writers in the accuracy of the crowds of blunders they make is certainly very droll; but they are not half so mischievous in their effects of filling the public mind with a world of nonsensical opinions and ideas about ships and sailors and their duties, as the caricatures of seamen which have come from pens wielded by writers who were sailors by profession.

Dana was the first man to look at the sea-life as a real thing, and to make the world know it as a real thing. America should be proud of that triumphant book, "Two Years before the Mast." We are a great maritime people; the oceans of the world are our realm, and every billow that rolls from North to South, from East to West, carries a British interest along its liquid path. Is it not wonderful that we should have waited for a Yankee student to show us how to write a book that should be true to the sailor, true to the ship he sails in, true to the great deep he navigates? For my part, I heartily begrudge Boston her famous "yarner," and for the honour of this country could wish that his grand sea-picture had the union-jack hanging over it instead of the eagle that is perched for all time upon its frame. The difference between "Two Years before the Mast" and most of the nautical novels which have been written on this side the Atlantic, is the difference between the marine drama as we are accustomed to witness it in London and provincial theatres, and the calling it caricatures. Dana's book is a solid fact from beginning to end—not one jot more so because it forms a collection of his experiences when at sea, than because of the superb sailor-like spirit, the exquisite accuracy and the great-hearted sympathy that every page is full of. "I vowed," he says, after describing the flogging on board the *Pilgrim*, "I vowed that if God

should ever give me the means, I would do something to redress the grievances and relieve the sufferings of that class of beings with whom my lot had so long been cast." He could not have gone to work more effectually than by writing "Two Years before the Mast." It was time that somebody showed the public down into the merchant ship's fore-castle, pointed to the bunks in which the sailors sleep, the dripping carlings, the evil-smelling slush-lamp, the water splashing through the scuttle, the poor clothes of the heavily worked men, the infamous food and vile water on which they subsisted. It was time, I say. No landsman could guess the truth, and those who had suffered, who could speak of the horrors of scurvy from darkness and damp and fare such as a hog might disdain, were ignorant and unable to put their story before the world. But then comes Dana, a fine genius, full of spirit. He ships as a foremast hand in a little brig bound round Cape Horn to the Western American Coast, and he spends three years of his life among sailors, working with them, suffering with them, taking their few poor pleasures with them. We are used to his book now, and since his time plenty of interest has been taken in the Merchant Service; but I sometimes think that an extraordinary amazement must have been excited among those of the public who cared for sea yarns when "Two Years before the Mast" was first published. By what magic could Dana absorb the attention of his readers by a plain unvarnished narrative of fore-castle life in a little brig? But that was not quite it. How did it happen, I daresay people wanted to know, that these poor sailors who so deeply interested them in Dana's work were so utterly unlike the mariners they had been accustomed to read about since the days of Smollett? Where was the Saturday night-larking? where the cans of grog? the "wives and sweethearts?" the dancing on the main-deck? the gay uniforms, the handsome middies, the sea-battles, the lovely heroines, and all the rest of the well-known stuff? Instead of this they found a brutal, coarse-mouthed skipper, a couple of mates neither handsome nor sentimental, and forward, an odd collection of rude and rough figures in Scotch caps and old shirts. There was no heroine, there was no fighting, there was nothing more spirited in the way of diversion than a fandango at Santa Barbara; but there was the best of all things in this world—truth. Because of it the book went straight home to the heart, and inasmuch as that it is as true in the main of life on board ship to-day as it was when written forty-five years ago, there can be no excuse for any one desiring to write for or against the sailor, not to very fairly understand the nature and duties of Mercantile Jack's life whilst "Two Years before the Mast" remains in print.

Yet let it not be denied that so far as the Merchant Service is concerned, the need of another Dana grows urgent. Life in a sailing

ship remains much as Dana represents it; but steamers are now plentiful; there is more greed than there used to be and more maws to satisfy; competition has resulted in a sordidness that is a permanent menace to human life. Another Dana is wanted to give us three years before the mast not in one but in several steamers; in the dangerous "well deck," in the undermanned tank, in the cheap boat that is sent across the Atlantic in winter furnished with engines scarcely powerful enough to keep her "head on" in half a gale of wind; in the overloaded craft whose covering board is nearly awash as she sneaks clear of the eye of the Board of Trade official; in the steamer into whose hold, in the name of dispatch, the cargo has been pitched ready for shifting in the first bit of seaway that is encountered. Another Dana is wanted for the later marine developments of our civilization. Only presuming him to exist, could he be expected to go to sea to learn what he has to write about? I have very little doubt that were Richard Dana, jun., now living, he would own that he would rather face the storms of the two Atlantics and beat round the Horn to the westward in June for several years running in his crazy, little, old, hundred-and-fifty ton brig, *Pilgrim*, than make a single experiment in search of current nautical experience on board the red and slate-coloured drain-pipes which, classed A1 and insured above their value as compounds of brittle plates, cement and rivets adjusted by the "drift," are daily and hourly hauling out of dock to deliver their cargoes in ports which are very often indeed at the bottom of the sea.

W. CLARK RUSSELL.



## HOUSE-BOARDERS AND DAY-BOYS.

**I**N an admirable sermon preached at Sherborne some time ago the present Archbishop compared the life of an English schoolboy to the period in which our Saviour was lost among the company who were going up to the temple. A profoundly apt illustration! For indeed the exceedingly early period at which our boys leave their homes, the constantly increasing size of the preparatory schools, the tendency of parents to leave religious and moral difficulties in the hands of the masters rather than to deal with them clearly themselves, all these things, combined with the deadly set of fashion in the direction of particular schools as soon as they begin to do good work, leave our young boys so undirected and so much at the mercy of the company with whom they are travelling that they most often feel absolutely lost. Happy indeed are those who, after a time are sought by the parental care and are able to feel a mother's arms thrown lovingly round them! It is a question whether the majority of English parents are really awake to the very great and certain defects which the system of bringing up in crowds entails upon their children. And this at a time when the preparatories are doing their work with a zeal which is beyond praise, and the new foundations of public schools have produced a healthy competition with the older colleges and grammar schools which has altered many abuses and undoubtedly flooded the universities with healthy and vigorous young athletes. But the contention is that there are certain gains which no care on the part of a master can ensure, as compared with a good home, and it is a question whether parents generally see what they stand to lose when they pass over their responsibilities.

In the first place, the only way in which a schoolmaster can meet

the deadly danger of immorality which must necessarily arise more where boys are not related to one another, is by always keeping them employed or amused. That this leaves no time for natural development is obvious; a boy needs solitude to grow, and that is just what his schoolmaster dare not allow him; the imagination of a Bunyan, the enterprise of a Nelson, the ambition of a Pitt, were all caused by solitude and reflectiveness; and this neither the space nor the time of preparatories will allow. Shut up within four walls, with every hour of their time accounted for, our boys between the ages of eight and fourteen are always under supervision, if not of their elders, at any rate of their contemporaries, who cannot help stamping out all originality and making every thought miscarry.

And when herded together, what are their subjects of conversation that are to take the place of thoughts and of reading? Lucky indeed are they if one of the young graduates who officers their school happens to know a little natural history, and can show them some of the wonders of a country neighbourhood; or if the wife of the master can spare a little time from her own children to read some entertaining book; or if, rare chance! some one of themselves has sufficient character to deal with the hundred little personal problems that arise in their small society and are religiously kept from the knowledge of the master and his assistants. But how much they lose in this unnatural state of life! For there are no wanderings into the villages, or stray errands, where they may meet an old quartermaster on half-pay, with stories about ghosts and fairies, the exploits of Peterborough and Stanhope, the surprise of Mohnjuic, and the glorious disaster of Brihneza, as Oliver Goldsmith used; no realization of their parents' lives, stimulating their ambition and leading them into interests without fear of precocity, teaching them unconsciously to select what is most suitable for themselves, widening their sympathies, and enlisting their enthusiasms; no sallying out, hammer in hand, for a long day's geologizing, accompanied by elders, who can spare just enough time to stimulate, but are neither too didactic nor too suggestive of lesson hours; but absolute unnatural separation from mother and sisters and all female society for the greater part of their growing years, and eternal monotony of class-room varied by playground, and the perpetual struggle to avoid Stiggins major. Do parents realize the fearful poverty of ideas that early separation from home involves; and how absolutely impossible it is for the best of preparatory schools to lay down the rich soil out of which imagination in later years should grow? In a preparatory, the house servants are the only representatives of the other classes with whom the little boy can come in contact, people who invariably out-herod the exclusiveness or extravagance of their employers, whilst the master minds that form the tone of his surroundings are not his masters or

their wives and daughters, but other boys who have a code of their own. Of this code, without speaking too hastily, it may safely be asserted that it does not represent the deliberate opinion of any one, only their random gossip. It may condemn some faults very decidedly, but they will only be faults of a certain kind. For no boy, as has been well observed by the greatest analyst of boy morality that England has ever seen, can fully enter into the deep horror of fleshly sins which a grown man if he be right-minded is sure to learn. And as to the sins of lighter hue, such as idleness, it is simply impossible that any exceptionally earnest boy should not have his zeal watered by too early contact with any boys of the ordinary type.

It may safely then be asserted that the parent who sends a little boy of eight years' old, who is exceptional either morally or intellectually, to a large school, is sending his exceptional qualities to be used up early as the manure for that school's society. In return for this the boy undoubtedly acquires early a certain amount of *savoir faire*, which prevents his being called "mad" on his first arrival at the public school; the habit of doing things up to time, which makes the work of his class-master easier in first dealing with him; and probably a greater aptitude for games, which is heavily paid for by complete ignorance as to how to saddle a horse, to load a gun, or to make himself "generally useful."

It would be impossible to deny that those parents whose circumstances admit of keeping their little boys about them from the ages of eight to that of fourteen, and at the same time giving them a fair preparation for school, do well to make the experiment. Cowper's exaggerated lines in the "Tirocinium"—

"Would you your son should be a sot or dunce,  
Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once,  
Train him in public with a mob of boys,  
Childish in mischief only and in noise,  
There shall he learn ere sixteen winters old  
That authors are most useful pawned or sold?"

are the lines of a man who wrote a century ago. But the history of literature has not yet disproved the formidable indictment of the last two lines. It would be deeply interesting to have the experience of modern writers like Mr. Leslie Stephen, who was educated at Eton, or of Mr. Matthew Arnold, to visit whose place of schooling the American traveller breaks his journey between Liverpool and London and finds, unfortunately, too often the Rugby quad closed for the holidays. But there is a general impression that literature is at present falling into the hands of other than public-school men; nor does the case of Shelley who was unhappy at school, of Gray, who never played games and moralized instead in the Eton playing fields of little victims regardless of their doom, of Scott who was lame of Thackeray, who had no skill in games and no taste for them, of

Southey, who was miserable at school, of Gibbon, who is described as an illiterate cripple always changing school, or of Macaulay, induce us to expect the contrary. Byron, we know, writes in early days, "I read eating, read in bed, read when no one else reads," but he must have been exceptionally lucky in his opportunities. And even he always complained that the freshness was worn away by reading the classics before he could understand them. The amusing author of "Seven Years at Eton" tells us that Mr. Gladstone, in his school-days, regretted that Byron had not been at Eton so as to be cured of his excessive vanity and thereby rendered nearer perfection. There is no doubt that modern Harrow may be trusted to cure excessive vanity now as well as modern Eton. But it is open to question whether now other schools would leave the same freedom to the individual which allowed the young Byron to be always reading, or the young Gladstone to wander in the fields with Hallam, instead of devoting his splendid physique to the service of his school as a wet or a dry bob.

The limits of the present article do not admit of taking more than one or two more cases. But it would be interesting to know how many mothers have opportunities now of training their sons as Bentley's, or Hume's, or Macaulay's had of knowing theirs; how many boys are soaked early in life in the "Pilgrim's Progress" or "Don Quixote," like Hawthorne or Wordsworth respectively; how many Rugby boys like Landor know the name of every tree by sight, buy books like the "Polyolbion" with their own money, or are even allowed by the stern discipline of the head of the eleventh or of the fifteenth to squander golden hours among the sedges of the Avon. Mr. Trollope's reminiscences will be in the remembrance of all readers.

All boys, however, are not intended for literary life, and the statesmen, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, and squires who have been trained at our public schools undoubtedly show that character is better formed at them than in the seclusion of home, or in the less commendable surroundings of a private tutor's. The remarkable saying of the great Duke would suggest the inclusion of officers in our list also, and it is a matter of much congratulation for England that our public schools are at length being forced to adapt their teaching to the demands of army examinations. Such a course is good for both schools and army, for it interests a class of boys who are generally idle in their studies, and it recruits the army with healthy athletes instead of premature men of the world.

But granted that the greater spirits, greater knowledge of the world, greater power of dealing with men, infused in a large boarding-school, are cheaply bought by the idleness and so-called freedom of life there, and that the cases of Pitt, who was educated by his father for public life, is an exceptional one. Is it not possible, it is asked,

to secure more than the present boarding-house arrangement does of the home life? Is it not too much the case that the successes of a boarding public school are out of all proportion to the failures? What would be the reply to this question of the Wrens and the Scoones and the hosts of private tutors scattered about the suburbs of London and the country parsonages of England? What must be the reply of many housemasters? and is it not possible that more should be done in the behalf of the failures? Gratitude is owing to those head masters who first arranged special lessons for special subjects in preparing for special examinations, thereby infusing the spirit of hopefulness and the sense of purpose into those who were doomed to stagnate at the bottom of their respective schools. But unless the housemaster is prepared to superintend their studies, they will too often only be a blind to the parents concealing the waste of time necessary for the proper pursuit not of the practice, but of the parade of football. The *Times* recently in an article on Westminster School, advocating its being laid out chiefly on the lines of a day school, gave the palm to a boarding-school for three things: supervision of studies, plentiful means of pastime, and saving of loss of travelling time. In most cases, however, the housemaster of fifty to thirty-five boys, who is also teaching a form averaging thirty, has little time to do much supervising. It is to be wondered whether parents who bombard, and rightly bombard—for they are certainly the more heard for their much speaking—masters with letters, even realize the multifarious duties of a housemaster. With a house built on the latest principles, with a sensible cook, with a matron who does not make favours, with a first-rate medical man calling daily, the conscientious housemaster is still unable to perform his own duties as hotel-keeper. Unhealthy boys come to his house ignorant of the first principles of health; big boys insist on little boys wearing linen next their skin, or discarding a warm coat that covers the loins for an Eton jacket; natural laziness persuades the use of slippers on a wet November morning instead of thick-soled boots; vanity makes these boots pointed at the toe instead of the shape of the feet; the ventilators are all shut on a cold day and not re-opened on a warm; baths are taken at an unwholesomely hot temperature; a dead set is made against coffee before early school; the boys liable to eczema refuse to eat greens; it becomes the fashion to eat fast; the little boys who want most sleep talk on longest into the night; the house-servants unconsciously neglect the quiet boys at meals; the playful boy shies soap when no one is conscious into the filter for the drinking-water; the compulsion of games, one of the greatest assistants to a housemaster, is relaxed, because a boy is not a promising object, or is injudiciously enforced. Such are only a few of the points on which the conceit or stupidity

or misdirected zeal of older boys, or the carelessness of servants, may defeat the vigilance of an active host, and no man with other duties to perform besides housemastering can look after them, unless he is reinforced by the much-abused mothers, who, as a matter of fact, are much more likely to be too shy of passing on a grumble than too ready to write. For even when off the point, parents' letters are suggestive of little evils in administration that a word can correct.

It is, of course, perfectly true that a great many of these evils can be and often are corrected by the common sense of the upper boys themselves. But there are always a certain number of boys who do not interest these powers, and it is for them that the housemaster should exist. Such boys, poor souls! often do not interest even themselves. The parent has time to study such constitutions, and if he sends them to a public school, he should make perfectly certain that the host learns them up too. Till he is sure of this, he should at least go on writing.

And if this is true of the bodily constitution, what are we to say of the mental? The boy who does not interest his formmaster is equally likely not to interest his housemaster. It is the fashion in school novels to talk of the first delights of feeling free, but it is to be noticed that the same novels invariably introduce us to the boy who turns out well, because he is well looked after by some Hawtrey or Cotton. It is to be feared that too often the lost interest of the parent is not replaced by the helpful cordiality of a really interested tutor, and it proves nothing that many boys who have never known it would heartily agree that they prefer to be without it. In a large boarding-house it is such boys who generally give the prevailing colour to the public opinion of the place.

It is however certain that the housemaster who dominates these boys is a success, whereas the man who fails with them is a failure, however successful he may be with a few of the more thoughtful spirits. There is a difference nowadays as compared with the times of *Tom Brown*. The work of the school is infinitely more uniform and steady than it used to be; the upper classes have less time to devote to the supervision of their juniors or to their own indiscriminate amusement than they had then; and as a consequence, inspiration has to come more from the master, or it does not come at all. This is an age of division of labour. The labour of the Sixth in a large school is to win scholarships or to pass the Oxford and Cambridge. The glorious ideal of *Tom Brown's* schooldays has been much interfered with by the increased efficiency of the paid teachers. The happy relations between the boy and his lord have been interfered with by preparation of work under a master's eye. The teacher who knows his work prefers to have the German pre-

pared or the verses composed without help ; he therefore discourages unpaid assistance. In the same way the head of games in a house or a school objects to the idea that the Sixth should preside. If he happens to be in the Sixth, he may throw his influence into increasing the power of the Sixth ; but if not, he is much more likely to weaken the power of the Sixth than to support it by such well-established fictions as giving "a cap" to the Sixth *ex officio*. In other words, the games are used more and more in order to secure a few good players to represent the school as against other schools than to secure the *corpus sanum* of the individual. The consequence is that, unless the housemaster is wide awake, there are many boys who drop out of games, and neither Sixths nor heads of games will look after them. It is for such boys that natural history societies, bicycles, rifle corps, gymnasium competitions, carpentering, are so useful ; but some one will always be needed to put their claim or their claims before a boy instead of letting him crust into inactivity. When the establishments are so large, there will always be some "lurkers," who lurk, not because they are slothful or uninterested, but because the splendid organization of the games which exists nowadays in all public schools, overbears them and throws them into an attitude of unconscious despondency. A father or mother on the spot would notice this at once, or a sister's chaff might correct it, but parents as a rule only visit their sons at their schools on Speech day, when every master is engaged and the whole atmosphere of the place is abnormal, and boys at boarding-schools acquire a shortness of speech to their sisters on school topics which keeps them very much in the dark. If it were not for this, it must be in the experience of every housemaster how much he learns in dealing with such cases from one visit of the boy's home people. It is astonishing what nonsense is talked about masters' resenting or boys fearing such intrusions.

But to return to the times. It is said that a boarding-school secures for a boy greater supervision of studies than home life. This also is true, with a qualification. This qualification is that the uninteresting boy is apt to be more interesting at home than at his school. It is, no doubt, hard for parents deliberately to decide that their sons are uninteresting ; but if housemasters could honestly give their experiences, how many failures would they count up. There is one class of boy, and one only, who is more interesting at school than at home. That is the athlete. A good wind, a brawny chest, a healthy digestion, cover a multitude of defects in a public school. On that side public schools are an unmixed success. Want of sympathy, bad manners, absolute illiterateness, gradually disappear under the charm of being looked up to as a swell by the lower boys. And the desire to stay in so congenial an atmosphere com-

bines with the fear of being superannuated, till industry and discipline spring up in the barren soil, and dignity takes the place of dull irresponsiveness. With such cases housemasters can merely apply the stimulus and they have little else to do. Their own interests and the boys' interests coincide too obviously for them not to look after those who look after the games of the house. But for those who are uninteresting intellectually, and have no physique to secure notice otherwise, it is a question whether too great absence from home is not a loss. The infinite variety of combinations supplied by a large school in class-room and set-room, study-passagc and seat in hall, roll-call and dormitory, not to mention sanatorium, gives as many chances to such boys to find some stimulus in society. But they certainly stand to lose the unwearied attention of those who weary latest. Those who knew one of our public schools when a fifth of its members were supplied from town homes, know what homes can do for their sons in cultivation and education when working into the hands of a good school system. They know, too, how much the boys of the boarding-houses who were privileged to be admitted into some of these houses gained by seeing a little of home life during the intervals of school hours. It is in hopes that this system may be gradually restored that this article has been written; the writer believes that the foundations are now better applied than they were half a century ago; but he believes also that the combination of living at home and being taught at school secures the best education for many boys. The question lies in a nutshell. If the parent has not time or tact to supervise, let the boy go to a boarding-house; but if he or she has, if he can keep the boy within doors, can keep the crib out of his hands, can make a happy home for him, surely, then, his family life is worth preserving for him. For this point of view, the speech of the Archbishop, when presiding at the meeting of the Boys' Day Schools Company, leaves nothing farther to be said. Intellectually the boy must be a gainer. The only desideratum is that, for purposes of games, there should be enough families to combine so as to meet the combination of boarders which is sure to spring up in some form or other against the interests of the day boys. The experience of Bedford School, where the day boys are in the ascendant, and yet there are boarding-houses, would be useful on this point. But if only the organization of games for the day boys is well arranged, and one parent can supervise the studies, it is surely more natural that home influences should not be thrown away for eight months in the year. There surely is room for both systems, and the swing of the pendulum seems at present to be too far in the direction only of boarding-schools.

Any reader who has read these remarks so far must perceive that there is still a large portion of time in the day quite unaccounted



for. The influence of a house on work and on games has been discussed ; but there remains the larger question of how boys use their spare time. On this point it is to be feared that statistics would not be reassuring. The hour after dinner, the two hours or so between tea and prayers not used up in preparing work for the next morning, the hundreds of odd minutes in the rest of the day, the time between prayers and bed, all remain on hand. The contention of these few pages is that the organization of games and the regularity with which lessons are enforced is about as good as it ever has been in the history of our public schools. But it is also contended that there is a larger number of failures at a public school than parents are aware of: that public schools claim too often to be judged only by their successes; and that a reversion to the family system alongside of the more successful public boarding-schools would be in the interests of both family life and school life.

H. LEE WARNER.

## JACOB'S ANSWER TO ESAU'S CRY.

**I**N December last I was permitted in these pages to speak of Esau's cry. If Jacob heard it, he heard it without much compunction; he had got what he wanted, he could do without his brother. Later on in life, as the story tells us, Jacob found that he could not do without his brother. His training in individualism had left him wanting something. That something was not what he had before coveted, mere worldly wealth. Hard trial had made home life a precious possession, and nothing is more touching than the wail with which he ends his prayer of thanksgiving: "I fear him, lest he will come and smite me *and the mother with the children.*" He had learnt, what England must learn, that not in the ascendancy of the individual or a class, but in the good of all, the common action of society, the drawing together of classes estranged, lies real happiness. An effort is being made to draw these classes estranged, as was Esau from Jacob, together. And this effort in the form of University Settlements is one which is, as it seems to me, worthy of all support. The pendulum which moves the hand of action swings backwards and forwards between the two extremes of individualism and corporate action. Jacob must be trained as an individual before he can rightly make use of the power which comes of co-operation. It is significant that in his new name of Israel he represents not a man but a nation. It might seem, however, at the first blush, as if the swing of the pendulum in our days were in the direction of individualism. In politics individualism makes the common action of party well-nigh impossible. A member of Parliament who wishes to preserve his independence, finds it hard to reckon with a number of specialists, each of whom wishes to make him a delegate to represent a particular nostrum. And recently (it may be a sign of new life) individu-

alism has reappeared in that party which was supposed to be exempt from such influence. It is unnecessary to trace the power of individualism in other domains, though we can hardly help glancing at the tremendous power it has exercised in religion. In that domain the notion of a corporate life, which was the foundation of Old Testament religion, and of New Testament Christianity, seemed but a few years ago well-nigh dead, never likely to exert an influence again among men. The religion of the Old Testament knew little of individual life. A man was regarded in life, was saved, by reason of belonging to a nation, or by reason of his birth in one of the tribes of that nation. The Jewish Archbishop was selected not because of individual merit, but because he belonged to the tribe of Levi. The severest penalty of the old law was couched in the language: "that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of his people." The New Testament substituted for the kingdom of Israel the kingdom of God, and spoke of the church as a body. But the teaching founded on the New Testament almost obscured this view. The swing of the pendulum, which takes ages to reach either end of the arc, has been for this long while in the direction of individualism. From Augustine to Luther, from Luther to Wesley, the tendency has been mainly to dwell on the part the individual has in securing those privileges, which in old time were claimed for him by right of membership in the Christian body. But none the less the swing of the pendulum is, on more careful observation, seen to be tending towards the opposite end of the arc. It has not got far on the new course, but it has turned the point of rest. In political matters there is a marked revolt against individualism, despite the tyranny it still exercises. The most significant evidence of this is, as it seems to me, in the rise of that new force of socialism, which is claiming from the State the use of its great power, as representing the whole mass, to deliver the community from the tyranny of individuals. And in religion we have made some strides since Maurice began to teach us of the Kingdom. We are trying to realize the truth involved in the conception of a Divine Father, who is not ashamed to call us His children. The desire for co-operation, for united action, is in the air. Corporate action is supplanting the individualism of the past. Limited companies in business, institutes and colleges in art, societies in moral work, are the agencies which this nineteenth century calls to its aid. The pendulum in its backward swing touches again the days of guilds and brotherhoods, of companies of merchant adventurers, and even that strange system, which in its title seems to involve a contradiction, monasticism. For true monasticism you must go back to the first efforts of individualism, and study the lives of the hermits. Monasticism of later days is founded on the principle of co-operation.

These preliminary remarks may serve to preface the consideration of

two Brotherhoods to be established in East London to carry on social work. The two institutions of which I shall speak are called respectively "The University Settlement," and the "Oxford House." The University Settlement will have a home in Whitechapel, in a house in St. Jude's parish to be called Toynbee Hall, after Arnold Toynbee, who has too early "joined the many." The Oxford House is to be placed in St. Andrew's, Bethnal Green. Two better spots could hardly have been found. Whitechapel is the most important of the "Tower Hamlets." It is the nucleus of a large colony of artisans and factory hands, which is being pushed further east, and has a large mass of that deplorable residuum crushed out of civilized life by the pressure of population and circumstances. In Bethnal Green you have a somewhat similar population with a difference. There is less of the residuum, and more of a population which has grown up under conditions of exclusion from the influences of inner London life. In Whitechapel you have still houses of historical interest. Bethnal Green has no history before the eighteenth century. There is in some respects a more vigorous life in Bethnal Green, with its museum and free library. Whitechapel has, on the other hand, more touch with the world, and with the west. The two settlements are contemporaneous. But should their establishment form a new era in social progress, there will be no question as to the author of the plans. It will not be a matter of doubt as in the case of Le Verrier and Adams, which of two independent discoverers first saw the new body. To Mr. S. A. Barnett is without question due the new idea. He planned an Oxford Settlement, and meant to make it an Oxford and Cambridge one. Cambridge has taken up the idea warmly under the guidance of Professor James Stuart, the author of another University extension scheme. Certain Oxford men, when the proposal was mooted, thought that it would be better to give the movement a more distinctly Church tone, and they developed the idea of an Oxford House. Toynbee Hall is, then, a University Settlement, to consist of Oxford and Cambridge men, and is to be worked under a committee of both Universities. Oxford House is a distinctly Oxford movement. There is no antagonism between the two, and Canon Scott Holland has, I believe, laboured hard to stifle any undue rivalry. "The two movements hold common meetings, each sending a representative to speak." It may be well to defer the consideration of the points of difference till we have examined their common purpose, and tried to estimate the practical value of the plans proposed. The object of both movements is to bring the educated classes face to face with that large mass of men and women in the East of London who seem to want something to brighten a life of toil. There is no doubt but that the districts which lie between the city and the suburban fringe of London are districts which have

a life of their own,, apart from ordinary London life. When Edward Denison, whose bread cast upon the waters has been found after many days, went to the East of London, and lived there, he was oppressed by the ugliness and the monotony of the surroundings. He speaks of "a walk down Piccadilly as a most delightful and exhilarating treat." The life in a circle drawn from St. Paul's south, east, and east by north, at a radius from one mile to one mile and a half is quite different to that to be found in the north and west. These parts are tenanted almost exclusively by the hand as opposed to the head workers. There is little mixture of classes, and the monotony of society and life seems to be projected on to the long lines of streets uniformly dull. The West End has its uniformity; but it is a uniformity of comfortable life. The East seems to have taken its tone from the landscape—that dead level which stretches from the City through the Essex marshes to the coast. The inner life of East London suffers from isolation, the outer life is cribbed, cabined, and confined. There is a great amount of political zeal, a very considerable earnestness in the discussion of religious and non-religious questions. The broad thoroughfares of Whitechapel and Mile-end, are the haunts of the preachers of all the "isms" and nostrums under the sun. But the discussion is coloured by the aforesaid isolation, and there is a pressing need for having the other side of the question put forward. Local self-government naturally suffers from the wants of wider views. "*Dans le royaume des aveugles, le borgne est Roi;*" and in this kingdom of the one-eyed, though the one eye be very keen, as indeed it is, the man who wins his way to the forefront; has after all but a limited range of vision. It is proposed to influence these districts by getting colonies of University men to live there, and to take part in the manifold forms of social enterprise which are the creation of the philanthropy and the earnestness of an age, singularly hopeless as to its future. It has always been the vice of enthusiasts that they painted their surroundings much worse than they in reality were, but never was there a time when society should more welcome one who could succeed in making his countrymen pass a vote of thanks to him because he had not despaired of the country. Despite the agnosticism of the present day, there never was a time when men were more eager to know about religion; despite the luxury of a part of the nation there never was a time when so many of the leisurely class were engaged in social work; despite the sepia drawings of the artisan and the labourer's life, there never was a time when the prospects of that class, in all but the outlook of the labour market, were so hopeful. If in the preceding remarks I have seemed to give any colour to the exaggerated statements of the condition of East London, I wish to point out that I have distinctly spoken only of the monotony of the life there, not of

the degradation, and that I have advocated the plan of University settlements principally as bringing variety into these parts. And before I go further, let me say at once that if I thought these two settlements would be the only efforts in this direction, I should deem the new project to be useless. I take interest in these settlements, as the pioneers of other and similar colonies. I sincerely trust that the movement may not become too fashionable; that it may be sufficiently unfashionable to attract only those whose heart is thoroughly in the work. But of the value of the idea I have no doubt. It is not so new as it seems. Fifteen years ago or so, when Edward Denison was living in East London, Mr. John Ruskin asked Denison, John R. Green, and myself (I cannot remember whether Edmund Hollond was of the party, if so he was the only other person present) to discuss with him in his house at Denmark Hill the possibility of doing something for the poor. Denison and Green hit out the idea of a University settlement, of a colony of men who should do what Denison and Hollond were doing. The proposal commended itself to us, mainly as enabling men of culture to influence the life of these parts by working on local boards, to do which they were to become rate-payers. Those were days when the work in East London was almost wholly religious, in the common acceptance of the term. There was not then the same outlet for the philanthropy of men, who, whatever their religious views, may choose the field of non-religious work. The University settlements could not, I think, as now projected, fulfil the conditions entitling men to take part in municipal work, for the men are to live in a common house. But if the scheme has the life I venture to predict for it, we shall have other developments of the same idea. Already one might mention more than one case of University men who have lived in East London to carry on work, or take their place as citizens, and one is justified in hoping that when a nucleus of society has been formed others will follow their example. Why should not men live in the East and South-East of London just as readily as in the West? Denison observed that he could read law in Stepney as well as in West End lodgings, and he might have added a good deal better. To a large number of men there is a definite attraction in the West End, its clubs, and its society. To a still larger number, who live in the Temple and elsewhere, and do not care for "society," or the monotonous luxury of club life, the presence of a certain number of University men will be a sufficient reason for making their homes further from what is usually regarded as the centre of civilization. They will find living considerably cheaper than in the West, and not less agreeable, from the fact that instead of spending their leisure in solitude, or in the amusements in which they indulge for want of something better to do, they can find outlets for superabundant energy in such work as is contemplated.

It seems to me not unlikely that the outcome of the present age may be an enthusiasm for social work, such as the world has not yet seen. No reason can be alleged why the energy devoted in past ages to other objects should not find its vent in such work. The two great factors in the world's progress have been in times past war and commerce. War was once the great distributor of population; the means whereby the civilization of the more advanced communities reached the lands of the barbarians. Commerce took the place of war, and strange as it might have seemed to those who looked on life in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the energy expended on commerce has been quite as great as that devoted to war. The age of chivalry is past. The age of commerce is on the wane. Not that commerce will die, as war is slowly dying, but that it will cease to be a field of enterprise, when the stimulating motive of enormous gains is removed. It will live as literature lives, because it supplies the needs of man, not as a career for great material reward. But some new outlet for the energy of man must be found: it is too rosy a view for a believer in Christianity to take, if he predict that the enthusiasm for humanity will rival the zeal of the Crusaders and the passion of the merchant adventurers for new fields of gain? If in old time Peter the Hermit could rouse the enthusiasm of Europe, and engage all classes in an enterprise in which, though war was the object, yet religion was the motive, an enterprise which involved enormous self-sacrifice, is it impossible that the same religious zeal should find a new outlet in peaceful effort? Are we to be told that a nation which has developed the volunteer movement in the age in which "Maud" was written, cannot find a body of men who, with an equal love for their country, will band themselves together to war against the enemies they see at home?

But let us pass on to some details of the special work proposed in the first settlements. The Oxford House scheme mentions nine objects; the first of which is of the essence of the scheme—viz. (1) taking lodgings in the House at Bethnal Green; and the last of which (9) is of the essence of every charity scheme—viz., giving money. There remain seven objects, of which only one (5) is exclusively religious: "assisting in mission services." The others are (2) working in clubs or schools on Sundays or certain evenings in the week; (3) giving occasional help at concerts, entertainments, &c., or on Bank holidays; (4) giving lectures or addresses, or conducting classes, either on secular or religious subjects; (6) promoting co-operative stores; (7) serving on local committees of school managements, sanitary aid, Charity Organization Society, &c.; (8) conducting parties over museums, picture galleries, &c. This is a good programme, and serves to point out the truth of what I have said as to the scope existing for effort. Such a programme would have been

impossible a few years ago: it might be largely extended even now. When Mr. Bryce's City Parishes Charities Act comes into working, it is to be hoped, that the sinews of war for some new experiments being at hand, there will be still larger fields for work. The programme I have quoted is taken in this compact form from the prospectus of the Oxford House scheme. It is, however, itself summarized from Mr. Barnett's paper on "Settlements for University Men in London." In that paper, admirable in tone and in grasp of the wants he wishes to supply, Mr. Barnett pleads for East London especially. I should like to put in a plea for South-West and South-East London. There is not in the East End a drearier spot than the neighbourhood of the Spa Road Station, Bermondsey, the Old Kent Road, and Walworth, or if there be it is in the S.W. district of Battersea. There is much need of these settlements all over suburban London. I venture to speak from some experience of the working of the University extension scheme in London. I know that there are many neighbourhoods where such settlements would form a centre round which local effort would gladly gather. But as Mr. Barnett insists in his paper so must I dwell on the necessity of approaching the work in the spirit of friendship not of patronizing superiority. If the movement is to succeed Oxford and Cambridge men must not go simply as teachers. In the first place they have much to learn. Say what you will of the degradation of the worst parts of East London, no one has lived in them but has learnt lessons of generosity and self-sacrifice such as he would gladly be able himself to practise. But beyond this, there are lessons which can be only learnt by those who put off the position of teachers. I sometimes wish that our Great Master would reappear and sit in a Sunday-school, and singling out a child from one of the classes, would as of old set him in the midst of the school, and say "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." The lessons in that Sunday-school on the next Sunday would be somewhat different. Because this is so as regards all teachers, because the greatest teachers, Socrates of old, and our modern Socrates, Frederick Denison Maurice, have been truly humble, willing to learn from every one, we must take to heart what Mr. Barnett tells us about cultivating the friendly relationship. So long as we think only of what we have to give we shall go as superiors, and run the danger of alienating those whom we can really help. We must meet Esau on the way and give him of our best indeed, but we must feel that he has something to give us. A man who has brought up a family on £1 1s. a week, paid his club and his children's schooling, and never touched charity, has something to teach us who grumble at having to live in lodgings on three times that sum, though we know more of what we call religion,



and of political economy, and the teachings of history. There are some to whom this effort will seem little worthy of support, just because they recognize this so fully. What is the use, they will say, of sending down a number of young prigs, who have not learnt even the multiplication table of real life, to teach those who have been long working out the problem of the differential calculus of an East End existence? To this we answer, given the enthusiasm which we know to exist (for the settlements will start in the autumn, each with a band of followers), it is our business to direct it into useful channels. If the outcome be that the educators are themselves educated, so much the better: they could not have got the education in another way. As Mr. Barnett puts it again and again, what is wanted to help others is to know them. We can never help them by theories, or by working out problems without the means of determining the value of  $x$ . A word must be said in conclusion as to the differences between the two movements. I have said before that there is no antagonism, though there are differences. If there were antagonism, it would be our duty to try and put an end to it. The cry of every earnest man is "Would to God all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them." We cannot have too many workers. There is no doubt that the difference between the two schemes is mainly that the one is, in the ordinary use of the term, more religious than the other. I may quote on this head a part of a letter from Canon Scott Holland who, writing of the Oxford House, says:—

"The other scheme started at first (quite naturally) in considering that their secular work would be hindered through suspicion if it had any connection with a religious body of any sort.\* We thought that, for the sake of aiding the parson, and also for the sake of those men who would like to do any work under a religious responsibility, we would run the risk of connecting ourselves with a parish." Since the first start, the other scheme, by putting Barnett at its head, has dropped its complete secularity, and the two schemes have become more alike. We find that a lot of men at Oxford, while perfectly recognizing the preference of others for a work wholly cut off from a particular religious tie, yet for themselves feel that the secular work has its best background in a 'joyer' of worship and prayer. They want to feel this behind them. Though connected with a particular parish, in which we are going to pay for a curate, we yet propose to work wherever we can outside the parish. We do not start officially or formally under the vicar of it; but he is to be our friend. The colony itself will consist wholly of laymen."

I imagine that there is not much in that statement to which the promoters of the University settlement would object. I observe, however, that whilst Canon Scott Holland imagines a distinctly religious tone has been given to the University settlement in St. Jude's, Whitechapel, by placing the Rev. S. A. Barnett, the vicar of the parish, at its head, the programme of the Oxford House movement

\* I do not think Mr. Barnett would assent to the terms in which this is stated.

contemplates the possibility of a layman being the head of that undertaking, though it will always work on parochial lines. It seems to me useless to discuss what is or what is not religious work. But for myself I am convinced that under the conditions in which the problem proposed has to be worked out, the less prominent the religious element is made the more chance there is of success. Religious people have succeeded in conveying the impression that the main object they have in view is to prepare men for another world, and that the means of so doing is to get men to belong to the special sect to which the prophet belongs. Till the prophets have learnt that the kingdom of God is established on earth, and that godliness has the promise of the life that now is, they are not likely to win much hearing from a class, which, with keen common sense, has no great respect for the votaries of "other-worldliness." And further, till all prophets have a vision of a church, much bigger than the Church of England, or the Church Catholic, they are not likely to make much way. I use these terms in the sense in which they are used by the most ardent upholders in name of these institutions. I dissent utterly from the common acceptance of these terms, as contrary to the formularies of the Church of England, and the very notion of a Church Catholic. So long as we are engaged in discussing the validity of orders, or even the nature of sacraments, we have not touched the very fringe of the questions with which the name of religion is connected in the mind of the working-classes. There is no danger in putting such a man as the Vicar of St. Jude's at the head of a movement, lest that movement should under his guidance become exclusive. He has shown that a man may hold a very definite creed, and yet maintain sympathy with every aspiration of humanity. But lest any one should think that a non-religious movement can produce no directly religious results, let me quote as a parallel, a movement at the close of the fourteenth century. A book has been lately published called "*The Life of Thomas à Kempis, and the Brothers of Common Life.*" Gerard Groote established the Brotherhood. "The great desire of those interested in the Brotherhood was," says Mr. Kettlewall, "to effect a reformation in religion by manifesting a life of thorough, earnest, practical, vital Christianity" (I. 163). It was a community specially for educating the young, to whom they gave education gratuitously, infusing into education "quite a new life, and imparting to it a purer and nobler aim." The brothers took no perpetual vow (I. 158). But though the ordinances would seem to us over minute, and the tone in one sense over religious, it was in those days considered grossly secular, because it was intensely practical. It was opposed by the more regular orders, and, if I mistake not, by the Papacy itself, and won its way very slowly. Yet out of this order, then deemed so secular,

arose one man, one of the earliest of its adherents, who has influenced religious thought and the life of devotion more than any other—Thomas à Kempis. His book has become a manual in which earnest Protestants, earnest Catholics, and not less earnest Agnostics like George Eliot, still find inspiration. The parallel, *mutatis mutandis* seems to me exact. And if it be urged that Thomas à Kempis did not write the “*Imitatio Christi*” till he had become a priest and canon regular, that is not against my contention. A secular movement, scouted by religious men, attracted Thomas à Kempis and led him up to the position he holds. In the same way I believe that those who join this movement will not end where they began. Mere secular work, work belonging to the age, can never satisfy man, who is immortal, and is restless, unsatisfied, because the immortal part will seek expression. But as we express eternity in the terms of the age, and call it *sæcula sæculorum*, so all secular work must lead men higher. He that willeth to do His will shall know of the doctrine.

BROOKE LAMBERT.

## SOME EARLY WRITINGS OF SHELLEY.

**B**EFORE introducing my readers to a certain Russian prince, Alexy Haimatoff, and giving an account of Shelley's relations with that distinguished scholar and traveller, it may be worth while to put on record two or three trivial discoveries respecting Shelley's earliest writings, which served as my reward for the toil of turning over many pages of old reviews and magazines.

I. It will be remembered by students of Shelley's life and works that in his eighteenth year (1810), he printed at Horsham fourteen hundred and eighty copies of a thin volume of poems, written in part by himself, in part by some fellow-servant under the Muses, perhaps his sister Elizabeth, perhaps his cousin Harriet Grove. Not having wherewithal to pay the Horsham printer, he induced the younger Stockdale, a well-known publisher in Pall Mall, to take the sheets and issue the volume for sale: Mr. Garnett, in his interesting article "Shelley in Pall Mall," (*Macmillan's Magazine*, June, 1860), has told the story of the poet's relations with Stockdale. In September and October, 1810, appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Times*, the following advertisement: "In royal 8vo, price 4s., boards, Original Poetry. By Victor and Cazire. Sold by Stockdale, jun., 41, Pall Mall."

"Some short time after the announcement of his poems," wrote Stockdale, "I happened to be perusing them with more attention than I had, till then, had leisure to bestow upon them, when I recognized in the collection one which I knew to have been written by Mr. M. G. Lewis, the author of 'The Monk,' and I fully anticipated the probable vexation of the juvenile maiden-author, when I communicated my discovery to Mr. P. B. Shelley. With all the ardour incidental to his character, which embraced youthful honour in all its brilliancy, he expressed the warmest resentment at the imposition practised upon him by his coadjutor, and entreated me to destroy all the

copies, of which I may say that, through the author and me, about one hundred in the whole have been put into circulation."

No copy of "Original Poems by Victor and Cazire," is now known to exist. A review, twelve lines in length, has been found among criticisms in "The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1810-1811." "There is no 'original *poetry*' in this volume," writes the candid reviewer, "there is nothing in it but downright scribble. It is really annoying to see the waste of paper, which is made by such persons as the putters together of these sixty-four pages." And he goes on to find consolation for the pain of reading such trash in the prospect of condign punishment in store for the author in the shape of printer's and stationer's bills, and in the chilling tones of the bookseller when the anxious rhymers inquire how his book is selling, and is assured that not half a dozen copies have gone off. This conscientious reviewer gives us no information as to what kind of "scribble," original or the reverse, had been put forth by Victor and Cazire. Hence it was with some pleasure that, in glancing through the volumes of the *British Critic*, for 1811, I caught sight of a short article, which tells us more about the contents of this lost volume than can be learnt from either Stockdale or the reviewer in the "Poetical Register." Unluckily the writer chooses to quote from Cazire, not from Victor; or, perhaps, luckily, for Shelley's "Juvenilia" (among which I do not include "Queen Mab"), have little interest save as curious material for studying the psychology of undeveloped genius. The article is short and may be given in full:—

"When we ventured to say that poetical taste and genius abound in the present day, we by no means intended to assert, that we always meet with either the one or the other. Miserable, indeed, are the attempts which we are often doomed to encounter; so miserable sometimes that it seems quite wonderful how any individuals fancying themselves able to write should be so far behind their contemporaries. One of the unknown authors of this volume begins by complaining, most sincerely, we are convinced, of the difficulty of writing grammatically, but there is another difficulty, which seems never to have entered the lady's head (if a lady!)—that is, the difficulty of writing *metrically*. In this she is still less successful than in the other, and does not seem at all to suspect it. The verse intended to be used is that of 'The Bath Guide,' and so it is *sometimes*; but sometimes also not. For example—

" 'This they friendly will tell, and ne'er make you blush,  
With a jeering look, taunt, or an O fie! tush!  
Then straight all your thoughts in black and white put,  
Not minding the *if's*, the *be's*, and the *but's*.'—P. 6.

Again:—

" 'My excuse shall be humble, and faithful, and true  
*Such as I fear can be made but by few*.'—P. 7.

"This *humble* and *faithful* lady lays claim *only* to "sense, wit, and grammar!" Yet she tells her friend:—

“ ‘Be not a coward, shrink not a tense,  
 But read it all over, and make it out sense.  
 What a tiresome girl!—pray soon make an end.’—P. 9.

This last line, if not measure, contains at least truth in the first part, and a reasonable wish in the second.

“Two epistles, in this exquisite style, begin the volume, which is filled up by songs of sentimental nonsense, and very absurd tales of horror. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that whatever we may say in favour of the poetry of this time, such volumes as this have no share in the commendation. One thing may be said in its favour, that the printer has done his task well; would he had been employed on something better! If he has taste as well as skill, he must dread the names of Victor and Cazire.”\*

It is evident that among the “songs of sentimental nonsense” and “very absurd tales of horror,” we must look for Shelley’s contributions to the volume, if ever a copy of Victor’s and Cazire’s poems should come to light.

II. No review of any work by Shelley has been hitherto noticed by biographer or bibliographer of a date as early as the above criticism of the volume by Victor and Cazire. But it was preceded by at least two short articles which pronounced judgment on his schoolboy romances “Zastrozzi,” and “St. Irvyne, or the Rosicrucian.” The first notice of any work of his own which met Shelley’s eye—as far as has been discovered up to the present—was an article, two pages in length, on “Zastrozzi” in the November number of the *Critical Review* for 1810.† Absurd in substance and in style as is Zastrozzi, it was certainly supposed by its author or authors (for we are told that Miss Harriet Grove wrote certain chapters of the romance) to be a work correct in its theology and of exemplary morals. “Whatever procures pleasure is right and consonant to the dignity of man, who was created for no other purpose but to obtain happiness;” thus in his bold sophistry, argues the criminal Zastrozzi, “else why were passions given us? . . . . As for the confused hope of a future state, why should we debar ourselves of the delights of this? even though purchased by what the misguided multitude call immorality.” Whereupon the virtuous author comments: “Zastrozzi’s soul, deadened by crime, could only entertain confused ideas of immortal happiness; for in proportion as human nature departs from virtue, so far are they also from being able clearly to contemplate the wonderful operations, the mysterious ways of Providence.”‡ This is in the most orthodox vein of the moralizing romancer. But the stern censor in the *Critical Review* was not to be bribed into acquiescence by a sop of moral truism, and in this first study of his work, Shelley found himself already detected

\* The *British Critic*, April 1811, vol. xxxvii. p. 408.

† The title-page of the volume (vol. xxi. third series) including September–December, 1810, bears the date 1811.

‡ “Zastrozzi,” chap. ix.

as the monster of vice, afterwards described more at large in the *Quarterly Review* and the *Literary Gazette*.

"The story itself," writes the reviewer, "and the style in which it is told, are so truly contemptible that we should have passed it unnoticed had not our indignation been excited by the open and barefaced immorality and grossness displayed throughout. . . . We know not when we have felt so much indignation as in the perusal of this execrable production. The author of it cannot be too severely reprobated. Not all his '*scintillated eyes*,' his '*battling emotions*,' his '*frigoric torpidity* of despair,' nor his '*Lethean torpor*,' with the rest of his nonsensical and stupid jargon, ought to save him from infamy and his volume from the flames."

Perhaps this article found its way to Wiltshire, and helped to convince Mr. Grove that the author of "*Zastrozzi*" was no suitable husband for his daughter Harriet, who, about this time, was receiving frequent letters from Shelley designed to loosen her from her safe moorings of belief, and in the phrase applied by Shelley to his sister Helen, to "add her to the list of the good, the disinterested, the free."

III. Two months after the *Critical Review* had fulminated against *Zastrozzi*, the *British Critic* uttered itself in laughter over "*St. Irvyne*, or the Rosicrucian, a romance by a gentleman of Oxford." Having quoted the appalling sentence which opens the romance—"Red thunder clouds borne on the wings of the midnight whirlwind, floated, at fits, athwart the crimson-coloured orbit of the moon," &c. &c., the reviewer proceeds to dispose of the work in a summary fashion. "The above is the first sentence of this romance by 'a gentleman of Oxford.' Some readers will, perhaps, be satisfied, and will proceed no further. They who do will find the cavern of *Gil Blas* with very little variation of circumstances, a profusion of words which no dictionary explains, such as *unerasible*, *bandit*, *en-horrored*; descriptions wilder than are to be found in *Radcliffe*, and a tale more extravagant than the '*St. Leon*' of *Godwin*. Would that this gentleman of Oxford had a taste for other and better pursuits; but as we presume him to be a *young gentleman*, this may in due time happen."

We should bear in mind that it was probably a young gentleman of Eton who wrote "*St. Irvyne*," and that he wrote it in the days of the *Minerva Press*. Possibly the romance, as Mr. Forman ingeniously argues, may be a translation loosely strung together from two German originals. There is an enigmatical sentence, cut short in the midst, as printed by Hogg, in one of Shelley's letters of May, 1811:—"Why will you compliment *St. Irvyne*? I never saw *Delisle's*, but mine must have been pla—" "Pla—" Shall we complete the word and make it "plagiarized," and does Shelley mean that "mine," that is, my German original must have been

plagiarized from some novel by Delisle? And, if so, who is this Delisle and what is his romance?

IV. We come now to the illustrious Prince Alexy Haimatoff, a person of distinction who has hitherto remained unnoticed by students of Shelley's life. In the *Critical Review* for December, 1814, appeared an article of considerable length reviewing a duodecimo volume published by the Hookhams in the preceding year:—"Memoirs of Prince Alexy Haimatoff: Translated from the original Latin MSS. under the immediate inspection of the Prince." By John Brown, Esqre." The writer of this imaginary autobiography was Shelley's friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg, and the writer of the review was no other than Shelley.

From Edinburgh, on November 26, 1813, Shelley wrote a letter to Hogg, printed in the second volume of "The Life of Shelley," from which the following is an extract:—

"Your novel is now printed. I need not assure you with what pleasure this extraordinary and animated tale is perused by me. Every one to whom I have shown it agrees with me in admitting that it bears indisputable marks of a singular and original genius. Write more like this. Delight us again with a character so natural and energetic as Alexy—vary again the scene with an uncommon combination of the most natural and simple circumstances: but do not persevere in writing after you grow weary of your toil; 'aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus;' and the swans and the Eleutherarchs are proofs that you were a little sleepy."

No explanation of this passage, no comment on it, was vouchsafed by Hogg; but the allusion to "Eleutherarchs" may perhaps have reminded some readers of a paragraph in Peacock's satirical extravaganza "Nightmare Abbey," in which he describes how young Scythrop—a fantastic counterfeit of the youthful Shelley—became troubled with a passion for reforming the world:—

"He built many castles in the air, and peopled them with secret tribunals, and bands of illuminati, who were always the imaginary instruments of his projected regeneration of the human species. As he intended to institute a perfect republic, he invested himself with absolute sovereignty over these mystical dispensers of liberty. He slept with horrid mysteries under his pillow, and dreamed of venerable Eleutherarchs and ghastly confederates holding midnight conversation in subterranean caves."

Every one, Shelley assures his friend, admits that the tale bears "indisputable marks of a singular and original genius." A few days previously, the publisher, Hookham, had written in a flutter to Hogg, because the editor of the *Quarterly Review* had sent for a copy of the book, of which Hookham expected to be able to give a good account before long:—

"That Prince Haimatoff is really published the delivery of six copies of his memoirs will prove; he has been sent to the booksellers this morning only [November 8, 1813]. The editor of the *Quarterly Review* sent for a copy on



Saturday last: there is a mystery in this which I shall be very glad to have explained: perhaps you can elucidate it. . . . I have a presentiment that His Serene Highness will shortly be in very general request.”\*

Hookham's presentiment was not verified. The book seems to have dropped still-born from the press; it was unnoticed by the reviewers; no copy of the Prince's Memoirs is to be found in the British Museum Library; and it is only through the kindness of Mr. Hogg's daughter that I have been enabled to see a copy—the sole copy of which, after some research, I have heard tidings. It was the entire neglect of a work which he conceived to be “the product of a bold and original mind,” that moved Shelley to assume the part of critic; and in the opening paragraphs of his article he considers whether the indifference of the public is in itself sufficient to condemn a writer of genius and his work:—

“Is the suffrage of mankind the legitimate criterion of intellectual energy? Are complaints of the aspirants to literary fame to be considered as the honourable disappointment of neglected genius, or the sickly impatience of a dreamer miserably self-deceived? The most illustrious ornaments of the annals of the human race have been stigmatized by the contempt and abhorrence of entire communities of man; but this injustice arose out of some temporary superstition, some partial interest, some national doctrine; a glorious redemption awaited their remembrance. There is, indeed, nothing so remarkable in the contempt of the ignorant for the enlightened; the vulgar pride of folly delights to triumph upon mind. This is an intelligible process; the infamy or ingloriousness that can be thus explained detracts nothing from the beauty of virtue or the sublimity of genius. But what does utter obscurity express? If the public do not advert, even in censure, to a performance, has that performance already received its condemnation?

“The result of this controversy is important to the ingenuous critic. His labours are indeed miserably worthless, if their objects may invariably be attained before their application. He should know the limits of his prerogative. He should not be ignorant whether it is his duty to promulgate the decisions of others, or to cultivate his taste and judgment that he may be enabled to render a reason of his own.

“Circumstances the least connected with intellectual nature have contributed, for a certain period, to retain in obscurity the most memorable specimens of human genius. The author refrains perhaps from introducing his production to the world with all the pomp of empirical bibliopolism. A sudden tide in the affairs of men may make the neglect or contradiction of some insignificant doctrine a badge of obscurity and discredit; those even who are exempt from the action of these absurd predilections are necessarily in an indirect manner affected by their influence. It is perhaps the product of an imagination daring and undisciplined; the majority of readers, ignorant and disdainful of toleration, refuse to pardon a neglect of common rules; their canons of criticism are carelessly infringed; it is less religious than a charity sermon, less methodical and cold than a French tragedy, where all the unities are preserved; no excellencies, where prudish cant and dull regularity are absent, can preserve it from the contempt and abhorrence of the multitude. It is evidently not difficult to imagine an instance in which the most elevated genius shall be recompensed with neglect. Mediocrity alone

\* From an unpublished letter which I have been permitted to use by Mr. Hogg's daughter, Mrs. Lonsdale.

seems unvaryingly to escape rebuke and obloquy; it accommodates its attempts to the spirit of the age which has produced it, and adopts with mimic effrontery the cant of the day and hour for which alone it lives."

In later days when Shelley had tested the feeling of the public with works of his own, and found but little response to his impassioned utterances, such reflections as these may have recurred to his mind with added force. In the instance of Prince Alexy Haimatoff he does not hesitate to record his solitary vote in its favour against the unjust majority:—

"We think that the memoirs of Prince Alexy Haimatoff deserve to be regarded as an example of the fact, by the frequency of which criticism is vindicated from, the imputation of futility and impertinence. We do not hesitate to consider this fiction as the product of a bold and original mind. We hardly remember ever to have seen surpassed the subtle delicacy of imagination, by which the manifest distinctions of character and form are seized and pictured in colours, that almost make Nature more beautiful than herself. The vulgar observe no resemblances or discrepancies but such as are gross and glaring. The science of mind, to which history, poetry, biography serve as the materials, consists in the discernment of shades and distinctions, where the unenlightened discover nothing but a shapeless and unmeaning mass. The faculty for this discernment distinguishes genius from dulness.\* There are passages in the production before us, which afford instances of just and rapid intuition belonging only to intelligences that possess this faculty in no ordinary degree. As a composition the book is far from faultless. Its abruptness and angularities do not appear to have received the slightest polish or correction. The author has written with fervour, but has disdained to revise at leisure. These errors are the errors of youth and genius, and the fervid impatience of sensibilities impetuously unburthening their fulness. The author is proudly negligent of connecting the incidents of his tale. It appears more like the recorded day-dream of a poet, not unvisited by the sublimest and most lovely visions, than the tissue of a romance skilfully interwoven for the purpose of maintaining the interest of the reader, and conducting his sympathies by dramatic gradations to the denouement. It is what it professes to be, a memoir, not a novel. Yet its claims to the former appellation are established only by the impatience and inexperience of the author, who, possessing in an eminent degree the higher qualifications of a novelist, we had almost said a poet, has neglected the number by which that success would probably have been secured, which, in this instance, merits of a far nobler stamp have unfortunately failed to acquire."

Readers of Hogg's "*Life of Shelley*" think of the writer as a clever man of the world, witty and ingenious, a hater of crotchets and abstractions and theory-mongers, an enjoyer of the good things of life, and, above all, of a good story—in brief, as the reverse in almost every way of "the divine poet," whom he applauds while smiling at him—helpless angel with awkward wings—the touch of mundane disdain broadening visibly at times on the applauder's lips. "Hogg despised poetry," says Trelawny, "he thought it all nonsense, and

\* Compare Shelley's words respecting himself in a letter to Godwin, December 11, 1817:—"I am formed, if for anything not in common with the herd of mankind, to apprehend minute and remote distinctions of feeling, whether relative to external nature or the living beings which surround us, and to communicate the conceptions which result from considering either the moral or the material universe as a whole."

barely tolerated Shakespeare." But this surely is an exaggeration; at least it is certain that in earlier days Hogg was a zealous student of literature, and cared for Plato and the Greek dramatists as much as for Blackstone or Coke. In truth, the Thomas Jefferson Hogg, who was Shelley's comrade at Oxford, while having within him a potential man of the world, to be afterwards developed by circumstance, owned much more in common with Shelley, and was in every way much more of a romantic person than readers of his "Life of Shelley" may be disposed to admit. He wrote poetry; he planned romances; to his fellow-students he seemed a youth of high intellectual powers, but singular and wilful in his bearing and habits; and we must put to his credit the fine indiscretion with which he came forward to claim an equal share in the responsibility incurred by Shelley as the author, or assumed author, of "The Necessity of Atheism." It would be interesting if we could get some account of "Leonora," a fiction partly founded on a piteous tale of real life, the joint production, it is said, of the two inseparable Oxford friends, and in great part in type, when tidings of their expulsion from University College alarmed the Abingdon printer, King, in whose hands was the manuscript, and placed an obstacle in the way of the intended publication. "Leonora" has probably disappeared beyond recovery. We must rest content with making the acquaintance of Hogg as romancer, and of Shelley as his reviewer, at a date three years and a half subsequent to the scene in the common room of University College on Lady-day, 1811.

Prince Alexy Haimatoff was born at St. Petersburg, of illustrious parents, who, however, made a secret of his birth. At the age of five or six he was sent to Lausanne, there to be educated under the care of an elderly French clergyman, Monsieur Gothon. This venerable pedagogue made amends for his stern and forbidding aspect, and a plainness of manners bordering on coarseness, by his profound skill in ancient literature, his passionate love of the abstruser sciences, and the stern and philosophic regard with which he watched over the best interests of his pupils. Haimatoff, condemned to physical inactivity by weakness of an ankle, yet of a disposition eager, glowing and insatiable, became an enthusiastic student, and at the age of fifteen was his master's favourite pupil. In two things only was he deficient—he had acquired none of those habits of prompt and decisive action which his associates had formed in their boyish sports and in the use of arms; and his heart was as little exercised as were his limbs. The tall, slight, effeminate student lacked manly vigour and courage, yet he despised all women as the intellectual inferiors of such beings as his master and himself. Before long one of these defects was remedied, and Alexy had found an Egeria to be his instructress and inspirer, Rosalie, a distant relation of M. Gothon,

a charming girl of seventeen, who had lately lost her parents, was placed by the old schoolmaster, somewhat indiscreetly, at the head of his table, and made mistress of his house. I spare my reader the author's description of the charms of Rosalie, several pages in length, although it is declared by Shelley to be "in the highest style of delineation." One particular only shall here be noted—the peculiar beauty of Rosalie's eyes: "Rosalie's eyes were large and full: they appeared at a distance uniformly dark; but upon a closer inspection the innumerable strokes of various hues of infinite fineness and endless variety, drawn in concentric circles behind the pellucid crystal, filled the mind with wonder and admiration." Can Shelley, who quotes at length the description of Rosalie, have had some vague memory of this passage, when long afterwards he wrote the lines of Prometheus Unbound, in which Asia describes the eyes of her sister Panthea:

"Thine eyes are like the deep, blue, boundless heaven  
Contracted to two circles underneath  
Their long fine lashes; dark, far, measureless,  
Orb within orb, and line thro' line inwoven."\*

The more Prince Alexy sees of Rosalie the less reason has he to be satisfied with his theory of the inferiority of woman to man. True, she cares not for Aristotle's ethics or rhetoric; she learns from a mountain mist more than she can learn from all the geometrical diagrams of M. Gothon and his pupil; she does not read poetry, for it seems as if she already knew whatever it has to say; yet by some strange intuitive energies of her mind, she has gained more of true wisdom than can be found in the most cultivated intellects. Rosalie is introduced into Hogg's romance only to be withdrawn as soon as she has quickened and aroused the heart of Haimatoff; she dies, and her disconsolate lover is called away from Lausanne by his old kinsman, Baron Groutermann, master of a venerable German castle in which feudal and military ideas are the ruling powers. Here Haimatoff is initiated into the arts of war, and shaking off his physical weakness, becomes ere long a keen and desperate sportsman, a frantic follower of the chase. But intellectual pursuits are not neglected, and a tutor for the young Prince is secured in the person of Mr. Frederic Bruhle, a strange and remarkable being, who henceforth exercises a dominant influence over Haimatoff's character and fortunes:—

"He was about five feet in height, crooked and club-footed; his head was high and peaked; he squinted; his hair was long and lank, his complexion sallow, and his mouth awry. . . . His manners, however, were mild, attentive, and perfectly unassuming; he adopted, rather than gave, the

\* In Hogg's description of Haimatoff one touch seems to be taken direct from Shelley's person: "My hands were very small and my head remarkable for its roundness and diminutive size." Compare "Life of Shelley," i. p. 326: "The air of his little round hat upon his little round head was troubled and peculiar."

subject of conversation; he expressed great respect for the opinion of every person, and, if his own sentiments were different, he softened the apparent without diminishing the real difference, and conveyed what was diametrically opposite in terms at once so gentle and so powerful as often to convince and never to offend. He carefully avoided the appearance of being striking, so as never to excite jealousy and opposition; he never wounded, but, on the contrary, occasionally flattered self-love, so as imperceptibly, by mild insinuation, to wind himself into the hearts of all who knew him."

This amazing deformity, Bruhle, is unrivalled in his mastery of Latin; skilled in music; a painter; a profound adept in all sciences; and, to crown the wonders, he will accept no salary. It is not until long after this first acquaintance with Bruhle that Haimatoff discovers in his master a member of a secret society of Illuminati, advocates of unbounded political liberty, materialists in philosophy, and presided over by the supreme Eleutherarch. Shelley's remarks on the characters of pupil and teacher, and on Bruhle's licentious wisdom are not without interest. Amid the animalisms of young Oxford Shelley remained, says his wife, "of the purest morals;" "the purity and sanctity of his life," declares Hogg, "were most conspicuous."

"Alexy is by no means an unnatural although no common character. We think we can discern his counterpart in Alfieri's delineation of himself. The same propensities, the same ardent devotion to his purposes, the same chivalric and unproductive attachment to unbounded liberty, characterizes both. We are inclined to doubt whether the author has not attributed to his hero the doctrines of universal philanthropy in a spirit of profound and almost unsearchable irony: at least, he appears biassed by no peculiar principles, and it were perhaps an insoluble inquiry whether any, and if any, what moral truth he designed to illustrate by his tale. Bruhle, the tutor of Alexy, is a character delineated with consummate skill; the power of intelligence and virtue over external deficiencies is forcibly exemplified. The calmness, patience and magnanimity of this singular man are truly rare and admirable; his disinterestedness, his equanimity, his irresistible gentleness, form a finished and delightful portrait. But we cannot regard his commendation to his pupil to indulge in promiscuous concubinage without horror and detestation. . . . Whatever may be the claims of chastity, whatever the advantages of pure and simple affections, these ties, these benefits are of equal obligation to either sex. Domestic relations depend for their integrity upon a complete reciprocity of duties. But the author himself has in the adventure of the "Sultana Debesh Sheptuti" afforded a most impressive and tremendous allegory of the cold-blooded and malignant selfishness of sensuality."

Baron Groutermann, Alexy's aged kinsman, having died, the Prince, accompanied by his tutor Bruhle, sets forth upon his travels. They visit Athens, and one night, while climbing the steep of the Parthenon, Alexy, unperceived, is spectator of a moonlight dance performed by ten Grecian maidens, who chant while evolving their slow and solemn movements. At Constantinople, he is inveigled by the arts of the Sultana into the Seraglio; but escapes, and finds his way back to the faithful Bruhle. And now he wins the love of a fair Circassian slave—a timid and trembling dove, who yet unites an

exquisite vivacity with her gentleness. The slave Aür-Ahibah becomes Alexy's wife ; happy years go by, made happier by the birth of two sons ; when fate strikes at the heart of all this joy—the babes are seized with small-pox and die, and their mother quickly follows them to the grave. Alexy is distracted, and it is not long before his madness gives place to a deep and enduring melancholy. At length he resumes his travels in company with Bruhle. They spend some months at Rome, shocked at "the grinding oppression of the Church, the spiritual despotism of the ecclesiastics," delighted with the recollections summoned up by the ruins of the ancient city. At Florence, the Prince meets with an old schoolfellow of the Lausanne days, and is obliged to act as his second in a fatal affair of honour. "We do not ever remember," writes Shelley, "to have seen the unforgiving fastidiousness of family honour more awfully illustrated." At length Bruhle thinks the time has come for disclosing to Haimatoff the end towards which his education has been directed. They travel north, and arrive at an old university town of Germany. The description of the University—really the centre of a secret society of the Eleutheri—represents Hogg's romance at its best :—

"When we arrived at the University, we were ushered into a spacious hall, floored and wainscotted with black oak ; the roof was of the same materials, most elaborately carved with armorial bearings and grotesque figures ; the windows were filled with painted glass, and the walls were hung with portraits of benefactors and the most eminent members of the Society ; the whole of the apartment was in the style of the most noble of college halls. The room was lighted by a large fire, abundantly piled with logs of wood. Several venerable old men were seated upon benches at a little distance from the fire ; they rose to receive us, and embracing Bruhle in the most affectionate manner, expressed their satisfaction in welcoming him again. My friend then presented me ; I was received with a simple dignity, which charmed me. I had never witnessed manners at once so free from all restraint, and so dignified. It called to my mind what I had read of the noble plainness of the Romans, entirely devoid of all ceremony, and so stately as to inspire the most profound veneration. I contemplated their wrinkled faces, replete with the most profound knowledge, and the most amiable complacency ; their sunken eyes, in which the fires of genius were tempered by the experience of age ; their figures gracefully bending under the weight of years ; the plain neatness of their garments."

They speak of the dignity, the liberty, the happiness of man, and hint at the necessity of a general reform. Above the rest, one of the fathers, who sits shaded in the chimney-corner, impresses Haimatoff by his appearance : "He was a tall man ; his arms were folded upon his breast ; he appeared about fourscore years of age ; his head was bald, his complexion sallow, his nose large and prominent, and of the finest Roman form ; his eyes small but dark and piercing ; they were rivetted upon me, as if they could penetrate my inmost soul. He was motionless as a statue." This is no other than the Eleutherarch, the principal of the University. Next day he

explains to Haimatoff the purpose of their Society—to restore to man his natural rights, to banish oppression, to break the bonds, to shake off the yoke of slavery. A three years' noviciate precedes admission into the Society of the Eleutheri, which by special permission is reduced to one year in the case of Haimatoff. After a public discourse to prove that the soul is material, and that death is complete annihilation, an eternal sleep, the Eleutherarch conducts Haimatoff to the cathedral to watch, as part of the initiatory rites, night-long and alone beside a corpse wrapt in grave-clothes and extended on the bier; in his right hand the novice holds a dagger, in his left a skull. Moonlight vaguely entering the church, and sad and solemn organ strains add awe and wonder to the ceremony. Suddenly a strange and sudden noise is heard, like the flapping of large wings, and white forms are discerned floating aloft in the air, and waving their spectral pinions. At length the welcome morning dawns and ends these terrors of the night. The novice is brought before the Eleutherarch, to whom he makes confession of all the thoughts which had passed through his brain during the night, and these confessions are placed among the archives of the Society. Three months of solitary confinement follow these rites in the cathedral: "it is of admirable use," observes the Eleutherarch, "in condensing the mind." On being released from his prison, Haimatoff is next required to set down in writing an exactly truthful account of his past life; and then, and not till then, is he instructed in the secret language spoken by the Eleutheri. Finally, when the year of probation has expired, he is invited to take the oath of obedience to the Eleutherarch and Eleutheri in council. Its terms are so absolute that he starts back in alarm, and in a sudden recoil of horror is about to strike the venerable president of the Society with his dagger. "With a serene countenance he bared his breast, and pointing to his heart, said, 'Strike there, Alexy: thy blow will then be effectual.' I trembled in every limb. 'Nay, if thy hand is unsteady, let me guide it,' he continued, taking hold of my hand and raising it as if to strike. The dagger fell to the ground." Alexy is banished for twelve months to England. And here, while one evening seeing Garrick in "Richard the Third," Alexy's attention is attracted by "a young female" in the front row of the boxes—the daughter of Sir Fulke Hildebrand, the Mary who saves him from further thought of Eleutheri or Eleutherarchs, and who, after various trials and difficulties have been overcome, replaces his lost Aür-Ahibah, and becomes the consolation of his manhood, the support of his old age. Mary's father has Tory prejudices "strong in proportion as they were irrational." The astute Alexy, though a votary of liberty and equality, resolves rather to humour than to thwart the Baronet's foibles: "I contrived to be invited to dine in company with him. I

always proposed the health of the minister ; "I introduced politics, and defended the Tory party in long speeches. I attended clubs and public dinners in that interest. . . . : The stratagem was innocent, which injured no one, and which promoted the happiness of two individuals, especially of the most amiable woman the world ever knew." With the Prince's marriage to Mary Hildebrand, and the death of Bruhle a few months later, the memoirs come to a close. The fair daughter of the Tory house does not please Shelley :

"The character of Mary, deserves, we think, to be considered as the only complete failure in the book. Every other female whom the author has attempted to describe is designated by an individuality peculiarly marked and true. They constitute finished portraits of whatever is eminently simple, graceful, gentle, or disgustingly atrocious and vile. Mary alone is the miserable parasite of fashion, the tame slave of drivelling and drunken folly, the cold-hearted coquette, the lying and meretricious prude. The means employed to gain this worthless prize corresponds exactly with its worthlessness. Sir Fulke Hildebrand is a strenuous Tory ; Alexy on his arrival in England professes himself inclined to the principles of the Whig party ; finding that the Baronet had sworn that his daughter should never marry a Whig, he sacrifices his principles, and with inconceivable effrontery thus palliates his apostacy and falsehood. . . . An instance of more deplorable perversity of the human understanding we do not recollect ever to have witnessed. It almost persuades us to believe that scepticism or indifference concerning certain sacred truths may occasionally produce a subtlety of sophism, by which the conscience of the criminal may be bribed to overlook his crime."

"Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus," wrote Shelley in his letter to Hogg, of November, 1813, "and the swans and the Eleutherarchs are proofs that you were a little sleepy." The swans of which Shelley speaks thus disrespectfully are those slow-sailing forms of white which Alexy beheld during his midnight watch in the Cathedral, birds trained by the Eleutheri to test by their ghost-like apparition the materialistic faith of the novice. In his account of the Society of the Eleutheri, Hogg seems to be indulging in a bad dream after having read a book which was always perused with interest by Shelley—Barruel's "*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*"—let the reader look into the chapters on Spartacus Weishaupt, the founder of Illuminism, and he will see grounds for this conjecture ; and Bruhle, in capturing and preparing Alexy for the Society, plays the part of the Abbé Barruel's illuminé, bearing the title of "*le Frère insinuant ou l'Enrôleur*." A year later than his letter, to Hogg, Shelley, when writing his article for the *Critical Review*, was still of the same opinion respecting the swans and the Eleutherarch :—

"Towards the conclusion of this strange and powerful performance it must be confessed that *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*. The adventure of the Eleutheri, although the sketch of a profounder project, is introduced and concluded with unintelligible abruptness. Bruhle dies, purposely, as it should seem, that his pupil may renounce the romantic sublimity of his nature, and



that his inauspicious union and prostituted character might be exempt from the censure of violated friendship."

Summing up his judgment upon the romance as a whole, Shelley writes, at the close of his review:—

"Numerous indications of profound and vigorous thought are scattered over even the most negligently compacted portions of the narrative. It is an unweeded garden, where nightshade is interwoven with sweet jessamine, and the most delicate spices of the East peep over struggling stalks of rank and poisonous hemlock.

"In the delineation of the more evanescent feelings and uncommon instances of strong and delicate passion we conceive the author to have exhibited new and unparalleled powers. He has noticed some peculiarities of female character with a delicacy and truth singularly exquisite.\* We think the interesting subject of sexual relations requires for its successful development the application of a mind thus organized and endowed. Yet even here how great the deficiencies; this mind must be pure from the fashionable superstitions of gallantry, must be exempt from the sordid feelings which, with blind idolatry, worship the image and blaspheme the deity, reverence the type and degrade the reality of which it is an emblem.

"We do not hesitate to assert that the author of this volume is a man of ability. His great though indisciplinable energies, and fervid rapidity of conception embody scenes and situations and of passions (*sic*) affording inexhaustible food for wonder and delight. The interest is deep and irresistible. A moral enchanter seems to have conjured up the shapes of all that is beautiful and strange to suspend the faculties in fascination and astonishment."

The general verdict on Hogg's romance was not reversed by Shelley's extravagant eulogy, and Hogg himself probably accepted the general verdict as just. Shelley, in 1814, was far from being a trustworthy critic of books or men. A person, a poem, or a tale which stimulated his imagination and moved his feelings was at once idealized by Shelley, and was viewed through a golden vapour which magnified the object it half concealed. It was indeed so with Shelley to the close, but as his mind matured, he conferred its splendour more and more often upon things which are in themselves truly admirable and splendid.

Shelley was at work on his review of "Prince Alexy Haimatoff" on November 16, 1814, and did not cease to write until long past midnight. He resumed his work early next day, and then turned for relief to Brochden Brown's romance, "Edgar Huntley." The December number of the *Critical Review* was published at the end of the month. On January 3, 1815, Shelley received from Hookham a copy of the number containing his article. On the evening of that day Hogg called at Shelley's lodgings, and very pleasantly sped by the evening hours.

EDWARD DOWDEN.

## SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

**P**REACHING on New Year's Day to the brethren in Fleur-de-Lys Court, Fetter Lane, Mr. Frederic Harrison refreshed them with the announcement that "Positivism" embodies the dominant convictions of our time, and is "in the air," like the germs, I suppose, of typhoid fever and the cry of the evening newspapers. "One thing," he continued, "that distinguishes the present epoch is its revived interest in Religion; another, its submission to the teaching of Science. But to regard Religion as the mainspring of life is the centre of Positivist doctrine, and the ascendancy of Science is also a Positivist doctrine: it is the basis of our Religion." In short, there is one true creed, the creed of Science; and M. Comte is its prophet. I propose to examine this statement in the light, so far as it has dawned on me, of modern knowledge, appealing, not to saints or metaphysicians, but to the tribunal of Mr. Harrison's "Science." Does it agree with the preacher in Fleur-de-Lys Court or with his dead master? And is Science indeed the basis of Religion?

That M. Comte was the last of the prophets no one, perhaps, believes in his heart; but the "ascendancy of Science," denoted by the unlovely name of Positivism, is a shibboleth of to-day; and vast numbers make it a saving formula. "What are called the truths of Science," remarks an author to whom I shall refer again, "are assumed to possess the highest degree of certitude" at which we can arrive, as if strictly infallible and dogmatic. Inherited beliefs have lost much of their authority because they do not repose on lately acquired data, and presume to justify themselves by other than "Scientific" methods. If Science cannot test or verify them, they are dismissed as the baseless fabric of a vision, beautiful indeed, but imaginary. Mr. Huxley, with grim satisfaction, points to the

"extinguished theologians that lie about the cradle of every science, as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules," and he is thought to be proving that theology, nay, the old religion itself, has expired with its defenders. So great is the charm of a shibboleth. But suppose it were a superstition too?

Help of an easy accessible sort in deciding this question is given to the many not conversant with Kant and Schopenhauer in a recent work of some pretentious, Mr. H. Coke's "*Creeds of the Day*."\* This is a serious effort to compare our leading thinkers with one another and with themselves, the latter no holiday task, but exceedingly necessary for these times. Mr. Coke has a critical, well-informed mind, and the courage of his opinions. He is candid, good-humoured, not sentimental, rarely eloquent, an Anglo-Saxon disciple of Kant, holding by no creed save the *Critique of Pure Reason*, and severely biassed wherever the New or Old Testament does not agree with his ethics or history. His conclusions are in the main negative. Once, however, in a moment of exaltation, he speaks of the Primal Mystery wherein he believes as "a sphere of dazzling light." Strange words, and a proof that it is not easy to stand with the master of Antinomies on the edge of a razor! Mr. Coke's reasonings would bring him nearer to Christianity than he thinks. The process whereby we "establish religion everlastingly" may make an end of things ancient, but it reveals the eternal, and though human, is not anthropomorphic. I cite Mr. Coke as a witness, *omni exceptione major*, to the collapse of Materialism and the refutation of the extravagant claims of Science by Science itself. And now to begin.

Science is the modern Prospero. Two hundred years are gone since he found himself floating on a speck of dust through the infinite blue. The earth is his enchanted island; his rod of power has multiplied to a thousand instruments, delicate and strong; his books of magic are growing every day; and his sorceries, as was foretold of them, have wrought an immense relief for humanity. He has broken out of school into the fresh air; ranged the stars in their constellations, the flowers in their orders; measured the speed of light, and counted its throbbings; sifted the colours of the rainbow as through meshes of crystal; turned solid to fluid and fluid back again to solid; interpreted the message of the nebulae by their glowing flames, and beheld the universe emerging from the play of its energies as a symphony from the playing of an orchestra. Science, I say it with all reverence and gratitude, has made a new heaven and a new earth round about us. Turned back into the sixteenth century, we should die for want of air and room. For

\* "*Creeds of the Day; or, Collated Opinions of Reputable Thinkers.*" By H. Coke. London: Trubner. 1883.

now the roof has melted from the sky, and the nightly horizon is brilliant with countless suns. We feel ourselves borne through infinities and eternities : the dream not only of Prospero, but of Faust is realized :—

“ Ob mir durch Geistes Kraft und Mund  
Nicht manch' Geheimniß würde kund,  
Dass ich nicht mehr, mit saurem Schweiss,  
Zu sagen brauche was ich nicht weiss ;  
Dass ich erkenne was die Welt  
Im Innersten zusammenhält,  
Schau' alle Wirkenskraft und Samen,  
Und thu' nicht mehr in Worten kramen.”

By what methods, then, have these *speciosa miracula* been wrought? By methods, I answer, not in the least recondite, nor, though asking a delicate touch, of enormous difficulty. Keener eyes and finger-tips made sensitive ; weighing, measuring, counting : these are the methods and the tools of Science, and when we have carried them to perfection, its boundary is reached. The near explains the distant ; large and small are relative to the glass through which we view them. The man of science, if Mr. Arnold will excuse me, is a “ magnified, non-natural man,” whose eyes, ears, and fingers have been stolen from the thief in our fairy tales. He stands up between heaven and earth, a good-natured Briareus, touching, tasting, and experimenting at large in the zodiac, as though he were the mildest of apothecaries and the universe his back parlour. He has a hundred arms, as many eyes as there are in a peacock's tail, and the clearest of spectacles ; but at last he can only see and feel. Some day he will be perfect master of Time, Space, and Motion—the slaves of his lamp ; he will walk to the edge of the world, or not think it worth the trouble. For to the merely scientific man, energies moving in time and space are all there is or can be ; and we know already the message they bring. The ultimate reality is matter ; and matter is that which can be weighed. Science is content when it has registered the molar and molecular phenomena at which analysis arrives, and from which constructive chemistry sets out. It is held to explain everything, because it makes visible to the eye or the imagination how the new comes out of the old. Saith Mephistopheles, who has seen deeply into modern methods :—

“ Encheiresin Naturæ nennt's die Chemie,  
Spottet ihrer selbst, und weiss nicht wie.”

But the fiend is a licensed jester. Certain it is that scientific men claim infallibility because they appeal to facts ; and they mean that the microscope, the scalpel, or the balance brings them home to our senses. Science if made “ the basis of religion ” is metaphysics in masquerade ; but Positivism denounces metaphysics, and will have

no *à priori* methods. Faraday surmised that *inertia* may be the essence of matter. Now, if science be the explanation of all things—and if it can but divide or combine inert particles—it follows that Thought, Volition, and all their forms, including Religion, must be referred to that plain and simple thing which is subject to the law of gravitation, or has weight.

Listen to Mr. Huxley:—"If there be one thing clear," he says, about the progress of modern Science, it is the tendency to reduce all scientific problems, except those which are purely mathematical, to questions of molecular physics; that is to say, to the attractions, repulsions, motions, and co-ordinations of the ultimate particles of matter."\* Religion is not "pure mathematics," I presume; therefore, if its foundation be science, we must reckon it among the problems that are solved by "attractions and repulsions." Mr. Huxley believes that "consciousness is a function of matter, when matter has attained a certain degree of organization." But, evidently, Religion is a function of consciousness; and to account for one is to account for the other. Dr. Maudsley again declares that "matter rises in dignity and function until its energies merge insensibly into functions which are described as mental." And Physicus, in his "Candid Examination of Theism," bluntly concludes that "the hypothesis of mind in Nature is as certainly superfluous to account for any of the phenomena of Nature, as the scientific doctrine of the persistency of force and indestructibility of matter is certainly true."† On the same page, dismissing God from the universe, he says, "There is no need of any such hypothesis at all, cosmic harmony resulting as a physically necessary consequence from the combined action of natural laws, which in turn result as a physically necessary consequence of the persistence of force, and the primary qualities of matter." Physicus would agree with Mr. Tyndall in tracing the genius of Shakespeare and Raphael to the fires of the sun. Grant the law of gravitation, and, according to him, "the final mystery of things is abolished." There is nothing left to explain: if we feel dissatisfied, the reason must lie in us. "How," it is asked, "can you get beyond an ultimate fact?" An ultimate fact—in other words, a phenomenon of which you render no account—is your only Q.E.D. I call this bold and clear; if science be the application of physical methods, where they stop science stops; nor can *they* transcend an ultimate sensible fact. But silence may instruct as well as speech, and the impotence of our methods may be due to an infinitude in Nature. Telescopes are not fresh senses; spectrum analysis registers colour but is not a power added to the spirit. \* And a fact without explanation is a dead wall, were it lofty as the Alps.

\* "Lay Sermons," p. 183.

† "A Candid Examination," p. 109.

So, then, let the whole glorious panorama, the constellations, galaxies, and nebulae, stretching outward into the unknown, the bewildering maze of star systems, and the ether in which they move, send back a uniform message, combine into one immeasurable fact, and that fact be matter. By what process, according to what law, does it become the things we see? By evolution, we are told; and of this the conditions are an indestructible matter, the conservation of energy, and the mobility and homogeneousness of the elements at starting. All which conceded, we stand face to face with the nebular hypothesis. Now the question I ask is, whether we can accept this as a final explanation; whether in the "primordial arrangement," to quote Mr. Huxley, of the "cosmic dust," we have reached that *πρὸς αὐτῷ* whence we may build up the universe, material, mental, and spiritual. I, for my part, believe that no elephant and tortoise arrangement is more inadequate to explain the statics of the world than this to explain its dynamics. Here are some of my reasons:—

The "primordial arrangement" of the nebula is either an absolute beginning or it is not. Say it is not. Then it is the result of a previous state in which its forces were subject to the law of the conservation of energy.\* Those forces were either exhausted by the work done, or they were not. The state of homogeneous diffusion, or equally balanced inaction, proves that exhausted they were. As little can we suppose a sheet of water on which there is no ripple under a breeze, as a state of homogeneous diffusion whilst a particle of energy is unexhausted. But from exhausted energies nothing can be drawn, much less sun and planets in persistent motion. If the cosmic dust be homogeneous, it is the end, not the beginning, of a universe. And if it be not homogeneous, we are in the middle of things, and not at the starting point. We cannot, even to please M. Du Bois-Reymond, *begin* with "like and unlike energies."

That, however, has been suggested. The forces are conceived to have been latent and then to have come into play. Upon the homogeneous particles many writers would bestow unlike energies by way of launching them on their voyage. But have they reflected on the consequence? For this would violate the law of the conservation of energy; it would allow motion to arise from absolute rest, and energies to emerge solely out of the potential. It would be what moderns term a miracle, letting in creation by the postern gate whilst thrusting it away from the grand entrance. For, in respect of this new energy to which it contributes nothing, the nebula may as well be non-existent.

Thus, either a beginning is impossible, or it involves the creation of energy. The homogeneous nebula is in no case a beginning; for

\* Coke, vol. ii. p. 119.

unless energy come into it, no start can be made. But that which produces energy cannot be another form of energy in time and space, else the wheel is set rolling again, and our beginning is a make-believe. Now, Science with its conservation of energy, protests that of a form of force not existing in time and space it knows nothing: such an agent is beyond phenomena—is transcendental. If any Science transcends time and space it is no longer physics but metaphysics. *Apparent diræ facies!* The beginning of things of which the mode to strictly measuring science is inconceivable, must be denied, or the existence of the Creator admitted. The nebular hypothesis will not work without God. Such was the conviction of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas; the First Cause, they said, is *movens non motum*: an energy not in space or time.\*

"Let us then," say some, "deny a beginning, rather than transcend physical science." But this, too, would run counter to physics, which will no more allow that the stars have been burning from eternity—I mean the stars now kindled in the heavens—than that a clock which is half run down has been ticking for ever. The various-coloured suns are a graduated scale on which is marked their distance in time from the parent nebula. Vast as may be the energy in these great fires, it was never infinite. We are taken back to the homogeneous dust, and there compelled to meditate on the source of its activity. Evidently that source was in a higher, non-phenomenal sphere, yet did and does exist. "We are offered," says Mr. Coke, "a theory of Evolution, when what we need is a theory of Involution." Through such a gateway do we pass into the Unseen. But now it is possible to take a further step.

In the eyes of science, the world is a combination, endlessly complex and necessarily unstable, of forces that push or pull the primary atoms in numberless directions. There is a flux of all things and all their particles, and the result would be instant chaos, were not that flux regulated by the nature of the energies, according to which they build comparatively stable compounds. Forces are related in an order which cannot be broken; as Mr. Clerk Maxwell said, "the world is not a reversible engine." This correlation may be expressed by numerical formulæ; nor is an energy conceivable in space and time unless it admit of measurement. Matter and Force, did numerical distinction cease, would disappear. The physical universe is nothing but numbers endowed with energy, or units that are capable of doing so much work, and neither more nor less. All matter gravitates inversely as the square of the distance; and this law alone makes the heavens intelligible. The stars are concrete mathematics. As an effort of genius the Newtonian theory is equal or superior to the tragedies of Shakespeare and the frescos

\* "*Summa Theol.*" P. I., Qu. 2, Ar. 3: and Arist. "*Phys.*," vi., &c.

of Michael Angelo. But the mathematics lay objective in the solar system before Newton, before any human consciousness was there to discern them. The law of gravitation is not mere movement: it is presupposed by motion, and is purely intellectual. Now can we believe in the intellectual and deny the intellect? The primordial structure is no more thinkable without a mind to determine it than without a mind to understand it. If the law of gravitation governed the nebula myriads of ages ago, there must have been a consciousness there, a mind controlling all the forces within it. That is why the primary atoms have been termed "manufactured articles." Were it not so, there would be nothing for science to grasp in them. But a mind that in one formula contains all laws and energies—and their smooth and endless interaction proves that to one formula they are reducible—a mind wherein the eternities and infinities are one sole harmony, who can realize that such there is and not be overwhelmed? The light of law spreads like a boundless sky wherever we gaze; and at every luminous point the mind (not the telescope) perceives a mind eternal. Nature reposes on Thought—it is the expression of Thought. There must be an intelligent Creator, though not existing in time and space, since He is everywhere manifest in the intelligible structure of Energy.

But what of the cosmic *dust* itself? I reply, that matter apart from energy is an abstraction; that we can define it only by extension and resistance, and that these are due to the lowest form of energy—*inertia*. Matter and Force are but two aspects of one reality, distinct in idea if you can make them so, but in themselves identified. The energy that occupies space is matter: if the Unseen created force, *eo ipso* it created matter, for He that made the inside made the outside, and matter and force are as the convex and concave of a single arc. The cosmic dust was created.

Science, then, drives us upon believing that phenomena have arisen out of that which lies beyond its experience, and that the First Cause is either mind, or a reality as far *above* mind as mind is above matter. But certainly it is no fiction. Although to describe it were possible only *per negationem*—by refusing it phenomenal attributes—we could as little disbelieve that it exists as we could scrutinize the mode of its action. When we speak of it we fall into symbolism; our words are enigmatic because our conceptions are mysterious. Except in and through His effects, the First Cause to a mind dependent on the senses is strictly unknowable. But we know that He is, and that in Him is the ground, the ideal, and the originating unity of all experience. He exists, though "beyond the reaches of the soul;" and either there is no answer to the riddles of matter and mind, or *He* is that answer. We are compelled, Mr. Spencer has lately said, to believe that things may be explained, though aware that an explanation is impossible.



Does he mean that with our present faculties we cannot get beyond the dependence of mind and matter on eternal energy and transcendental mind? That no formula will enable us to comprehend how there can be energy not acting through space, or mind not taking the matter of its thought from experience? I grant it; but I do not forget that analogies of these mysterious truths exist within ourselves. Let there be an inscrutable enigma of existence, provided that it veils a reality and not a delusion. The danger attending these large confessions of ignorance is that they may lead to metaphysical Nihilism, to the monstrous fancy that the figures we see are painted on no canvas and need no background, or that they are not the mere surface of an infinite depth of being, but themselves the *omnitudo realitatis*. This is to be fooled to the top of our bent: it is to deny the substance because we are moving in its shadow. To say that nothing is I call the insanity of metaphysics. Yet if there be nothing but phenomena, admitted to have no root, and to be changing every moment, where is the difference? Therefore God is the postulate of science, though not among its phenomena; or, in the excellent phrase of Mr. Edward Caird, "the highest Reality is the ground of the possibility of all finite things." Every step forward will make this clearer.

The development of the not-living, though a problem if so be of molecular mechanics, and plainer now through the correlation of forces and our glimpse into solar chemistries, has not yielded up all its mystery. We do not know by what process the energy of motion, in a cannon-ball striking on a steel plate, is changed to a flash of blinding light. But the physical problem may be viewed as an immensely intricate re-arrangement of motions. What of the *flash*? That is not purely mechanical; it introduces problems of an order transcending motion. When we have discovered evolution in the infinitely great, it remains to take up the infinitesimally small, to search the organic with scalpel and microscope, and inquire whether evolution is the "open sesame" to this fresh enigma. Moreover, is evolution to be construed with or without "efficiency?" With efficiency it may explain the world; reduce it to a mechanical formula, and you take his lever from Archimedes. But "efficiency" is a most potent magic; let it be granted, and there is no theology so mysterious, no scheme of revelation so daring, no romance so inspiring or so strange as the vision of latent energies waking from their sleep and shaping the world to be an instrument of spirit.

On the other hand, evolution in its most popular form, as Darwinism, accounts for life by mechanical energies, without the admission of powers latent or active, except such as characterize dead matter. Thus it is said that the grey matter of the brain secretes thought; that consciousness is a function of matter; that scientific

problems (biology and psychology being sciences) are questions of molecular physics. Not only writings like those of Hückel and Büchner, but such serious and valuable contributions to knowledge as Mr. Spencer's "First Principles" abound in reductions of our mental and moral faculties to molecular groupings. It is assumed that "nerve-force" arises out of non-vital energies as light may be derived from heat: and life is then said to be nerve-force combined with motion. A like manipulation of the vital powers results in consciousness, and thus we rise along the scale of existence, though there be no energy to lift us off the level. It was an axiom that "nothing can come of nothing." In the popular conception of Darwinism everything comes of nothing. This, to my purblind view, is creation without a creator; and I can imagine a fine treatise on "The Miracles of Atheism." But we are coming to perceive that Darwin's theory of selection is not the whole of evolution, nor its principal part. When the "Origin of Species" appeared, many took it for granted that it explained everything and assumed nothing, and annihilated Theism. It does none of these things. It cannot help us even to that necessary beginning of evolution, the origin of life.\*

For countless ages after the division of the planets from the sun, life was physically impossible. Say that a hundred million years ago it did not exist. And put aside, as an accidental, not a scientific, account of it, the fancy that it was brought hither from a distant part of the cosmos. All life arises by propagation; but this germ, embedded in the Laurentian rocks, did not so arise, since it was the first. Is the cellular tissue a product of inorganic chemistry? Its constituents are inorganic; but their combination is far from simple, and no chemistry of man, having decomposed it, can so reinstate them that the thing shall be alive again. But the chemistry of earth is indefinitely more powerful than ours; and this shred of bioplasm, protein, protoplasm, or whatever in our ignorance we call it, has no elements but the four that we deal with in our laboratories. A question of degree, apparently! Be it so, on condition that in the infinite laboratory you admit an infinite mind. It is the chemist that accounts for chemistry, not carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen left to themselves. Without a mind to impose a tendency on them, how should the infinite clashings and reboundings of chemical molecules have resulted in this triumph of ordered production—this primal germ? "It is like crystallization in a liquid," remarks Hückel. Yes; but mechanism, which has not explained electricity, is even more at a loss to explain the selective power of a crystal. And this cell is not a crystal either in form or function.

\* I should be sorry to charge Mr. Darwin with the extravagance of some of his disciples: I know well that as Wilkes was not a Wilkite, so, in the most important issues, Darwin did not own himself a Darwinian. But the "popular conception" remains.

It can hardly be said to have a form; its function has no parallel in the inorganic kingdom. In solving a problem both sides of your equation should be equal. This cell has the extraordinary power of assimilating the unlike, of transforming dead to living matter, of growing, not as a uniform mass, but so as to develop organs of which no rudiments exist in the cell, but which are necessary as parts of a whole that stands in the relation to them of final cause or ideal justification. The cell grows and decays on a plan; the particles that compose it are ever changing, but the co-ordinating force remains. And, as the crown of miracles, when thus developed to a living individual, it will reproduce itself in a germ which unfolds into a like individual, and so on for ever. There is no limit to its fertility. Assimilation, reproduction, the distinction of the sexes, the transmission of parental traits, all the wonders of embryology, histology, heredity lie hid in this speck of matter. How did it arise?

Well, read Mr. Coke's criticism of the cell theory as expounded by Darwin, Spencer, and Hæckel, if you desire to learn *quam parva sapientia mundus doceatur*. Here is a specimen. Professor Hæckel explains heredity by growth; Mr. Spencer by growth and repair. But what *are* growth and repair? Mr. Spencer answers, "Organic polarity," which means (I pray you, mark), "the *power* that certain units have of arranging themselves" into special structures, or the *force* by which a "pre-existing mass of special units constrains unlike atoms to take their own definite form."\* *Difficile est satiram non scribere*. Compare the Egyptian darkness of this with Mr. Spencer's lucidity when he is really explaining, and not putting us off with an Abracadabra. Call either of the powers denoted "organic polarity;" but the thing we desire to know—viz., what these powers are and whence they arise—will be told us by no change of name, by no analogy that leaves out the essential. "Words, words, words," said the Prince of Denmark. Heredity, so far as physical science can tell, is, like the sensation of sight or hearing, an ultimate. But heredity is bound up with the organizing power of the cell and goes back to it. When we say that it is an attribute of life and never of what is not living, experience has reached the end of her line. But an equivalent of expended energy the vital principle is not, nor could be, consistently with the law of conservation, as Mr. Herbert has shown in his masterly examination of Realism.†

Now, since the organic power appears only in its effects, and these—e.g., the infinite fertility of the species—can in no sense be measured by quantity, we must pronounce it a thing transcendental. It is not a phenomenon; it is a postulate of fact and reason, failing

\* Coke, vol. ii. p. 111.

† "Modern Realism Examined," *passim*, a striking essay to which Mr. Coke is much indebted.

which there can be no phenomena of life. Does Science deal with it? Yes; Biology does when it becomes metaphysics. Here, for the second time, we stand on the edge of experience and gaze into Mr. Spencer's Unknowable. We affirm with him, as with Kant, that there is a thing in itself whose effects are likewise its demonstration. But, saying this, are we not beginning to discern the Unknowable? to shadow forth what it *is*, by comprehending more clearly what it is *not*; for example, that it is not Hæckel's "sum of the molecular phenomena of motion?" The power that created the stars in their courses elicited afterwards from the elements a fresh energy, we know not how, and the result was a countless multitude of the simplest organic germs. We can, or cannot, picture the event; but to refer the life thus manifested to an eternal life on which it depends is to give it the only intelligible position it can take in the cosmos. Here are three attributes of the Unknowable—energy, life, and mind. And here is a mode essential to them all, to be unconditioned, or to act out of time and space. The new theology is not so unlike the old.

When once it is realized that evolution takes us to the verge of the transcendental, and there surrenders to metaphysics, we shall have Mr. Spencer crying to the President of the Royal Society, "Doctor, the thanes fly from me." There will come a great revolt of the Materialists from natural selection and the survival of the fittest, when these are seen to be minor elements in a theory, which, instead of turning all things to stone like another Medusa's head, does but postulate a grander life in the universe. From that battle Theism is emerging, not victorious only, but purified. The majestic reasonableness of evolution, encompassing such orbits of space and time, may well lift our science till it becomes adoring wonder. The vanished worlds; the myriads on myriads of species whereof remembrance holds not in that mutilated record of geology; the groupings so intricate and suggestive round many a central kind which seem like prophetic hints of an ideal but partially manifested; the connecting lines in all directions, controlled by tendencies they do not, for all their multiplicity, abolish; the gleams of order in this otherwise so much admired disorder, where an idea is everywhere felt, yet always eludes observation; the kinship of species now inhabiting the world with species divided from them by glacial epochs; the undeniable stability combined with the inferred and plausible changes,—what are these aspects of evolution but tokens and proofs of a wisdom whose riches are infinite as its ways are past finding out?

But Natural Selection? It has been well said that "production and reproduction, mobility and sensibility are in full force ere *that* takes up the game." Mr. Darwin, with his fine candour, admits that

heredity is an inherent power of the cell, not due to foreign agencies; that selection waits for variety; and that of the origin of variations we know nothing. So Mr. Huxley: "Varieties arise we know not why," "most varieties come about in a *spontaneous* manner." Mr. Mivart urging that indefinite variation will never issue in an ordered universe, he is answered that "variations are limited by the general character of the type," and that Darwinism does not exclude a higher teleology. The teleologist, says Mr. Huxley in a remarkable passage, may defy the mechanist to disprove that the primordial arrangement was not *intended* to evolve present phenomena. I cannot forbear adding, at this stage, that the teleologist need not confine himself to a defiance; he can show, as Mr. Mivart does, that the guiding principle away, we shall have a fortuitous concurrence of atoms from which it is in the highest degree unreasonable to look for cosmic harmonies.

Again, *natura non facit saltum* is the device of Darwinism; and Hückel, of course, out-Darwins Darwin. The modification of species under external agencies, changed environment, and the laws of heredity, is slow and imperceptible, corresponding to the slow processes of geology. But, if this be the origin of species, there is no time for it according to astronomers. In a hundred million years Darwinism will not have accomplished a tithe of its task. And Mr. Huxley, recognizing a difficulty here, allows that "Nature does make bounds now and then." This, observes Mr. Coke with great composure, is disposing of objections by nearly disposing of the doctrine itself. Professor Tait adds that the sudden emergence of a new species from an old would not differ much from that "special creation" which Darwinism was invented to supersede. Certainly it brings it into close neighbourhood with its rival.

Thus far, evolution appears to be a fruitful but mysterious idea, falling in with the scientific bias rather than demonstrated by an array of facts and figures. We cannot but hope that it corresponds with the facts; but, except in a phenomenal sense, we are destitute of a clear notion as to its meaning. Phenomenally, it means that existing species are derived through intermediate species from others unlike them. It maintains the real physiological kinship of organisms denied by "special creation;" it raises natural history to the rank of a science; and in attributing to the same organism a power not only of propagating like from like, but of varying in definite directions and developing into higher species, it gives us an insight into the deeps of being, and proclaims an ordering intelligence more loudly than the vague belief that "species were created we know not how" could ever have done. But this is not making an end of Theism.

Matter is all surface; break and break it for ever, you will only

cleave it into surfaces ; it seems to have no inside. But we can pass inside the universe through doors that unlock of themselves, and lo ! the *Object* over which science tyrannizes, has become the *Subject* of which science does not even know the existence. Consciousness alone makes the world real ; apart from it things are dark and blind. "Light," said Schelling, "is the thought of Nature." Yes, and Thought is the light of Nature. Here, Materialism with its maze of "forthrights and meanders" is utterly at fault. I understand always by matter energies acting in and through space, and measurable or quantitative : I do not understand a something endowed with physical qualities *plus* other unknown qualities coming in as they are called. Paganini is not his violin, nor his violin Paganini. Will then time, space, and motion, however combined, account for Feeling ?

Why, it is precisely Feeling that accounts for *them* ! Matter, define it as we may, is known to us in terms of energy, and in no other terms whatever. The persistence of matter is taught by the balance, which appeals to weights that again are portions of matter and need verifying in their turn. But, at all events, weight is due to gravitation, and gravitation is a form of energy. Again, space or extension is ascertained by muscular pressure ; and motion by comparison of positions in space. Therefore, our last appeal is to energy. But how do we perceive energy ? By feeling. Thus matter and motion instead of explaining the world, cannot be themselves explained, or known even to exist, save by the higher faculties. Feeling is the whole and sole guarantee for them. If objects are material, by feeling alone do we know that there are objects.

But are there objects ? Are space and time anything except modes of feeling ? Do not some senses perceive that which to other senses is not ? How distinguish between waking dreams and sleeping dreams, with eyes open and with them shut ? Excite the nerve and a vision ensues, though there be no object to justify it. The senses are constantly deluded ; perhaps no two persons ever see the same thing. There may be hallucination once ; why not always ? How does the Materialist say that, in spite of these things, there *must* be an objective world ? Where does the *must* come from ? It is no phenomenon ; and if a necessity of thought, Materialism was devised to get quit of necessities of thought. Yet it cannot be saved now without them. The instant we perceive that Materialism is a theory of metaphysics, we perceive, too, that it is false. Nor can it rescue time and space from the dissolving spell of Idealism. We have the power of perceiving that which outside the brain is nothing ; the world may be a dream by day since dreams make our world at night. Molecular phenomena may be rolled up like a scroll or dismissed as an insubstantial pageant, for all that Materialism can say. And the "physical basis" of consciousness takes the soil of things for their root.

A striking transformation, when matter is perceived to rest on consciousness! But the scene-shifters are physiologists no less than metaphysicians. Among them Helmholtz is as conspicuous as Berkeley, Bain and Müller as emphatic as Kant and Hume. The physiology that aims at "elaborating consciousness" out of matter, tells us with incredible *naïveté* that consciousness knows nothing but its own impressions. "The central connections of the nerves," not the nature of the object, determine, according to Helmholtz, the difference in our sensations. Mr. Spencer lays down that most of the elements in an observed object are known by "unconscious ratiocination." The received view in psychology agrees with this; and in Mr. Coke's phrase, "the entire process of perception is inferential." And thus, the indestructibility of matter, conservation of energy, and all other summings up of experience, depend for their validity on the laws of thought.

But of mind, say Mr. Coke and his authorities, "Science" can make nothing. If it were a product of molecular phenomena, energy would be expended in producing it, and by it energy might be elicited. Materialism can accept neither of these inferences. The conservation of energy moves in a phenomenal circle; to admit that a given quantity of electricity had disappeared as thought and was not recoverable, would break the circle and stultify physics. It would be taking from the weight in a scale, not by lessening the matter, but by thinking about it. Science dare not play fast and loose with weight. Nor can thought or volition produce energy, for this would be to enlarge a closed circuit. Where could the energy come from? On the other hand, if mind is a product of matter, why does not this appear in the equation of forces? Why do the physical antecedents and consequents of thought make an equation into which thought never enters? Says Mr. Huxley: "It is a collateral product of them." But where energy is concerned, a product even if collateral implies expended energy. How, therefore, is it *not* expended? Evidently, the relations of mind and matter cannot be expressed by mechanics; they belong to a region where its laws are transcended. Volition may direct and redistribute the forces of the organism, but not as a power equivalent to so many foot-pounds. The process is inscrutable; the fact, which overthrows Materialism, should be the corner-stone of any treatise on miracles. The supreme force is Volition: whatever it is that thinks and wills is the thing in itself. It exists neither in time nor space; its effects are phenomenal; its act is noumenal. Thus, in spite of ourselves, are we brought back to mystery and metaphysics.

Thought is boundless in all directions; and there must exist an eternal consciousness within and around the universe of spirit. That consciousness is the immanent and transcendent God, whose per-

fection comprehends our infinities and eternities, but cannot lapse into them. He is in this sense *omnitudo realitatis*. What do we know of Him? Consider how little we know of ourselves, and by this nescience measure that. Yet I know that I am not a dream; my thought is its own evidence in the twofold order of Knowledge and Being. If, because it is *my* thought, it cannot be true; if the subject simply because it is a subject, and so the only thing that can know is, on that very account, incapable of knowing; then, perhaps, since I am a delusion to myself, God may be a delusion to me. When Thought grows illusory, Being is made bankrupt; it is a dream with no one to dream it; and the insane conclusion of all our science is, "There is nothing: there can be nothing."

But if the necessities of thought are the laws of things; if Reason distinguishes between sense and madness, and corrects the illusions of phenomena; if states of consciousness imply a persistent Ego; if the will acts upon matter, though inscrutably, and may be free because not in time and space; if we know each other, yet know not how we know, and exert our faculties though we cannot analyze them; surely the mysterious may be real and enter into communion with us, and be something more than the Unknowable. What wonder should the highest Reality, which is the heart of things and their abiding cause, be in His nature an unfathomed mystery, yet known to us in His effects? He dwells in eternity; what wonder that whilst we affirm of Him the best we know our speech betrays its imperfection, and our thought grows dark with excess of bright? Such darkness is not ignorance; it is enlarged knowledge. To know that we cannot comprehend Him; that he extends everywhere and is comprehended nowhere; that He stands behind all mysteries, and is the key to all enigmas; that man may be like God, and yet God not like man; to catch a glimpse of His perfection and lose it;—

"Brief as the lightning in the collied night,  
That in a spleen unfolds both heaven and earth,  
And ere a man hath power to say, 'Behold!'  
The jaws of darkness do devour it up;"

these are things that have long been familiar to religious men; and why, in descending to the heart of science, should they appear as a "twilight of the gods," and beginning of Atheism? Let us break the idols that men worship, even the fetishes of our own thoughts; let the world be a sanctuary, and common things be lifted till they touch the spheres; let our speech take a more solemn tone, like music; from its bars of rest; but when we silence the babble of the superstitions and rebuke the loud vulgarities wherein the Highest is degraded in the brawls of the market-place and the wrangle of politics, let us not say that God is withdrawn from life and knowledge. "A time may come," it is said, "when the name of God will be once



more spoken." If it come because the heart is full and love shame-faced; if it be the silence of a sacred affection, I make bold to prophesy that in many a more beautiful way it will express what it feels. The most solemn worship of the Church is in silence; in a whisper are the consecrating words pronounced, and the music comes to a pause. Music itself, the least inadequate expression of the spirit in a world of phenomena, cares nothing for speech; its floods of harmony are poured upon the air, and the spirit, without words, can interpret them. Surely the new creed, struggling to get itself expressed, means only this: that our thoughts are larger than our words, and that the best we know of God exceeds the formal sentences we frame. God is not the Unknowable; He is the Ineffable. If a fresh rhythm is to be added to our lives, in this way let us endeavour to find it, by dwelling on the Life within that stays our life, the Spirit that abides in *cordis apice*, where finite and infinite mingle.

What, now, of the "ascendancy of Science," and the "scientific basis of Religion?" Can we admit them? Yes, I answer, if phenomena be their own explanation; no, if, in the striking language of Kant, the ground of experience sinks under us when we venture our weight on it. The supreme method is that whereon scientific methods depend for their validity; and the supreme science is metaphysics. The rank of the sciences is that of the hierarchy of being. The science of energy must take its postulates from the higher science which interprets the laws of energy by showing whence it is derived, what design it subserves, what that power is which controls and guides it yet is ever unseen. If Mr. Harrison affirms that physical science has the supreme truth in its keeping, he affirms that thoughts may be weighed in a cheesemonger's scales and volition purchased by the yard.

Nor is phenomenal science the "basis of Religion." The religions of the world have, in every case, been established by men to whom the nothingness, the vanity and fleeting show of scientific realities, was the one certain truth and rule of conduct. Religion is convinced that time and force are not the kernel of existence. We must search beyond these if we would be righteous. That "open secret," as Goethe, with his wonderful insight, has termed it, that divine despair that comes into men's hearts because they feel dimly I know not what of austere and tender, of sacred and beautiful, that would intoxicate them could they but attain to it, that is the source of Religion—

"Thou art the wine whose drunkenness is all  
We can desire, O Love, and happy souls,  
Ere from thy vine the leaves of autumn fall,  
Catch thee, and feed from their o'erflowing bowls  
Thousands that thirst for thy ambrosial dew,"

Such men lament over the blindness of their fellows to whom the veil of sense is not a drop-scene hiding the stage, but the play itself. To rouse them from the dream of matter is to give them religion; and every Gospel opens with the trumpet-call of the Baptist, *Μετανοείτε*, "Repent, put away delusions, consider the world of appearances in the light of Being." This, too, is the necessary asceticism of religions. If their first word is Repent, their second is Renounce; or, in milder speech, Use but do not abuse. A stern Evangel, which we mortals are far from welcoming; but no man can mistake its authority. All religions, however disguised in pomp and secular greatness, preach the Cross. But the Cross tells us that joy and sorrow, *in this world*, are nothing. It is the symbol of that conviction, which, did it not lead us into a "sphere of dazzling light," would be Pessimism; for it asserts that the world of sense never did, and never will, bring happiness to a single soul of man.

But though Science, if it mistake its function, becomes absolutely false, in itself it has a relative and unshaken validity. Were Religion to forget this, it would fall into superstition. Asceticism does not deny that a harmony was intended between the seen and the unseen; it demands a sacrifice only that we may be enabled "*Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen, fest zu leben.*" As the conservation of energy does not overthrow but enlarge our conception of miracles, so do the conquests of Science bring with them a higher asceticism inspired by sympathy with the pain of the world, and intent on relieving it. So many things are out of joint; there is such need to widen the skirts of light. We should deny ourselves that we may not be inhuman; and our searching into high and low should teach us that man is saved and enlightened only by man. Here a fresh world of evolution and causality breaks on our view; it is the realm of Heroes and Hero-worship and redeeming human fellowship; for "the true Shekinah is man." But with the revelation of God in man Christianity begins; and when we have distinguished between the light and the medium that refracts it, we may find in the Christian records that glory of the Word incarnate which has dwelt as in a tabernacle amongst us, and in whose presence the truths of sense and science melt into infinite harmonies.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

## THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

A SKETCH FROM LIFE.

I HAPPENED to be staying at a country house in Sussex in 1882 when the Duke of Wellington drove over to luncheon. Later in the day he said to me: "Come out and take a walk." That afternoon we had a good deal of conversation about the condition of the poor—their houses, their habits, their character, and what should be done to assist them. As we reached the top of the hill, the Duke paused and looked round upon the lovely summer landscape: "This is what they want," he said, "fresh air, open spaces; but they do a lot of mischief, you know;" and he then told me several stories of great parks that had been opened to the people and whose owners afterwards closed them in disgust. I answered by appealing to the flowerbeds in the London gardens, intimating that the more the people were trusted the better they behaved. "Park-keepers and police," said the Duke, striking his stick on the ground. "A private park can't be watched like a public place; it isn't worth while. This talk about the people and their rights to our property is all stuff; we give them privileges, and what do they do with them?" The Duke was not a pessimist, but he was not an optimist. He was a Tory, liberal in unexpected ways, and narrow in others; he sometimes played the cynic, but he was kindly and good-natured at heart. He was desirous to help "the people." He had no great faith in them. I once intimated that the "poor were more generous to each other in proportion than the rich." "Nonsense!" he said; "they can't do any thing for each other; we can, and we do." The Duke fully inherited his father's dislike of contradiction, so I kept my opinion and held my tongue. "It is drink that ruins them, and it's of no use preaching to them whilst they live in pigstyes and get no fresh air." I fully concurred in

that, but hinted broadly that the rich who had leisure and treasure and pleasure in town might do a little more for them. "How?" said the Duke, sharply. "By opening their own great houses and allowing their picture galleries and art treasures to be seen under proper regulation." The Duke, I knew, approved of Sunday opening of museums, so I added, "What a pleasure it would be if the people were allowed to visit Apsley House on Sunday." "I have no objection whatever," he replied, "if you think they would care about it." "Try them," said I. "It requires thinking over; if you can arrange the plan and submit it to me, I will consider it; but I must be protected."

Soon after this I wrote to him suggesting that Sunday afternoon visits to Apsley House should be organized in connection with the Sunday Society, of which the Dean of Westminster was president. The inspection was to include the Museum of treasures and relics downstairs, and other trophies presented to the late Duke of Wellington, and the Waterloo Gallery of paintings upstairs. Admission was to be by a card, which I drew out. I also suggested that a deputation from the Society, which I would be willing to introduce, should wait upon him at Apsley House and make a formal request. This was the Duke's reply:—

"DEAR MR. HAWES,

"I do not like your plan of the deputation, because I know that some if not many of the advocates of the Sunday Society have for their object the dispensing with religion, whereas my object is exactly the reverse—viz., to get rid of the gloominess which attends the practice of religion in England.

"I am willing to try the experiment, but not willing to declare that I patronize the Sunday Society, before the experiment has been tried.

"I send you an altered form of tickets, by which you see that I keep it in my own hands.

"The weather in London is so precarious that I leave a considerable margin. N.B.—No slippers keep out the wet from moist soles; when the pavement is not dry, they must not come.

"As to explanations which you suggest, of course, the more spectators know the better, but I don't see that much of a discourse is requisite, inasmuch as all the pictures are labelled. Of course it would be interesting to give the history of every painter, but that none of my servants can do.

"The question is, 'Do the people of that class care for seeing the ornaments of our class,' not whether or not they want to hear lectures?

"Yours sincerely,

"WELLINGTON."

The Duke's permit enclosed, was characteristic: it ran thus:—

"January, 1881. Permit the bearer and friends to visit Apsley House when the street is dry, or if they come in a carriage.

"WELLINGTON."

Afterwards he insisted on every admission bearing my name, to which I made no objection. All through the summers of 1882 and 1883 Apsley House was thus opened to the people. On the first

occasion, I accompanied the crowd myself; and, after giving them a brief address in the Hall, a vote of thanks was passed to the Duke, and the assembled ticket-holders put on the felt slippers prepared for their use before treading on the polished parquet floors. "Give an inch, and they take an ell," the Duke was in the habit of saying of what he called "their class." In a few weeks this was unhappily verified. I received, to my great annoyance, the following letter from the Duke :—

"DEAR MR. HAWEIS,

"Your Sunday Society has shown the cloven foot, for they have requested me to give my name for music, dancing, and drinking on Sunday! I observed that your name was not on the prospectus. [Of course, I had never been consulted.] I had pleasure in opening Apsley House on Sunday, because people of their class cannot enjoy that kind of recreation on any other day, and therefore to exclude them on that day is, among other evils, to separate classes; but they can and do dance and drink every day in the week. Indeed, it is to give them something better to do than dancing and drinking that I wish museums and great houses opened on Sundays. *Verbum sat*.

"Yours sincerely,

"WELLINGTON."

After seeing the Secretary of the Sunday Society, I offered the Duke certain explanations, which were good-humouredly accepted, and the permit to visit Apsley House was graciously renewed.

Soon after this, I happened to be staying with the Duke of Wellington at Strathfieldsaye, and had ample opportunity of ascertaining his views and opinions on all sorts of questions. He was very deaf, but managed his infirmity with great tact. He was a most genial host, and had the rare art of putting every one at their ease by his perfect simplicity, heartiness of manner, and a certain shrewdness and humour, which was sometimes a little blunt, but never unkindly. He was extremely thoughtful and considerate to his servants and retainers, and his manner to them was just the same as his manner to any of his equals.

He used to come down about half-past eleven o'clock, and spend his morning in the library till lunch-time. He showed me his books, his coins, and medallions. He was constantly interrupted by stewards and messengers, and from what I heard I inferred that he took an active interest in his neighbours, sent presents of game to his dependents, and looked after everything connected with the estate himself.

In the afternoon we drove out, or inspected the farm and fields, full of queer foreign animals. I have seldom had a more amusing companion; the conversation never flagged. He was full of anecdotes—often about the great Duke (whom I remember seeing once in the House of Lords, arm-in-arm with Lord Brougham, in 1850, and whom the late Duke singularly resembled in face). He told

me of that great man's extraordinary accuracy and command of details.

This came out especially in the despatches, several volumes of which he had carefully edited. "My father," he said, "used to read them admiringly himself. 'Pon my life,' he once said to me, 'I don't know how I ever came to write 'em!' My father had one odd peculiarity—weakness, if you like to call it so—he would never be corrected. He used to drive himself, and always at a great pace. Once my brother Charles was sitting by his side. The horses were polting along at the usual rate, and to his horror, Charles saw that my father had fallen asleep, still holding the reins. He had the power of sleeping by snatches. I have seen him fall asleep at dinner, and no one dared either move themselves or rouse him. Well, the horses neared a turnpike gate. It was closed. Charles dared not touch the reins; but a smash was inevitable. He nudged the Duke just in time. 'Mind your own business, Charles,' said my father, and Charles got no more thanks.

"On another occasion the Duke gave my brother a cheque for £10, with orders to send it to some poor man who had written in distress from Edinburgh. My brother, before sending it, made inquiries, and found the man to be an impostor; so he brought back the cheque. He thought," added the Duke, slyly, "that my father might say, 'You may keep the cheque, Charles.' Not at all; my father pocketed the cheque, and merely remarked, 'Charles, I told you to send off that cheque. Why cannot you obey orders.'?"

The late Duke's admiration for his father, whose aide-de-camp he had been for many years, was naturally very great. "My father," he said, "ruled the House of Lords absolutely for some time. He had always a majority of peers at his back, ready at any moment to vote to order; but his bitterest political foes have admitted that never, during his long tenure of office, upon any one occasion did he use this power to carry his personal opinion against the expressed will of the country. Parliament was often at variance with him, but both Houses respected him for his political integrity.

"At night I sometimes read the *Times* aloud to him. His admiration for Gladstone's eloquence was very great. 'When he rises in the House, the rest are like ninepins. Words! words! The next morning, there's not so much in it after all.' Whenever I began a speech of Gladstone's, he cut me short after the first few sentences: 'Get on to something else!'"

He chuckled over Bradlaugh's idea of giving pensions like his own (£2,000 a year for two lives) twelve years to run. "I am quite agreeable. Personally, I'm all right. If they abolish the Lords, I shall cross to Belgium. I'm Prince of Waterloo there. When the great powers swallow up Belgium, I can still live in Spain, where I

am Duke of Cuidad Rodrigo. And if Spain collapses, I shall retire to Portugal, where I shall end my days as Marquis of Torres Vedras and Count of Vimiero ! ”

He never seemed in a hurry to go to bed. One night he came up with me to my bedroom and stayed nearly an hour, pouring out anecdotes of the people whose portraits hung on the walls. Some of these, especially about George IV., were of the raciest description. The Duke in his mood spared no one, not even living personages of the most exalted rank. Perhaps the late Duke on “Copenhagen,” the Waterloo horse, and his view of the ill-fated statue about to be transferred to Aldershot, may interest the general reader at this moment. The Duke himself was no great admirer of the statue, but said his father thought it very good, and liked it opposite his house. “They talk of Copenhagen’s head being like a pig’s head. Well, I went with Sir Edwin Landseer to see it in the foundry. The horse’s head alone protruded at the time, and Sir Edwin declared he considered it a very good model of a horse’s head. I can answer for it, it was very like Copenhagen.”

I was walking in the Strathfieldsaye Park with him one afternoon, when we paused at a railed-off clump of trees. “Here,” said he, “lies Copenhagen. By the way,” he said, “do you know that the famous ‘Up, Guards, and at them!’ is not my father’s at all, but Lord Saltoun’s, and the right words are, ‘Up, Guards, and fire low?’ My father sat Copenhagen fourteen hours at a stretch at Waterloo. He was a horse not much to look at, but of great endurance and spirit. The Duke got him in Spain, and rode him through his Spanish campaigns; he was very fond of him. For years before he died he was kept here as a pet, and the ladies were all proud to ride him up and down the terrace, in order to boast of having sat on his back. He was buried here very early in the morning. All the servants turned out, and to their surprise the Duke, who was then very old and failing, got up and appeared at the funeral. When the horse was brought out, he immediately noticed that one hoof was off. He was very angry, but could not discover the robber. Some months afterwards, he thought he should like a hoof, and had Copenhagen dug up, but his three remaining hoofs had rotted away. A farm labourer, hearing of this, asked to see my father, and told him that he knew the man who had done the deed, for he had himself bought the hoof for 3*s.* 6*d.* In this way the Duke recovered Copenhagen’s hoof, which he had set (I think, the Duke said), as an ink-stand.”

“And has this noble brute no tombstone, no epitaph?” I asked, as we stood beside the grave. “None whatever: but if you will be the Laureate, he shall have one.”

I was not eager for the honour thrust thus upon me; but as

the Duke alluded to it again after dinner, I thought it over when I went up to bed. "If," I said to myself, "he should ask a third time, and I have nothing ready, he might think me ungracious."

The next day, I was leaving. I had bid the Duke good-by overnight. As I was at breakfast, a servant entered, and handed me the following note from his Grace :—

"DEAR MR. HAWEIS,

"I shall swear you wrote this clerical epitaph if you don't produce something better.

"Yours,

"WELLINGTON."

This was the Duke's epitaph :—

Here lies Copenhagen, &c.

"God's humble instrument of brutal clay,  
Should share the glories of that glorious day."

"Was there any answer?" There was. Fortunately, I had written down my epitaph, and had it all ready; so I sent it up to the Duke. It ran thus :—

"Here, full of honour and great memories,  
Wellington's war-horse, Copenhagen, lies.  
Spare empty praise to one so tried and true,  
Three words suffice—Peace, Victory, Waterloo!"

I do not know the fate of my epitaph. I never alluded to it. I did not see the Duke again for some months. He never alluded to it but once, when he observed, that he preferred his own, because it was briefer, and epitaphs should be brief. I agreed to the general proposition. But I do venture to hope that, in the midst of that solitary and nameless group of trees at Strathfieldsaye, some memorial stone may still be set up in honour of Copenhagen, that so the last resting-place of "God's humble instrument," inseparably associated with England's peace and glory, may never be forgotten.

H. R. HAWEIS.



## A BIHARI MILL-SONG.

The subjoined translation is from a *Jatsar*, or "Mill-song," chaunted by the Hindoo women of Shâhâbâd while grinding their morning grain. The Indian text, and a prose version of the original Bhojpuri, were given in an admirable paper communicated to the April number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, by Mr. George A. Grierson, B.C.S., Magistrate of Patna. The *Jatsars* are always of a pathetic character, with a monotonous unmeaning refrain, like this "*Hu-ri-jee*." The Mirza, in the present song, is one of the conquering Muhammedan race, and Horil Singh a Rajpût dependent ; and it relates how the sister of the latter put an end to her life rather than marry with a detested Muslim.]

### A SONG OF THE MILL.

OF eight great beams the boat was wrought,  
With four red row-pins ;—*Hu-ri-jee* !  
When Mirza Saheb spied at the Ghaut  
Bhagbati bathing :—*Hu-ri-jee* !

" Oh, girls ! that hither your chatties bring,  
Who is this bathing ?"—*Hu-ri-jee* !  
" The Head of our village is Horil Singh ;  
'Tis the Raja's sister !"—*Hu-ri-jee* !

" Run thou, Barber !—and, Peon ! run thou ;  
Bring hither that Rajpût !"—*Hu-ri-jee* !  
" Oh, girls ! who carry the chatties ; now,  
Which is his dwelling ?"—*Hu-ri-jee* !

" The dwelling of Horil Singh looks north,  
And north of the door is a sandal-tree :"—  
With arms fast-bound they brought him forth ;  
" Salaam to the Mirza !"—*Hu-ri-jee* !

"Take, Horil Singh, this basket of gold,  
 And give me thy sister, sweet Bhagbati."  
 "Fire burn thy basket!" he answered, bold,—  
 "My sister's a Rajpût!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Horil's wife came down from her house;  
 She weeps in the courtyard: "Cursèd be,  
 "Oh, sister-in-law, thy beautiful brows!  
 My husband is chained for them!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

"Now, sister-in-law! of thy house keep charge,  
 And the duties therein:" quoth Bhagbati;  
 "For Horil Singh shall be set at large,  
 I go to release him!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

When Bhagbati came to the Mirza's hall  
 Low she salaamed to him:—*Hu-ri-jee!*  
 "The fetters of Horil Singh let fall,  
 If, Mirza," she said, "thou desirest me."

"If, Mirza," she said, "thou wouldst have my love,  
 Dye me a bride-cloth;"—*Hu-ri-jee!*  
 "Saffron beneath and vermillion above,  
 Fit for a Rajpût!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

"If, Mirza," she said, "I am fair in thine eyes,  
 And mine is thy heart, now,"—*Hu-ri-jee!*  
 "Command me jewels of rich device,  
 Fit for a Rajpût!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

"If Mirza," she said, "I must do this thing,  
 Quitting my people,"—*Hu-ri-jee!*  
 "The palanquin and the bearers bring,  
 That I go not afoot from them!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Smiling, he bade the dyers haste  
 To dye her a bride-cloth:—*Hu-ri-jee!*  
 Weeping—weeping, around her waist  
 Bhagbati bound it.—*Hu-ri-jee.*

Smiling, he bought, from the goldsmith's best,  
 Jewels unparalleled:—*Hu-ri-jee!*  
 Weeping, weeping—on neck and breast  
 Bhagbati clasped them.—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Joyously smiling, "Bring forth," he cried,

"My gilded palanquin!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Bitterly sorrowing, entered the bride,

Beautiful Bhagbati.—*Hu-ri-jee!*

A koss and a half of a koss went they,

And another koss after;—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Then Bhagbati thirsted: "Bearers, stay!

'I would drink at the tank here!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

"Take from my cup," the Mirza said:

"Oh, not to-day will I take!" quoth 'she:

"For this was my father's tank, who is dead,

And it soon will be distant!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

She quaffed one draught from her hollowed palm,

And again she dipped it;—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Then leaped in the water, dark and calm,

And sank from the sight of them.—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Sorely the Mirza bewailed, and hid

His face in his cloth, for rage to be

So mocked: "See, now, in all she did

Bhagbati fooled me!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Grieving, the Mirza cast a net

Dragging the water;—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Only shells and weeds did he get,

Shells and bladder-weeds.—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Laughing, a net cast Horil Singh, \*

Dragging the water;—*Hu-ri-jee!*

Lo! at the first sweep, up they bring

Dead, cold Bhagbati—fair to see!

Laughing, homeward the Rajpût wends,

Chewing his betel; "for now," quoth he,

"In honour this leap of Bhagbati ends

Three generations!"—*Hu-ri-jee!*

EDWIN ARNOLD, C.S.I.

## FURTHER THOUGHTS ON APPARITIONS.

THE publication of an essay on the subject of apparitions in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (January, 1884) has been the cause of a variety of communications, which have been addressed to me by old friends as well as by strangers. Amongst them is one from the well-known Cambridge mathematician, Dr. Percival Frost, in which he writes *inter alia* as follows :—

“ I wish you had taken the case of hearing a sound in your mind’s ear—quite as common as the apparition. I don’t think you would have spoken of the little anvils, and hammers, and harp-strings by which the external vibrations would have been transmitted to the brain.”

This remark has suggested to me that it might be well to consider generally the possibility of communications between one mind and another mimicking (so to speak) any one of the senses—not the sense of sight only. The communication of an impression to the brain, and so of a thought or perception to the mind, comes (as we know) generally through the senses. The senses are the gateways of knowledge; gateways of very different magnitudes and different degrees of dignity—all gateways, nevertheless; and in the normal condition of communication between the external world and the mind, there is commonly no doubt or question as to which gate it is through which any given communication has been transmitted; though even here it may be noted that the transmission itself, and not the particular mode of transmission, is so much the more important point, that frequently we forget, rapidly and without difficulty, which gateway it was through which some particular knowledge entered the mind. We know, for example, that a certain thing has happened; but we sometimes cannot satisfy ourselves whether we

saw it in a newspaper, or whether we *heard* it from the mouth of some informant. Hearing and seeing are, in fact, so completely recognized as partners in the conveyance of knowledge, that they are not unfrequently confused with each other, and either may pass under the title of the other without offence or jealousy. Thus, in replying to the letter of a friend, who announces his arrival at the end of a journey, one writes naturally enough, "I am glad to *hear* of your safe arrival," though the writer has never *heard* anything, but only *seen* the news in a letter; and, on the other hand, a person listening to an explanation from one with whom he is arguing by word of mouth, says equally naturally, "Yes, I *see* what you mean," though sight has, in fact, never been called in aid. Thus, one gateway of knowledge may be familiarly changed for another without any evil result; and, as I have already said, there may sometimes be a doubt as to the particular gate by which any given piece of knowledge has found access to the mind.

What will be the case, if it be possible—as at least for argument may be supposed—for one mind to act upon another, not directly through the senses, but by what I have called a mimicry of the senses? This action upon the mind has acquired, amongst the members of the Psychical Research Society, the name of *Telepathy*. Let us adopt the name, for it seems to be a useful one—adopt it, of course, without absolutely assuming that it corresponds to anything real and actual, but only as a convenient expression for something the reality and actuality of which it is our purpose to investigate. Using then this terminology, the question before us is, will telepathic communication simulate one sense rather than another? Can that reverse action, which in my former paper I speculatively suggested in the case of the eye, be suggested as possible in the case of the ear, or of any other organ of the senses?

The answer to such questions as these may well be prefaced by a few remarks upon the position of sight amongst the senses. It will, I suppose, be at once recognized as *facile princeps* amongst the teachers of the mind. It is no doubt wonderful to what an extent hearing can take the place of seeing when the eyes have become blind. The mind seems almost to develop new powers, specially in the direction of memory, and in drawing conclusions from slight inarticulate sounds, scarcely perceived by those who can see. The sense of touch, also, in the case of the blind, frequently strengthens to a wondrous degree, and becomes almost a new sense. There are even cases in which touch supplies a medium of communication to those who are both blind and deaf. Moreover, the relative values of seeing and hearing are different, if I am not mistaken, in different persons: some acquire knowledge more readily by the eye, some by the ear. Still, speaking generally, the eye is the chief and highest

organ of sense, the supreme external bodily instrument of mental power; and thus it comes to pass that the kingly prerogative of sight is stretched, as prerogatives are apt to be, beyond its due limit. Language is framed not unfrequently upon the implied assumption that the eye is the only test of the material and sensible, instead of being the chief and most indubitable. Thus, for example, we speak of visible and invisible as exhaustive of all that exists. In the Nicene Creed the Almighty Father is described as "Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible." The phrase is sufficient for its purpose, and for use in a popular universally repeated formula is better than one which might attempt more scientific exactness—better, for example, than if the phrase had been used "material and spiritual." Nevertheless, the phrase, when carefully examined, is certainly open to the objection that it arrogates to the eye a prerogative of distinguishing between one department of creation and another which does not belong to it, and for which it is inadequate. *Visible* implies the quality of being *seen*; but seen by whom or by what? An object may be visible to one eye and invisible to another. Vision depends, also, upon the presence of some illuminating power: objects are as material in a dark night as in the daytime, but they may be quite invisible. It is probable that vision in the case of insects is a very different power from what it is in the case of quadrupeds or men. Moreover, there are portions of the material universe, say the medium, the vibrations of which constitute light, or the electric fluid, if there be such a thing, concerning which it may possibly be asserted that they are actually invisible. The luminiferous ether, in fact, must be invisible, because it is the means by which everything is seen, and therefore cannot be seen itself. So that visible and invisible will not mean exactly the same thing as material and spiritual. Both phrases may be entirely exhaustive of creation, because it may be said that whatever is not included in the one category will be included in the other; but the dividing line in the two classifications will not necessarily be the same. You may have that which is material and which yet is invisible; material and visible need not be co-extensive, and cannot in fact be so.

Nevertheless, that visible and material are commonly regarded as synonymes may be concluded from such a phrase as that which has been adopted as the title of their book by the authors of the "Unseen Universe." It gives a marvellous emphasis to the sublime passage, "Let there be light, and there was light," to consider that so far as we know the universe might have existed without light; the non-existence of the luminiferous ether appears to be mentally conceivable; and even if this be not so, there would seem to be no necessary reason why the vibrations of the ether should find an

instrument such as the eye to receive them and to convert them into sight. We have no such organ adapted to electric agency; it is only in the most recent times that the action of electricity has been so converted as to become perceptible by eye and ear. Yet what a different creation a universe in this signification of the term *unseen* must have been; unseen, not because in its nature spiritual, and on that account invisible, but because the medium of sight, or the optical mechanism, or both, had been left out of the creational scheme.

Now let us return to the question which has been proposed—namely, whether a reverse action may not be conceived in the case of other senses than that of sight. To make what is here advanced intelligible, let me remind the reader of what is meant by the reverse action of which I speak. I have urged in my former essay that if, as is undoubtedly the case, an object affects the eye by means of luminous vibrations, which, falling on the retina, convey their effect to the brain, and there, by a mysterious process which it baffles us to conceive, are transmuted into thought or mental perception, then it is at least conceivable that the same thought or mental perception may be produced by some other action upon the mind, and that when so produced it may cause the belief that it proceeds from an external object acting upon the brain, and so upon the mind through the optical machinery of the eye. If it be asked, supposing this true of sight, Why not of the other senses? I reply, Why not? *A priori*, I know of no reason why it should be true of one of the gateways of knowledge rather than of another, except that, in accordance with the views above expounded, I should be disposed to expect that sight, being beyond all doubt the grandest and most important gateway, would exhibit more examples of the process than any other.

And this expectation seems to me to coincide with fact and experience, so far as fact and experience can be admitted to exist in this mysterious region. Let us examine what the several senses have to say for themselves.

1. First, take hearing. In the vulgar ghost story the ear has sufficient occupation; clanking of chains, rustling of dresses, all kinds of uncanny sounds, have their recognized place. A ghost story would lack much of its creepiness if it confined itself to the sense of sight, though undoubtedly many do so confine themselves. But in apparition stories, of a kind which would be accepted by the Psychical Research Society, sound is not always wanting. For example: in a most strange tale, published in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century*, by Messrs. Gurney and Myers, on the personal testimony of Sir Edmund Hornby, the sense of hearing plays almost, if not quite, as important a part as the sense of seeing.

Taking a broad view of apparition stories, the claims of which to acceptance are respectable, I think it may be said that while sight, as the very name *apparition* implies, is the sense chiefly simulated, it is impossible to exclude narratives in which the sense of hearing occurs. It may be a result of that marvellous instinct which lifts Shakspeare almost out of the level of ordinary human intellect, that the ghost of Hamlet's father is represented as appealing to sight more frequently and (so to speak) more readily than to hearing. Horatio, when he first opened the mystery to Hamlet, had seen the ghost and was certain of its personality, but had never heard it speak: speech first showed itself under the influence of Hamlet himself.

If we look to the reason of the thing, it is difficult to suppose that communications to the mind by some spiritual agency would be confined to the mimicry of sight and not extend to hearing. For if the communication be made for any special purpose, that purpose may conceivably be unattainable by simple vision; vision may be enough, but also it may be insufficient; if the purpose of the communication be the giving of some definite knowledge, the latter would probably be the case. Hence, I suppose, it is that those Divine communications which are recognized in Holy Scripture universally involve speech: "The Lord *said* unto him in a *vision*"—*ἔειπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ὁράματι*;\* the extraordinary conditions of the communication are all implied in the term *vision*; but the vision is for the very purpose, and only for the purpose, of conveying a direction which could only be given under the form of *speech*. In fact, in the case now cited there is no record of *sight* being called into play at all; the command to Ananias is represented as being given by a voice, and the utterer of the words remains, so far as the history informs us, unseen throughout the interview.

To quote another case from Holy Scripture, we read of the first revelation being made to Samuel by a voice: "The Lord called Samuel, and he answered, Here am I." The whole of the interview was vocal; in fact, it was He who is emphatically the *unseen* God that revealed himself to the child prophet. Yet the writer tells us that "Samuel feared to show Eli the *vision*."<sup>†</sup> The highest attribute of God is that He is unseen and may not be represented by a visible image; but the *Word* of God is the keynote both of the Old Testament and of the New.

In reality, it is impossible to keep seeing and hearing clear of each other. A word used by myself in each of the two preceding paragraphs may be cited as a witness. I have spoken of an *interview* being *vocal*, and of a *speaker* being *unseen* in an *interview*; and probably there is no incorrectness in doing so; yet an interview, by

\* Acts ix. 10.

† 1 Sam. iii. 15.



the very composition of the word, implies sight; view cannot be vocal. Nevertheless, in the *interviewing* of which, in these days, we know so much, the mere seeing of some illustrious visitor is manifestly of second-rate importance, or perhaps of no importance at all; the essence of interviewing consists in the extraction of information or the ascertaining of opinion. A newspaper correspondent could carry on an interview from behind a curtain almost as easily as in broad daylight; sight, which is the essence of the name, may be disregarded in considering the thing.

To return, however, to the main question. I know of no good reason why, if the reverse process suggested in the case of seeing be possible, the same reversal should not take place in the case of hearing. The difficulty which I feel is to assign a reason why, in some cases, one sense should be chosen as the medium of communication rather than the other. Supposing, for example, that it is possible for a man who has been drowned to communicate the fact to one yet in the body, it is difficult to say that an appearance to the eye in clothes dripping with water is more appropriate than the uttering of the sentence, "I have just been drowned while bathing." But it is manifest that we have not data enough to enable us to deal with the problem in this fashion; we cannot say what is appropriate or inappropriate in such a subject; some may regard any kind of communication with the mind, except through the senses, as inappropriate, or even as impossible. But we are in the position of persons having alleged facts with which to deal; and if the alleged facts have sufficient evidence upon which to rest, it may be our duty to consider whether they are so absolutely incredible, *per se*, as to make them unworthy of discussion, and to render it waste of time to attempt to bring them even approximately within the limits of scientific thought. The mode of regarding the competing claims of sight and sound which commends itself most to my own judgment is this: grant the possibility of a communication to the mind made directly and not through the senses, and it will then depend upon conditions, of which we have no knowledge, whether the communication presents itself under the form of sight or of hearing, or of the two combined.

There is a fine passage in the Book of Job, in which this combination is expressed in language of genuine poetry:—

"In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men,

"Fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake.

"Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up;

"It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof; an image was before mine eyes; there was silence, and I heard a voice."\*

\* Job iv. 13-16.

2. I proceed now to discuss with reference to the subject in hand the sense of feeling.\*

This shall be done by quoting from a letter written to me by a medical correspondent in connection with my former article. My correspondent writes as follows:—

“With reference to your article in this month’s *CONTEMPORARY*, which I have just read with very great pleasure, it occurred to me whilst reading it that there are certain physiological facts which give support to your views of reverse action. One, and perhaps the most striking, is the familiar one of irritation of any part of a nerve being referred by the consciousness to the terminal expansion of it, and this even when the end is cut off, as in the case of the amputated limb. This is a clear case of reverse action. There are also instances of hallucinations of sight, hearing, and taste, due doubtless to the same mode of action, the cause in the latter instances being morbid; but even a morbid activity establishes the possibility of such activity, and where there is morbid action there is also a field for healthy action.

“Granting the supposition of direct spiritual communications, it is in the highest degree probable that the ideational centres of the brain will be stimulated in action, and through them the nerves that lead to the senses, and so the result to which you refer will be brought about. More especially is this likely to be the case during sleep, which is a state highly favourable to the objective projection of images in the mind.”

The remarks here quoted cover a wider surface than that in connection with which they have been adduced; but I have thought it best to give them in their completeness, as illustrative of the whole subject with which I am dealing. The physiological fact adduced—namely, that of apparent sensation in a foot after the foot has been amputated, differs from the case of apparent vision when there is no actual external object to stimulate the eye in this—namely, that although the foot is gone the nerves still exist, and are in communication with the brain, although their extremities are removed; whereas in the case of vision all the machinery is there, and we must suppose the machinery put in motion in an absolutely abnormal manner; but there is a strong analogy and resemblance between the two cases nevertheless, for in both the mind is deceived by an abnormal action; in the one case, the man sees, as he believes, an object which has no existence; in the other he feels, as he believes, pain or itching in a foot which equally has no existence. In this way, therefore, one case explains and supports the other.

But regarding the sense of feeling with reference to telepathic phenomena, no illustration can be more remarkable or more complete than that afforded by the experience of Mrs. Arthur Severn, as detailed in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Here we have testimony, apparently irrefragable, of a wife imagining herself, or believing herself, to be the subject of a blow actually experienced by the husband at a distance from the wife, and with no possibility of any communication with her, saving such as may be called spiritual.

No apparition theory can easily be more wonderful, in a certain sense more incredible, than this; yet it may be said, not only that it would seem difficult to shake the evidence, but also that if in any circumstances and under any conditions telepathy be possible, there would seem to be no reason why the communication should not mimic the sense of feeling as much as that of seeing or hearing.

3. My correspondent, whom I quoted not long ago, speaks of hallucinations of *taste* being as certain as those of sight and hearing. An instance which occurred within my own knowledge a short time since may be enough for my present purpose.

A young woman, whom I will call A, suffered much from headache, and asked another young woman, whom I will call B, whether she could give her relief. B said she thought she could do so, and went upstairs for a dose of *sal volatile*. Finding her bottle empty, with the exception of a few drops, and wishing not to disappoint her friend, she determined upon a bold experiment. Putting a drop or two into a glass she filled the glass with water, and carried the dose to her suffering friend. A put the amateur medicine to her lips, and remarking that it was very nasty to the taste, swallowed it. The result was that the headache departed; and so remarkable was the success, that the dose was repeated for several days, always with the like effect; and when A and B separated, A made petition that she might have the prescription for this marvellous medicine. The curative power of this harmless treatment is a matter upon which I shall have something to say presently; the point to which I now direct attention is the hallucination of taste. The nasty flavour which A experienced could not have originated in the fluid (which practically was merely water) acting upon the tongue; but must, I suppose, have originated in the brain itself, or in that part of the mind which deals with taste, if there be a department of the mind in which such vulgar business is transacted. The result is parallel to that of an apparition, or of a man having sensation in his toes when his foot has been amputated. Cases such as that which I have adduced do not illustrate directly the telepathic side of the subject; but they show that the sense of taste, like the other senses, is subject to hallucination, and I should not be surprised to hear of persons being so brought into *rapport* that a taste experienced by one should be imagined as an experience by the other.

4. The remaining sense is that of smelling, concerning which, I confess, there is not much to be said. It is no doubt in a certain manner and degree a gateway of the mind; but it has this peculiarity, that it becomes more narrow and less passable as the mind itself becomes elevated and refined. Taking a general view of the animal kingdom, with man as the head of it, we may say that the sense of smelling is of almost supreme importance in some departments of

the kingdom, but that with civilized man it has become nearly extinct, and chiefly noticeable in connection with such things as lavender-water and eau de Cologne.

Hence, although for the sake of completeness and symmetry I have mentioned this almost discarded sense, I have nothing to advance respecting it in furtherance of my general argument.

Passing away then from the consideration of the particular senses into the general discussion of the subject which includes them all, I think it may be maintained with some considerable force of argument—

(1) That there may be, and sometimes is, exhibited a reversal of the ordinary process, according to which the senses are the inlets to the mind of the perception of external things; so that the mind is affected first, and produces as an effect either an actual or an imagined sensation.

(2) That there is not a little evidence to show that this mental affection sometimes arises from the sympathy of other minds, and even from the influence of those who are no longer alive in the body.

The first of these two propositions is much the simpler of the two; it is only in the second that we trench upon the land of telepathy and ghosts. Nevertheless, the first is important in itself, and helps so much towards the second, that it may be worth while to dwell upon it for a few moments.

Take as an illustration results which are said to arise from imagination. We are told that the worst preparation for the cholera is to be afraid of it, and that the belief that you have got the complaint is not unlikely to verify itself. This may or may not be true; but the same kind of result can be placed beyond all doubt by actual observation in a less terrible field. Let me give an example. A gentleman was leaving Ostend in company with a friend who was an excessively bad sailor and dreaded the passage. Having two or three hours to wait until the tide served for the starting of the steamer, the bad sailor retired to his berth and prepared for the worst. After an hour or more his friend, going down to see him, found him in the horrors of sea-sickness, although the ship had all the time been as immovable as the pier to which she was moored. Most persons have met with experiences similar to that here related, and the common explanation is that "it is all fancy." But why should fancy produce such results? One can understand that a person dreading some particular misery may fall asleep and dream that he is undergoing it, but that the mind by the process of dread should produce the very physical condition which is connected with the dread, is certainly a very remarkable result. and one which would scarcely have been anticipated. And I do not

say that to speak of reversing the order of operations between the senses, the brain, and the mind can really *explain* the phenomenon, but certainly this theory of reversal seems to enable us to comprehend better than we otherwise should what takes place; and the phenomenon seems to indicate that this is the method of operation, and that we have in this view at least a partial explanation of what we mean when we say that a curious result is "all fancy" or "all imagination." It is possible that in this view is to be found the key to such strange experiences as the alleged stigmata of St. Francis.

It seems to me also that I may claim as corroborative evidence of the view which I am now putting forward, the opinions of that remarkable man, James Hinton. Those who have read his life will remember how much importance he attached to the medical theory which he described as *curing by the emotions*. It seemed to him that the solution of the mysteries of homœopathy and the reconciliation of homœopaths with the orthodox school of medicine was to be found in the supposition that the emotions of the mind might be made the originations of the curative process. Of course I, as a layman in medical matters, pronounce no opinion upon a medical question; but, in connection with the views of this paper, I venture to introduce two or three passages from Mr. Hinton's letters. In one of them he writes as follows:—

"To come to my work. The last month has been an invaluable one to me. I have made a great step in knowledge, and have gained a great accession of humility. I have become wise, and discovered that I was a fool. . . . My grand discovery is nothing but that simple fact I told you of before, which has been embodied in the common proverb that *fancy kills or fancy cures*. . . .

"Twenty years ago a doctor was walking through a field of peas. He took a few in his hand, and as he meditated he rolled them between his fingers. While thus engaged, he passed by a house where lived a woman deranged in health. She thought if a doctor was rolling anything in his hand it must be a pill, and asked him to give her some, for she had taken much medicine, and could get no better. He gave her two peas; she took them; the next day he called, and found that they had cured her. . . .

"Now, if he had studied that fact, as God commanded him, what might he have done? First, he might have spared the world a great part of the nonsense that has been talked about mesmerism, electro-biology, and homœopathy, and have saved from pollution the paper on which have been printed the cruel rules with which mankind have been persecuted on these subjects. Secondly, he might have brought into practical use a mighty agent for the relief of our suffering fellow-creatures that God has entrusted to us."

Again, in another letter:—

"I'll tell you why women were made to *blush*. It is that, I might discover by means of it how it is that anything that acts on the emotions will cause and cure disease.

"I think the matter is so plain that I can explain it to you in a very few words. It is as plain as the reason why water rises in a pump—namely, that the air presses it; but that was as mysterious while people didn't know

that the air had any weight, as it is now how an infinitesimal dose should cure a disease, the mystery being simply that people haven't yet discovered that the *emotions* have weight.

"Mr. Astley Cooper published in his lectures (thirty years ago) that the only cause he could discover for cancer was mental distress; and that, he was sure, would produce it. The whole medical world has read these lectures since; and yet, now go to a medical man, and tell him that a cancer has been cured by the production of emotions, and he will laugh at you.

"If a person loses too much blood he has a headache, which is due to there being too little blood in the brain, and the vessels, accordingly, too much contracted. Now, we have seen that depressing emotions contract the blood-vessels, and as such an emotion produces a headache precisely the same as that which is caused by loss of blood, I presume that the same physical condition exists in both cases—namely, a contracted state of the blood-vessels in the brain. Now, having got a headache arising from contraction of these vessels, what is the cure? Of course, relax them. And how shall we do that? One way will immediately suggest itself to you—namely, to produce a cheerful emotion, which, as you know, is seen to relax the vessels. Suppose we excite *hope*; is not the thing done?—that is to say, give the patient a globule. I should think it would cure him. If it won't, my theory is wrong; but I don't think it is, because a spoonful of water will cure, as in this case that Mr. F. attended last week. A lady sent for him in a great hurry, late in the evening. She was very ill, and her friends thought that she was going to die. She had intense headache, restlessness, vomiting upon the least movement, and so on—in fact, the vessels in her brain were constricted by fear. Mr. F., like a wise man (having profited by my experience), gave her a teaspoonful of water. The first dose stopped the sickness, cured the headache, and sent her to sleep. Is that a mystery? The interpretation of it is written easily on every woman's cheek. The *hope* relaxed the vessels. I haven't selected this case because the affection was nervous, but only because I could describe it easily in simple language. I know of still more striking cases of real disease cured manifestly in the same way."\*

The reader will perceive how strongly these views of a speculative yet practical medical man bear upon the subject of this essay. Curing by the emotions of the mind, acting upon matter through mind, beginning with the higher part of man's being, and making the higher act upon the lower, may clearly be taken as an example of that reverse action with which I am endeavouring to deal.

There is something elevating and inspiriting in the thought that the emotions of the mind can really act as a medicine, that *hope* may in some cases be more potent than *calomel*. If a teaspoonful of water can act through the emotions, there is no quackery in administering it; to be cured by fancy is as satisfactory as being cured by drugs; and it may be that some of the cures which pass for miraculous, and which it is easier to sneer at than to disprove, may belong to that wide class in which the emotions play a prominent part. It might be well to consider some of the tales of the grotto of Lourdes in our own time, as well as some of more ancient date, in this light.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to guard against the supposition

\* "Life and Letters of James Hinton," p. 60.

that it is intended to imply that there is any necessary connection between the possibility of a reversed action of the mind and senses, and the possibility of apparitions, or generally of what may be described as telepathic phenomena. The reality or unreality of this whole class of phenomena must, I apprehend, rest upon the question of sufficiency or insufficiency of evidence. If the evidence be insufficient, as in the case of a large number of instances it undoubtedly is, there is an end of the matter; but if, after making every allowance for superstition, exaggeration, error by transmission, positive blunders, and intentional invention, there is still much of what commonly passes for supernatural, and which yet cannot be easily contradicted, much also which seems to indicate a region in which the ordinary laws of matter do not possess a monopoly of influence, then it may be that the consideration of these exceptional facts will be helped by perceiving that such a reversal of the ordinary sequence of matter and mind is in some cases demonstrable, and therefore in other cases at least credible.

With regard to the general question of the possibility of telepathic action, it may perhaps be asked, and I take this opportunity of asking, whether antecedently the action of mind upon mind is more difficult to conceive and believe than the action of matter upon matter? Yet it is a simple fact, that each particle of matter in existence is in what may almost be described as vital connection with every other particle, whatever may be the distance and whatever amount of matter may intervene. Professor Stokes, in his recently published volume "*On the Nature of Light*," refers to a conversation which he had with the late Sir David Brewster, who, with reference to the undulatory theory, was "staggered by the idea of filling space with some substance;" and he then adds, "I cannot say that this particular difficulty is one which ever presented itself as such to my own mind. To me the difficulty is rather that of conceiving such an influence as that of gravitation to extend across an absolute void." Professor Stokes then quotes a well-known but remarkable passage from Sir Isaac Newton, who says, "Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws; but whether this agent be material or immaterial, I leave to the consideration of my readers."\*

Thus Sir David Brewster had a difficulty in conceiving a universe of matter, Professor Stokes has the opposite difficulty of conceiving a vacuum, and Sir Isaac Newton will not exclude the notion of an immaterial agent; meanwhile the fact remains that, in the case of gravity, telepathic action takes place universally and invariably. In the presence of this mysterious, unexplained, and possibly inexplicable

\* "*On the Nature of Light*," p. 15.

fact, there would seem to be some rashness in asserting the incredibility of mental telepathy.

And having arrived at this point, I might perhaps bring this essay to a close ; but I am tempted to detain the reader one moment longer.

Amongst the criticisms which my former paper has called forth, there is one which I think it important to notice, because it contains a remark which ought to be refuted.

A writer in the periodical entitled *Light* writes thus :—

“There is another matter which I am surprised the Bishop did not take into consideration. It (*i.e.*, my theory) destroys, I may say pulverizes, all our confidence in the fact of the Resurrection. If the fact be so, what more likely than that the Apostles, intensely and eagerly desiring the reappearance of their Lord on earth according to His own promise, had the usual process inverted in their own case, and that their *minds* set in motion the usual process, instead of an external reality? Away goes all certainty in the Resurrection—away goes all certainty in the administration of justice.”

The meaning of the last nine words I do not apprehend ; but so far as certainty in the Resurrection is concerned, I should be grieved to think that any line written by me could tend to cause a doubt, and I do not believe that such is likely to be the case. I may, however, point out, as the suggestion of this possibility has been made, the very remarkable care taken to guard against the supposition that the Resurrection was of the nature of an apparition, and that our Lord's risen body was a phantom body. Let me quote two passages. “He said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself. Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bone as ye see me have; and when he had thus spoken he showed them his hands and his feet.”\* Again, in the palmary proof of the reality of the Resurrection granted to the doubting Apostle Thomas we read: “Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing.”† If it were necessary, it might be pointed out that the notion of “the Apostles intensely and eagerly desiring the reappearance of their Lord” is one which has no foundation in fact, and, on the other hand, is contradicted by the historical record; but it is sufficient for my purpose to observe that if it had been anticipated by the writers of the New Testament that there would be, in future ages, a tendency to explain away the Resurrection as an apparition originating in the minds of the Apostles, and not corresponding to an objective fact, they could not have framed their records more carefully and more completely with the apparent intention of making such a view of the Resurrection altogether untenable. The universal acceptance of the Apostles' Creed as the symbol of the faith of Christendom is the evidence of the measure of their success.

H. CARLISLE.

\* St. Luke xxiv. 39, 40.

† St. John xx. 27.



## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN ITALY.

**I**F I were asked to give a sketch of the Parliamentary situation in Italy at the present moment, I could do neither more nor less than repeat precisely what I said in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last November. There is absolutely no change at all. Signor Depretis still finds at his disposal a large and fairly compact and homogeneous majority, which has the best will in the world to help him in carrying out his legislative programme and his internal reforms. But what, then, it may be asked, of the Ministerial crisis of a few months ago? The thing is curious enough, and worth a brief explanation.

It will be remembered that in May of last year the old overgrown Depretis majority divided on an order of the day which, setting aside all question of Parliamentary topography, and all such sophisticated terms as "Right" and "Left," rested the claims of the Depretis Ministry on its liberal, and at the same time firm and energetic policy, in the face of extreme parties and of the disturbers of the public peace. This elimination of the old party denominations was viewed with some suspicion by the Left, and the more so as it seemed to be accompanied by a *rapprochement*—not to say a fusion—between the Ministry and the Right. The leaders of the Left feared, or pretended to fear, a displacement of the governmental centre of gravity towards the Right. The consequence was, that many members who usually supported the Government voted against the order of the day, and that the two most advanced members of the Cabinet—Signori Baccarini and Zanardelli—resigned, and joined themselves to the other dissatisfied leaders of the Left—Crispi, Nicotera, and Cairoli—the five of them together forming the so-called Pentarchy, or new Opposition of the Left.

The country had hailed with the greatest satisfaction the vote of May 19, since it dissolved a majority composed of incoherent and discordant elements, and put an end to a sort of Parliamentary atrophy which was making sound and effectual legislation impossible. Unfortunately, the new Depretis Ministry, remodelled in consequence of that vote, still contained one member whose presence was sufficient to prevent

complete cohesion. This was Signor Baccelli, the Minister of Public Instruction. Signor Baccelli was extremely repugnant to a great part of the new majority, first for technical reasons, as they considered him unfit for the post he held; and secondarily for political reasons, since Baccelli, notwithstanding the vote of May 19, made no secret of his alliance with the men of the Pentarchy, and therefore plainly ought to have accepted the consequences of that vote and retired from the Ministry with Baccarini and Zanardelli. But he clung to power, and it was the more possible for him to do so inasmuch as Signor Depretis—for what reason it has never clearly been understood—has always made a sort of personal question of having him for a colleague. But the majority would none of him; they spared no thrust; they assailed him every day in petty skirmishes which would soon have wearied out any one less determined to remain in office at any cost. Things were carried so far that Parliament was forced to waste a month and a half in discussing a Higher Education Bill, which had the support neither of the professors nor of the scientific bodies, nor even that of the deputies, who resigned themselves to the Bill only in order not to displease Signor Depretis. The situation, however, could not last; Baccelli was evidently nearing his Waterloo. Parliament had already shown signs of recalcitrancy; it had passed the Bill with manifest reluctance, and by a majority of only three. A few days later, when a new President of the Chamber was to be appointed, the Ministerial candidate, Signor Coppino (now Minister of Public Instruction), was returned by only a very small majority. More than fifty members of the ordinary Government majority deposited blank papers in the urn. The Ministry could but resign, and they resigned accordingly. Signor Depretis was then called to form a new Cabinet; and a perfectly plain course lay before him. The old Ministry had been dissolved by the presence of Signor Baccelli; he omitted Signor Baccelli from the new one, and the *status quo ante bellum* was restored.

The Depretis Ministry, as at present constituted, has its base in the Left, but it none the less receives the willing support of a great part of the Right. As to the policy of the Pentarchy, it is difficult to show any real and serious difference between it and the Governmental policy. On all the essential points—on the question of our foreign alliances, on the modes of dealing with the social question, and on that other important practical question of railway organization—they are substantially at one. At that banquet at Naples where the Pentarchy, so to speak, officially inaugurated itself, the Pentarchs really had nothing to allege against the Government, except with regard to its conception of public liberty and of the measures to be used and the caution to be observed in restraining it. It has since become clear that all this criticism was inspired by nothing but fear and suspicion—the suspicion that Signor Depretis was going (to use the very words of Signor Zanardelli) to shift the base of the Government from the Left to the Right. The fact that this suspicion was wholly unfounded received fresh confirmation from the manner in which Signor Depretis terminated the late crisis, by choosing as his colleagues three men who had belonged to former Ministries of the Left—Signori Brin, Coppino, and Ferracini.

Once more, then, Italian policy is able to advance with a steady

pace, and with no great perils or internal commotions in view. Only we still find ourselves always face to face with that great question, which mingles with all our internal policy, and complicates even our external relations, through the indirect action exercised upon us in relation to it from without—I mean, the Vatican question. There are here in Rome two rival sovereignties in open conflict one with the other, the Vatican and the Quirinal. The Vatican has not chosen to accept the terms offered by the State in the law of guarantees; it regards the Quirinal as an open enemy and the usurper of its rights; and it protests in the only manner possible to it,—by a feigned imprisonment. This hostility between the two powers comes out from time to time in more or less significant incidents. To mention only the most remarkable, there was the demonstration that took place between the Clericals and the Liberals about three years ago, at the removal of the remains of Pius IX. to Campo Varano, which resulted in the most deplorable scenes. Leo XIII. at that time pronounced an allocution in which he lamented the diminished liberties of the Church and insisted on the necessity of the temporal power as a guarantee of its independence. Little more than a year afterwards he had to repeat the same complaints, because the Italian tribunals had disallowed the competency of the tribunals he had established within the Vatican in 1882. And just lately another incident has occurred of a still graver character. A suit has been pending for some years between the Government and the Congregation of the Propaganda; and the Court of Cassation has just decided, on the basis of the laws for the suppression of ecclesiastical corporations promulgated in 1866, 1867, and 1873, that the real estate of the Congregation is to be converted into public property. This decision, although it may in fact do little material harm to the Propaganda, has stung the Vatican to the quick. For a few days a report was circulated in Rome that the Pope was about to leave the city; but nothing came of it farther than the allocution of last March, in which the Pope melts into the usual lamentations over the tyranny of the Government and the enslaved condition of the Church, and insists as before on the necessity of the temporal power as a guarantee of his independence and paramount spiritual authority.

I quote these facts by way of explaining the situation, without attempting to offer a judgment upon them. I need only say that they are the inevitable consequences of the fact already pointed out—the co-existence in Rome of two rival sovereignties, neither of which is disposed to concede anything of what it believes to be its rights. And it is to be expected that, so long as these conditions remain the same, incidents of the same kind, more or less frequent and more or less serious, will continue to happen in the future. It is a struggle for existence which is being fought out between the two powers, and it must end in the survival of the strongest. The repercussion of this conflict is felt everywhere throughout the country; and it has produced an immediate situation, and certain general tendencies, altogether peculiar to Italian political life. In addition to the great National party, which has created Italy, and which, with its various shades of Liberalism, dominates in Parliament, we have the Clericals, who depend entirely upon the Vatican, and share all its ideas, its

passions, and its aspirations; and we have the Conservative Nationals, or Catholic Conservatives. These last, while they agree in wishing for a united Italy with Rome for its capital, make some reservations in favour of the Pope. They form the party of conciliation between Church and State; but meanwhile, as they will not displease the Vatican, which holds to its old formula, "Neither elected nor electors," they take no active part in the political life of the country. Neither they nor the Clericals are represented in Parliament. The destinies of the country are thus left exclusively in the hands of the great Liberal party. To English people, who for fifty years have been trying to make the House of Commons represent as faithfully as possible all the various interests, opinions, and tendencies which exist in the country, such a situation as this must seem in the highest degree abnormal. And so in truth it is.

Count Cavour, when, in a solemn sitting of the Italian Parliament at the beginning of the year 1861, he declared the necessity of making Rome the capital of the kingdom of Italy, no doubt foresaw the great difficulties and dangers of all kinds to which such a declaration must give rise. The idea which he then entertained was that of attempting to come to a direct agreement with the Court of Rome, offering, in exchange for the surrender of the temporal power, the recognition of the full and entire liberty of the Church. He went so far as actually to make the attempt, employing for this purpose the services of a distinguished Roman, Dr. Diomede Pantaleoni, who, though he belonged to the medical profession, was deeply versed in ecclesiastical history, and also an ardent patriot, and who was anxious to see the completion of Italian unity in Rome accompanied by permission to the Church to expand and develop itself unhindered within its spiritual sphere. Nor was it only—as not a few suspected—as a political expedient, and as a means of extricating himself from insuperable difficulties, that Count Cavour had invented the formula, "A Free Church in a Free State." He sincerely believed that this formula might initiate a new era in the civilization of the world. "The reconstitution of our nationality," he said one day to Count Artom, "will not be without effect on the rest of the world. It is for us to put an end to the great war which is being waged between the Church and civilization, between liberty and authority. . . . And, perhaps, from the height of the Capitol I may be able to declare a religious peace, and to sign a treaty which shall have far other and greater consequences for the future of humanity than the treaty of Westphalia." \*

It was a burst of enthusiasm, no doubt; but what great thing has ever been done in the world without enthusiasm?

It is this same Dr. Pantaleoni, now a member of the Italian Senate, who tells us, in his book recently published, under the title "The Italian Idea in the Suppression of the Temporal Power of the Popes," the story of the negotiations which then took place with the Court of Rome, in which he himself acted as intermediary. Dr. Pantaleoni tried to persuade the cardinals and prelates that the temporal power was already irrecoverably lost; and that it was therefore very much to their interest to accept the important advantages offered by way of compensation. These advantages were to accrue to

\* "Œuvre parlementaire du Comte de Cavour." Introduction, p. 24.

them from a scheme of proposals drawn up by Pantaleoni at the request Count Cavour. By this scheme the nominal sovereignty of the Pope was recognized, and his person declared sacred and inviolable; a sumptuous endowment in landed property was assigned to him, with exemption from all taxes; he was to have absolute freedom of ecclesiastical legislation, whether in matters of dogma or of discipline, and liberty of canonical communication with all the clergy of the realm, with power to convoke synods of all sorts. These concessions carried with them the full and unrestricted liberty of the Church. Count Cavour, on his side, accepted the scheme with some slight reservations. Nevertheless, the negotiations failed, chiefly through the opposition of Cardinal Antonelli, who represented in the Vatican all the reactionary influences then prevailing in Europe, and hostile to the proposed agreement. Dr. Pantaleoni says, in a letter to Count Cavour: "The Ultra-Catholic and Jesuit party urge his Holiness to extreme measures, and press him to reject all compromise, and to declare in Consistory that the possession of the temporalities is essential to spiritual independence."

So it was then, and so it is now. But if it was well to make the attempt, it was perhaps still better that the attempt did not succeed. It was hardly possible that such an agreement should have turned out anything but a blunder. It is all very well to wish for peace and reconciliation; but circumstances do not always admit of the translation of these ideas into facts. It would almost have amounted to a miracle if an institution like that of the temporal power, which had so rooted itself in the traditions of the Vatican as to have become almost an article of faith, could have been abandoned all at once by pacific agreement. Such miracles do not take place in history. The peace of Westphalia followed thirty years of devastating war. The present conflict between Italy and the Church presents all the features of an historical necessity. Deplorable as it is in many ways, it has perhaps one good side, inasmuch as it is the only means of testing the intrinsic vitality and force of the claims put forward by the two combatants. And perhaps not one of the men now engaged in the contest will live to gather the fruits of Cavour's idea by concluding in the Capitol that treaty of peace which allured the thoughts of the great statesman in the last years of his life.

But, since war it is, the two parties carry on the struggle, each with its own weapons and in its own way. One of the last to descend into the arena is Father Curci. In his new book\* the celebrated Jesuit returns to the subject already treated by him in two former ones,† and insists on the necessity of a reformation of the Church as the only means of averting the utter ruin of the faith and irreparable injuries to human society. He holds that the Court of the Vatican—or, as it is now the fashion to call it, the Roman (or Papal) Curia—which was in former times the embodiment of the true spirit of the Christian Church, has now lost that sacred character, and is little more than "a single noisy and headstrong troop in the army of her defenders, arrogating to itself the right of officially representing her, while it possesses

\* "Il Vaticano Regio: Tarlo superstite della Chiesa Cattolica."

† "Moderno Dissidio fra la Chiesa e l'Italia;" "La Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti."

nothing of the spirit of her Divine Master, nor is actuated by any other motive than its own earthly interests."

Father Curci lays it to the credit of the Papacy that it did, under Leo III., infuse something of the Christian spirit into mediæval society, which was still, he says, "an indescribable chaos of barbaric elements superimposed upon the decaying relics of the Pagan Empire." When Leo III., in the Christmas of the year 800, invested Charlemagne with the emblems of political authority, he aimed—as we are told by another Italian author, Tosti—at the spiritualization of that authority by the attribution to it of a Divine origin; and in this way the Papacy acquired a right of surveillance, and of intervention, when necessary, in the interests of the oppressed populations. Thus, what Curci calls "the supreme magisterial arbitrament," which the Popes had begun to exercise in Western Europe long before Leo III., received on that memorable day its confirmation and the legitimation of its title. Up to that time the Popes and the Holy Fathers had certainly never failed to reprove kings for their offences, but they had always abstained from passing any judgment on the legitimacy of their authority or on the justice and benignity of their rule. But from that time forward they no longer hesitated to go as far as this; and the people found in the Popes a solid support and defence against the tyranny of their own princes. This was the system which Gregory VII. completed by the inauguration of that Papal theocracy which is the greatest fact of mediæval history. Nevertheless, Curci himself is of opinion that the Papal theocracy, while it was perhaps a necessity in those times of intense ignorance and confusion from which it sprang, should have been purely transitional, and should have ceased as soon as secular society had acquired some conscience of its own and gave signs of emerging from utter barbarism. Instead of this, the successors of Gregory VII. were bent on perpetuating his system, and would not recognize the fact that it was no longer adapted to the changing times. Innocent III. and Boniface VIII., in particular, signalized themselves by their obstinacy in maintaining it, and thus involved the Papacy in many disastrous failures and defeats. But, once started on the wrong road, the Papacy could not stop. The temporal power, which had so far been the cause only of slight and transient evils, may be said to have become the sole pre-occupation of the Vatican, and an unfailling source of the gravest injury to the Church. Hence sprang the seventy years' captivity at Avignon, the schisms, the Reformation, the philosophy of the eighteenth century, and the French Revolution, and, finally, the complete severance of the Vatican Court from civilization itself.

The course pursued by the Vatican led straight to the Syllabus—the maddest defiance ever hurled by the Church at human society. There can be no doubt that this rupture between the Church and society has had the most pernicious effect on both. Father Curci adopts the Cavourian formula, "A Free Church in a Free State;" but he does not regard the two as so distinct and separate that either can be indifferent to the fate of the other. Modern society has assimilated many Christian elements; or rather, to follow Father Curci's way of putting it, it is nothing else than that Christian society which in the most glorious times of the Church the Popes were labouring to create.

Yet it stands in need of a continuous moral inspiration—a Divine afflatus—in order that these elements may be perpetually quickened and sustained. Now this moral inspiration, this breath of the Holy Ghost, can only come to it from the Church. It is the Church alone which can give an essentially Christian character to society, illuminating its conscience by the teaching of her ministers, and offering herself as an example in doctrine, in learning, and in the exercise of the Christian virtues. But how is all this to be expected of the Vatican régime, which has declared war against human knowledge, and which, engrossed as it is in the pursuit of sordid aims and earthly interests, has altogether lost the track of the heavenly Guide? The Church must undergo a thorough reformation. She must abandon all pretension to that civil sovereignty by which she has brought so many disasters on herself and on society. She must return to the ancient purity of the faith, and to a simplicity of religious forms and rites more agreeable to the manners of our times. Only on these terms can she hope to regain the dominion of men's consciences, and to revive their faith, exhausted by the spectacle of a hypocritical and profane worship.

This is, in brief, the fundamental idea of Father Curci's book. It has fallen like a shell into the Vatican camp, the vices and corruptions of which it has not hesitated to lay bare. I might have much to say of the influence on secular society which Father Curci attributes to a reformed Church. But I prefer to touch on the more practical side of the subject, and to speak of the attempts which have been made during these last years in Italy to put an end to the divisions between Church and State, and of the singular effect of those divisions on the situation of parties and on our whole internal political life.

It was about the year 1879 that there began in the largest towns of Italy, and among a certain class of persons, a somewhat animated agitation in favour of a reconciliation between the kingdom and the Papacy. This agitation had its centre in Florence, where a true and proper Association was formed of the so-called Conservative Nationals. They were persons who till then had, almost all of them, held apart from politics, and who had in no way participated in that great movement which brought Italy to Rome. Belonging, for the most part, to the comfortable classes, they were Conservative by tradition, by opinion, and by temperament. They started from the principle that the liberty and independence of the Papacy, which was and is the pride and glory of Italy, must be maintained intact; but that the unification of Italy, and the constitutional liberties which have accompanied it, are facts arising from the necessities of the times, and cannot be controverted. It remains to reconcile the two things. Their views coincided, in fact, with those represented in France by Montalembert and Lacordaire, and in Italy by Rosmini, Gioberti, Carlo Troya, Cesare Balbo, and others. But the attempt was stamped with failure from the first by the mere fact of its trying to settle the fundamental question, and find a means of reconciliation between the Papacy, which insists on the temporal power as essential to its independence, and the Kingdom, which is resolved to maintain an indefeasible sovereignty in Rome. Since no such means of reconciliation could be found, and yet the party was fain to offer some solution of the difficulty, they pitched

upon one which satisfied nobody. They accepted the principle of making Rome the capital of a united Italy; but they reserved to the Pope at the same time the required guarantees of liberty and independence, not excluding—if he continued to insist upon it—the temporal power itself.

This programme, as I have said, found no support anywhere. The Clericals stood firm on the *non possumus* of the Vatican, and the maxim of political abstention dictated by it, and ridiculed the efforts of the Conservative Nationals. The great Liberal party—if we except some few members of the Moderate fraction of it—took hardly any notice of the movement; while, as to the country, it concerned itself still less. To the best of my belief, not a single Conservative National presented himself as a candidate in any electoral assembly; and if any had done so the electors would assuredly have given him an answer which would have discouraged others from repeating the experiment. Father Curci attributes this want of success to their having no single man in their ranks of the standing, for instance, of a Lamennais or a Montalembert. But this is a mistake. It is because the Italians are of all peoples the least apt to understand a policy which consists in trying to reconcile the irreconcilable. Nobody in Italy cares to remember the "Primato Morale" of Gioberti. It is looked upon as a political romance, and nothing more. The Conservative Nationals have taken their answer, and resolved to descend no more into the field of action. They admit that they must confine themselves to the ideal, since they cannot step down on firm ground without showing their weakness. This is equivalent to saying that as a political party they don't count; for in politics a party goes for nothing unless it agitates, and keeps itself in readiness from moment to moment to seize the reins, and secure the triumph of its own ideas.

If I were asked what is likely to become of these Conservative Nationals, or Conservative Catholics, whichever they are to be called (who, nevertheless, have a considerable following in the country), I should say that they will sort themselves in time according to the various fortunes that may befall Italy or the Papacy. If Italy should definitively make good her claim to Rome, they will range themselves on the side of Italy. If, unfortunately for Italy, the cause of the temporal power should triumph, then they will go with the Pope. It is not a party destined to lead, but to be dragged along in the wake of others.

Meanwhile, of parties really active in this matter there are but two, the Liberals and the Clericals,—or perhaps rather, the Jesuit faction which rules in the Vatican. The cause of this faction has just found a vigorous defender in the Jesuit Father Zocchi, whose book\* is based on the theory that the temporal power is indispensable to the exercise of the spiritual, and is never to be abandoned by the Church. Father Zocchi is naturally somewhat zealous against the Liberals; but he is still more indignant with the adherents of the policy of conciliation, for whom he has nothing but sarcasms, derision, and contempt.

It thus appears that Italy is governed, for the present, by a single party, the Liberals, who no doubt represent the great majority of the country, but who by no means represent the country as a whole. It

\* "Papa e Re; Esposizione delle teoriche di conciliazione politico-religiosa."



might easily be inferred from this that the Italian legislation of the last quarter of a century would be marked by an appearance of one-sidedness and injustice towards those classes which have taken no part in political life. But this inference would not be altogether a true one—nay, it may very nearly be said that it would be altogether false. Of course the Clericals in their journals are daily representing everything that is done in Italy as the *ne plus ultra* of violence and the very work of the devil. Yet I think I have several times seen it admitted by the Conservative Nationals themselves that our legislation during this period may, on the whole, be considered fair and moderate, in spite of the temptation which the dominant party must often have felt to go to extremes against an enemy which, for all it is in a helpless minority, none the less carries on an implacable warfare against them. It may be observed, moreover, that the need of moderation on the part of the Liberals is felt as much by the Left as by the Right division of the party, and would be admitted even by Signor Bertani and his Radicals, were they to come into power. It is another mistake of Father Curci's to represent the members of the Left as so many desperadoes. Such an accusation is altogether belied by the facts. In ecclesiastical matters the Left has shown itself, when in power, perhaps even more moderate than the Right. For the Italian is essentially a politician. When he comes into office he forgets party prejudices, abstract theories, and indefinite aspirations, and thinks only of what is reasonably and practically possible. This, amidst all the difficulties that surround it, is the true strength of Italian Liberalism.

If the Vatican question affected Italy alone, it would long ago have been settled and done with, as far as we are concerned. Italians, who see the Vatican close at hand, know its vices well enough without the help of Father Curci's book. Their own good sense would serve them to distinguish between what are mere matters of worldly interest and what is truly Divine and immutable in the Church—in the words of Vincenzo Lirinense, "*quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus.*" Unfortunately, the whole weight of Ultramontane influence is thrown into the scale against us; and it is this which bolsters up the Vatican régime and encourages it to hold out to the last. Nevertheless, the Italians are not dismayed. When the Florentines went to war with Pope Gregory XI., in 1375, they charged their seigniors to love their country better than God Himself. And these were the inhabitants of a city which was the centre of Guelphism, and known as perhaps the most religious in Italy in those days. In this matter of the conflict with the Papacy, the Italians of our own day think it no blasphemy to give the same charge to their representatives, and bid them love their country "better than God Himself."

I have spoken at some length of these contributions to our political literature, because they gave me the opportunity of completing the picture of our political situation at home. I may now go on to say something of the strictly literary movement in our country.

Our most popular writer, Edmondo de Amicis, makes, in the new book he has published this year,\* a great exhibition of that art of

\* "*Alle Porte d'Italia.*"

description in which he is a master, and which has made his literary fortune. Here are pictures of battles between French and Piedmontese, interwoven with stirring episodes; and enchanting landscapes, in which he spreads before us the majestic panorama of the Alps descending gently into the slopes and pleasant valleys of Piedmont. Nevertheless, the critics have—and I think not without reason—looked somewhat coldly on the book. They find that, even in the hands of the master, this descriptive style begins to pall, especially when he seems to be attempting the revival of a form of literature as antiquated among us as it is everywhere else—I mean the historical romance. The author's erudition, moreover, is not equal to the task he lays upon it; and the personages he brings on the scene, not being animated with any intense and vigorous historical life, seem little else than puppets conveniently placed there as a pretext for the descriptions which are the author's forte.

But it is of another book of De Amicis, that I more particularly wish to speak; and that not so much on account of any literary value it may possess, as because he there portrays certain customs and characteristic features of Italian life to which no other author had, I think, as yet given literary expression. This book is "The Friends," which he published last year.

The reader will remember that letter of Mrs. Shelley's in which she speaks of one Emilia Viviani, who at one time had seemed to her and her husband the very type of ideal perfection, and who, in fact, inspired the "Epipsychidion" of the great poet, but who ended by showing herself in her true colours as a very positive, and, to put it plainly, a somewhat vulgar person. In that letter Mrs. Shelley speaks of her friendship with this lady as having come to pass in the Italian fashion—that is to say, suddenly, and without any previous study of the lady's character, tastes, and real disposition. Now, in this book of De Amicis, the friendships are all formed more or less in the same fashion. There is perhaps no word so much abused in Italy as the word "friend." Our friendships in general are made, dropped, resumed, and dropped again, with hardly ever a serious thought, at the mere dictation of caprice or accident. To-day you find yourself in a place where you have not a single friend; to-morrow chance may put you in possession of a score, all of the most various ranks and classes, and you may thus find yourself all of a sudden the centre of a group of friends, which on the one hand touches the highest ranks of society, and on the other the humblest and the lowest. This group, moreover, composed as it is of elements so diverse, will necessarily be in a state of perpetual transformation, and will give place within itself, according to the various characters, ages, professions, and sympathies of its members, to the composition of other small contractile groups which will be continually merging the one in the other, like the circles made by the drops of rain on the surface of a pond. It is the various phenomena attendant on these shallow and adventitious friendships which De Amicis describes in his book—surprises, repulses, mortifications, misunderstandings, disillusionings, rancours and secret aversions, affronts, calumnies, fantastic refinements of punctilio, and all the rest of it. De Amicis has treated his subject—insipid, vulgar, and tiresome as in many ways it is—in all its amplitude, bestowing on it much ana-

lytical acumen and keenness of observation. Some of his passages are marvellously true and luminous. But he carries minuteness to a fault, and chisels away so finely as really to impair the clearness of his outlines. With a less prolix style, and less diffuseness in insignificant particulars, the book would have been a better study of those fugitive friendships of every-day life which certainly do not coincide with Cicero's or Montaigne's idea of friendship, but which none the less are a fact of human life, and, as such, are worthy of artistic representation.

But I must not linger over De Amicis. If these notices of Italian books and authors are to have any substantial value or interest, I must range our authors in the ranks in which they really move, must take note of the essential character and general tendencies of contemporary art among us, and show under what conditions, with what present fortunes and what probable success, the contest is being carried on between the two rival schools, realistic and idealistic, which are competing for the foremost place in the imaginative representation of thought. With us it was only a few years ago that the struggle really began in earnest, on the publication of a volume of poems of which I will speak later on. It has just received a fresh impulse from a novel by Rocco de Zerbi.\* Rocco de Zerbi, a member of Parliament, a critic, a journalist, and a man of letters in general, who makes a speech on railway tariffs or treaties of commerce with the same ease with which he reviews a literary production, maintains in this new novel that art can now only be saved by allying itself with science; that the sentimental novel is dead, that the metaphysical novel is dying, and that there is no place left for anything but the biological novel of the future, in which the actions of the personages and the development of the plot are the natural outcome of those general laws which regulate life.

Now let us turn back, and begin a little higher up the stream.

The generation which has made Italy, and of which only a few men advanced in years still remain amongst us, lived on a literature which supplied them with a strong ideal nutriment—a literature impregnated with one potent idea, that of the freedom of Italy and the expulsion of the foreigner. After 1815, when the first disappointment of the Restoration had worn off, this was the Italian's one aspiration, and all the forms of our literature—fiction, poetry, and the drama—vied with one another in giving expression, more or less ardent and enthusiastic, to this great national idea. Vittorio Alfieri, and after him Ugo Foscolo, were the first to awaken Italy from its lethargy, and to kindle the fire of patriotic sentiment. They were followed by Leopardi in his "Canzoni," by Giovanni Berchet in his "Romanze," by Prati and Aleardi in their political songs, by Giusti in his various poems, by Giambattista Niccolini in his tragedies (especially "Arnaldo da Brescia" and "Giovanni da Procida," in which he makes a double assault on foreign and sacerdotal tyranny), and finally Guerrassi and Massimo d'Azeglio in their novels. Throughout all this period, the patriotic note is so dominant that even where the topic is anything but political it breaks out here and there, if only as an allusion, an aspiration, or a lament. Leopardi said of Alfieri, that he was all his

\* "L'Avvelenatrice."

life making war on tyranny from the stage. Other poets did the same. Ugo Foscolo says :—

“A chi altamente oprar non é concesso,  
Fama tentino almen libere carte.”

And Guerrassi, “Since I cannot fight a battle, I have written a book.”  
And Carducci, in imitation :—

“Or poi ch' altro n' è tolto, or guerra indica  
Da' teatri la musa,  
Gitti il flauto dolente e la loric  
Stringa, ed all' asta dia la man già usa.”

Italians in those days were not likely to adopt the principle of “Art for art's sake;” and, to say the truth, they have hardly adopted it even yet. The generation of which I speak came to '48 and '59 aglow with the patriotic enthusiasms of its poets, and animated with all the passions and hopes and hatreds which they had embodied in their writings.

Down to 1870—that is, so long as the Italians were not yet in possession of Rome—the idealism thus inspired still lingered in the public mind. It is true that there were many Italians who, after the great annexations of 1860, were inclined to pause a little and take breath, and begin to reorganize the almost completed kingdom. But the militant national party headed by Garibaldi, acting undoubtedly in harmony with the deepest popular instinct, would endure no pause. Most daring, but, it must be owned, at the same time most judicious, they held that so long as Venice and Rome remained in the hands of the Austrians and the priests, it would never do to let the national enthusiasm evaporate. The literature of those years, therefore, is still dominated by the patriotic idea. Nor did this idea even begin to die out after the acquisition of Venice. The Italians felt that till Rome was theirs they still wanted their natural capital, the very heart of the new Italy.

In the decade 1860–1870, there remained, as the champions of this literature of combat—to speak only of poets, and only of the chief of those—Aleardi and Carducci. Aleardi, however, was nearing the close of his career; in 1863 he had written his last Canto Politico, “Al Futuro Pontefice,” in which he recounted the sad events of the pontificate of Pius IX., the obstinate opponent of liberty and of Italian independence, and ended with this apostrophe :—

“Ritirati, levita,  
Perchè con la tua trista figura  
Mi nascondi il Signore.”

But Carducci was still in the vigour of his age; he had figured in 1859 as the poet of the Cross of Savoy, but he had since come to profess a sort of Platonic Republicanism; and during this period he gave free expression to his patriotic opinions in his “Decennalia” and in his “Giambi ed Epodi.” He dedicated his verse to the memory of the extraordinary political events of that period. Aspromonte, in particular, and that sad but glorious story of Mentana, kindled his poetic fervour, and evoked verses some of which will not soon be forgotten.

These longings for independence, for liberty, for unity, for Rome, had been the very map of Italian literature down to 1870. With the

acquisition of Rome the Italian ideal was realized. What was to come next? That literature which for several decades had lived in a sort of patriotic paroxysm, and which, so long as it stirred the public mind and advanced the national cause, troubled itself but little as to the accuracy of its message, found itself suddenly set aside. La Farina, for instance, who, in his "*Storie*," had represented the Longobardi as the precursors of Italian unity, and Balbo, who in his "*Sommario della Storia d'Italia*" had treated the very earliest Italian movements as so many prognostications of the independence of Italy, had both of them written at the dictation of a patriotic instinct rather than of historic truth. But now, when a short time ago there was a question of erecting a memorial to Giambattista Niccolini, the author of so many popular tragedies, the public remained indifferent, and gave no sign of the enthusiasm which half a century ago responded to such patriotic plays as "*Filippo Strozzi*," and "*Arnaldo da Brescia*," and "*Giovanni da Procida*." The Italian public of to-day cares no longer for these productions, which, alongside of many undeniable merits, are marked by such defects as historical inaccuracy, conventionality, and an inflated rhetoric,—patriotic enough, no doubt, but mere rhetoric. The same may be said, and for the same reasons, of the historical novels of Guerrassi, and, to some extent at least, even of those of Massimo d'Azeglio.

The patriotic ideal was realized; what other ideal remained to literature? On the morrow of the occupation of Rome, a general idea was current all through the country that the aim of the national aspirations, hitherto pitched so high, must now come down to the plain realities of the situation, and that the country, having recovered its national integrity, could now have no other task than to develop its commerce, its agriculture, and its manufacturing industries, and in general to call out its hitherto unexplored economic resources. It must be the mission of the new literature to encourage these civic aspirations; and indeed the first indications of this new departure had already appeared in some fine poems of Zanella. But this tendency, strong as it was for the moment—and especially so in the theatre—could not last long. Our poets soon tired of singing the hypothetical glories of our commerce and industry, and the still more hypothetical glories of our daily politics.

We were still in the midst of this uncertainty as to where the new inspiration for our literature was to come from, when in February 1877, a Bolognese advocate, Olindo Guerrini, published, under the title "*Postuma*," a volume of poetry, which he ascribed to his cousin Lorenzo Stenzetti, who had died some little time before of consumption in one of the small towns of the Romagna. Soon afterwards it became known that Lorenzo Stenzetti was only a borrowed name, and that the author of the volume was Guerrini himself. The book made a great sensation on its first appearance, less on account of the genius displayed in it—though that was remarkable—than of the new artistic tendency it implied, a tendency essentially realistic. Guerrini entered the field as the open adversary of the "*Ideal*," which he stigmatised as hypocritical in substance, and false in art. The abstraction "*God*" was no longer wanted by anybody but the nuns; the abstraction "*woman*" was to be left to romancers behind the times; and as

to the abstraction "fatherland," it was pretty clear that every one was trying to dress up a fatherland of his own, fashioned to suit his own interests; and any poet stupid enough to sing of an ideal country, the model of every virtue and every perfection, would run the risk of being understood by nobody, and left to read his verses to himself. Guerrini therefore made it his business to cast down the Ideal from those high places where it had been set up by a superstitious piety, a somewhat turgid patriotism, and an exaggerated woman-worship; holding it up to derision, and calling it into contrast with the living and palpitating Reality. In the "*Epicedio a le Ostriche*," for instance, he compares the idealistic poets to oysters which—civilized creatures!—content themselves with a chaste and solitary life, and propagate in seclusion, cold, mute, and motionless. In another poem he apostrophizes the idealists, and jestingly assures them that the new "veristic" art is preparing for them all the fate of Marsyas, and that their skins shall be made into wine-skins, to hold the wine of Chianti! Even Guerrini himself is moved with some enthusiasm at the sight of the lagoons and palaces of Venice; but he concludes his sonnet thus:—

" V'amo, trofei rapiti al musulmano  
Di Candia e di Morea; v'amo, v'adoro . . .  
Sogliole fritte e vin di Conegliano ! "

The white turtle-doves so often sung by the idealistic poets please him too, but he prefers them roasted. He likes all birds in general, but always cooked, and with polenta. Would you know his conception of womanhood, and how he understands love? Speaking of the Roman Lucretia, the traditional type of constancy and virtue, he says:—

" Memorie di grandezza e di spavento,  
Altro amor che di voi m'arde le vene !  
Collatino non c'è, Bruto è contento . . .  
E Lucrezia m'aspetta, e mi vuol bene. "

Naturally, Guerrini will have nothing to do with the abstinences and abnegation of the flesh commended by the teaching of Christ. The nuns may keep their consumptive Jesus, who taught such things, to themselves. For him there is but one divinity; Truth,—and she teaches but one lesson, Love (!) In politics, Guerrini is for "going forward," to the utter destruction of the present order of things, which he regards as a mass of injustices. He tells the rich and powerful that he wishes his verse

" Fosse un ferro rovente,  
Per bollarvi tra gli occhi la cotenna,  
Canaglia prepotente ! "

But all this, be it understood, without any really mischievous meaning at all, since it is well known that Guerrini is an excellent fellow, incapable of injuring any one.

I have said that the "*Postuma*," which were followed at a distance of some few months by another volume, "*Nova Polemica*," created a great sensation. Not, indeed, that this sort of poetry is anything new, in this or in any other country; but in relation to the times and circumstances in which it sprang up, it was both new and startling, for it offered a new lead, precisely at the moment when a new lead was wanted. Not that Guerrini himself would admit the imputation

of a tendency of any sort. He maintains that he has no tendency at all, except to say what he thinks. But be this as it may, there started up around these two volumes of poetry a crowd of enthusiastic admirers and bitter assailants. To judge from the number of imitators, admiration was in the ascendant. The Petrarchists themselves were never so numerous in any given space of time. From 1878 onwards it may be said that hardly a week passed without the publication in some Italian town or other of a volume of the so-called "veristic" poetry—most of it, of course, destined only to live a day. This extraordinary fecundity is diminishing now, but it has not yet ceased. The most noticeable of recent publications of this sort are a volume of verses by the Contessa Lara, and the "*Intermezzo di Rime*," of Gabriele d'Annunzio. The latter in particular is remarkable for the morbid complacency and subtle art which he brings to the description of sensual gratifications. This book is perhaps the last and utmost of the veristic school.

And yet, notwithstanding all the excesses of this school, no Italian critic of any acuteness can deny that it has had its uses. It was wanted, to free us from our bondage to classic tradition, from sentimental ditties and idealistic swoons and trances. It was felt on all sides that in order to gain fresh force and vigour our literature must, like Antæus, touch the earth, even at the risk of some bespattering. We were like the Romans after the death of Cleopatra; we were fain to sing with Horace—

"Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus."

The veristic school does indeed go too far in holding up the things of sense as exclusively true and real. But this is the disadvantage of all reactions; they always go more or less beyond the mark. I think the successes of veristic exaggeration among us are drawing to a close, and that our literature will not be long before it makes a fresh start in an opposite direction. For the Italian is, to use the expression of our famous critic, Francesco de Sanctis, home-sick for the ideal. We are impelled towards it by our individual nature, and by the very character of our national genius. But one thing is certain. The ideal that is to be will not be like those other ideals which have passed away. It will draw its nourishment from the living reality; but, with its foot firm on the firm earth, it will ever be toiling upward towards the heights. Excelsior!

GIOVANNI BOGLIETTI.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

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### I.—MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

**T**HOUGH translation is not strictly philosophical work, it cannot be doubted that the two handsome volumes of Lotze's "Logic and Metaphysics," issued by the Clarendon Press,\* are likely to have (and they certainly deserve to have) an important influence on philosophical thought in England. In a certain sense it is true that international barriers tend to disappear in philosophy as they have already disappeared in science; but hardly to the same extent. And though a knowledge of foreign thinkers filters through in this way to the generality of students without much delay, this is not the same as drinking at the fountain-head itself. All philosophical thought has an aroma of personality about it. It derives part of its force and persuasiveness from its author's manner of setting it forth; and in an exposition at second-hand we may often inadvertently miss the proper point of view for judging of the whole. Philosophical results, it has been well said, are valueless, if we do not enter into the process by which they are arrived at. This general dictum is more than usually true in Lotze's case. The results of his laborious discussions are apt to strike us as meagre. Sometimes, as in a Platonic dialogue, we may even be left in doubt at the end of all the subtle windings of thought whether any decision has been passed on the main question at all; when it is possible to formulate definite results, they cannot be called altogether new. Of all this the author himself is fully aware, and in the preface to the "Logic," he goes as far as to apologize for giving to that and the following works the apparently pretentious title of a "System of Philosophy." "It is obvious," he says, "that I can propose to myself nothing more than to set forth the entirety of my personal convictions in a systematic form." Or, as he put it even more characteristically in beginning the last book of the "Microcosmus":—"I make no higher claim for the remainder of my treatise than the following, which it may perhaps justify: my object is to offer to the reader the connected results of a long course of reflections—results which have come to be dear to me—and I offer them in the same straightforward fashion in which any one in a serious conversation communicates of his best, in order to elevate moments of leisure to moments of permanent mental concentration. Should I be successful in establishing this living personal relation with the reader's mind and heart, I shall esteem it more highly than even the good fortune of seeing a

\* "Lotze's System of Philosophy." Part I. Logic; Part II. Metaphysics. English Translation edited by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press.



place accorded in the history of philosophical development to the view of the world whose outlines I am about to bring together. For we probably all have our doubts now about the correctness of the belief which made men confident, not so long ago, that they had discovered in the progress of philosophy the very pith of the world's history, and made them see in every change of speculative system the dawning of a new period in the unconditioned source of the world. It is not in playing at development, but in what one living man achieves for other living men, that the value lies even of those speculations whose aim is to set forth ultimate truth." Nothing could characterize Lotze's manner and spirit better; and these later books especially bear in a high degree the stamp of the author's individuality. They are unadorned in style; and the earnest striving of the writer to be honest with himself and with his readers, gives to many of the paragraphs the accent of the living voice. At other times the sense of dialogue yields to that of meditative monologue, as the author revolves his own subtle suggestions of alternative possibilities. Throughout all Lotze's work, indeed, it is impossible not to feel the contagion of his laborious patience in mining for truth, coupled with the lofty ethical and aesthetic convictions which oppose an indomitable resistance to every view that, by limiting us to mechanism or the external relations of things, would eviscerate the whole inward life of the world.

While it is easy, therefore, to point to Lotze's antecedents in Leibniz and Herbart, and to label his doctrine as Monadism, such a historical deduction is very far from invalidating his title to independent attention. He never puts forward for himself any claim to originality. "After such a long philosophical development," he tells us, "a development in which all possible standpoints have been more than once discovered and abandoned, no one can pretend any longer to the merit of originality, but only to that of exactitude." Hence Lotze acknowledged in the fullest manner his obligations to the general conceptions of the Leibnizian theory. But in renewing these for the present age the merit of exactitude comes in. If the results are to a large extent similar, they are worked out in view of the scientific advance since Leibniz's time; in view also of the Kantian criticism, and of the systems of monistic idealism built upon it. Along with this relation to the present, however, no one can fail to notice the scrupulous care which Lotze takes to rid himself of the prejudices of his own generation. This reconsideration of what is usually taken for granted makes his work remarkably stimulating. It needed some courage to give a volume of metaphysics to the world nowadays under the three rubrics, Ontology, Cosmology, and Psychology. But it is refreshing to meet such an investigation with "the nature of things," after the succession of theories of knowledge on the one hand, and theories of mental evolution or psychogenesis on the other, to which we have become accustomed. Both investigations are, of course, indispensable in their own sphere, and the theory of knowledge may well claim to be the fundamental philosophical discipline. But it is undeniable that they tend to become superstitions of the day, and even the theory of knowledge is not sufficient for a philosophy, unless it is something more. Lotze's *not* is tolerably well known, that the constant whetting of the knife becomes tedious, if it is not proposed to cut anything with it.

On the other count, he says some weighty words at the close of the first and the beginning of the second volume on "the noisy glorification of experience," which means so little nowadays; and he effectually disproves the notion that it is possible (except in a perfectly tautologous sense) to derive all truth from experience, and so to start without metaphysical assumptions.

It will probably be found that the main value of Lotze's works lies not so much in any special results of his own as in his penetrating criticism, on the one hand, of the mechanical view of Nature necessarily adopted by science, and, on the other hand, of the Hegelian idealism. He was specially equipped for such criticism, for it was in the scientific field that his first laurels were won; and he has also put it on record that his first philosophic attachment was to the circle of ideas represented by Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. Deserters are not usually the fairest critics of the systems they have left behind. But though Lotze felt himself compelled to reject great part of the Hegelian system; "or rather," as he says, "the whole *in the form that had been given to it*," he did not then, or at any time, yield to a blind revulsion. He justified to the last the conception or ideal of the system, though he could not be satisfied with its execution. In the scientific regard, Lotze is particularly successful in showing how much is currently accepted as plain and needing no explanation, because it is covered by a phrase, or simply from sheer want of thinking about it. His position implies, of course, no antagonism to science; but he continually insists that the world which science presents us with is no more than an external construction which, however necessary it is, still does not touch the inward facts which really constitute the world of existences. It is as if he said that in science we work with algebraic formulæ which require at the end of our operations to be retranslated into terms of actuality. Science leaves us, he says, with "a meaningless and unessential reality, whose only purpose would have been to support mathematical relations and to supply some sort of denomination for abstract numbers; but the *meaning* of the world is what comes first" (Meta. 535). And this meaning must be sought in feeling, in life, in enjoyment, above all in the forms of ethical life. Lotze concludes this volume of "Metaphysic" with the re-assertion of the position with which he closed his "Metaphysik" in 1841—that the true beginning of metaphysics lies in ethics. "I admit that the expression is not exact; but I feel certain of being on the right track, when I seek in that which *should be* the ground of that which *is*." As an analysis of the foundations of scientific thought, the chapters on "The Nature of Physical Action" and "The Unity of Things" (Meta., chap. v. & vi.) deserve special notice; and the same may be said of the first chapter "On the Being of Things," and of the very subtle account of "The Real and Reality" in chap. iii. The two chapters first mentioned refute the idea of absolute or irrelative atoms, showing that it is only as organic members of one world, or of one Being, which conditions them all, that reciprocal action is possible. Such an argument, taken together with the fact that Lotze resolves the essence or substance of a thing into the *law* of its changes, evidently goes a long way to bridge over the gulf between Monadism and Monism.

That Idealists of the Hegelian stamp may learn from Lotze is, first of all, a spirit of modesty and self-distrust in view of the complexity of the problem which the universe presents. They are frequently too light-hearted in their synthesis, when the attitude of Lotze would better become them—the attitude of a man who sits down before a strong place to take it by repeated mining and counter-mining. At all events, there can be no harm in remembering the Oriental proverb with which the second of these volumes closes: God knows better. Secondly, they may learn to avoid the danger of hypostatizing an abstract thought to the exclusion of all that gives value to existence. The realization of a series of thought-formulæ is no worthier an end of the universe than the mechanical framework which science offers for our acceptance. Both eviscerate existence of all real content. In this connection, it is not without significance that the present translation was first set on foot by the late Professor Green, who of all so-called Hegelians had the most of Lotze's cautious self-questioning temper. His attitude to Hegel, as described by Professor Caird in the preface to "Essays in Philosophical Criticism," bears a striking resemblance to Lotze's own. "It must all be done over again," he once said, meaning that the first development of idealistic thought in Germany had in some degree anticipated what can be the secure result only of wider knowledge and more complete reflection." The spread of this healthful scepticism within the school is likely to be increased by the publication of these two volumes, on which Mr. Bosanquet and his fellow-labourers are to be heartily congratulated. The enterprise is one which displays the full advantage of the co-operation which Oxford renders possible.

Von Hartmann's "Philosophy of the Unconscious" \* presents in many respects a striking contrast to Lotze's writings. Instead of the patient, even plodding, spirit of the Göttingen metaphysician, we have an all-comprehensive system, based, as most of us will probably think, on an over-hasty synthesis and a somewhat superficial appreciation of evidence. Hartmann exemplifies the main vices of the great age of German philosophical construction in the beginning of the century; but it is only fair to remember that he also possesses in a high degree the speculative insight and trained metaphysical ability which distinguished the intellectual giants whose work he aspires to carry on. He cannot, therefore, be dismissed as a charlatan, however little his pessimism and other aspects of his theory may commend themselves to a sober judgment. But his pessimism, though it brought him into fame, is really a crude empirical induction without any organic connection with his metaphysical thought. Hartmann has, indeed, suffered somewhat from the extraordinary celebrity into which he stepped at a single stride. He became the idol for a time of the uncritical many through the very qualities which were calculated to awaken the distrust of those whose judgment was worth having. It may be said, with some truth, that he has been occupied for the last fifteen years in working himself free from the vogue of his first work, and vindicating for himself the position of a serious thinker. He has not, however, departed substantially from the position of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious," which contains, according to his own prefatory declara-

\* "Philosophy of the Unconscious." By Eduard von Hartmann. Authorized translation by W. C. Coupland, M.A., B.Sc. Three volumes. London: Trübner & Co.

tion, "the programme of a whole life of work." This programme he is still engaged in carrying out in a very conscientious, not to say ample, fashion. It need hardly be said that the pessimistic parts of these volumes offer much food for the general reader, and they are sure to receive a due share of attention. Here this aspect of the subject may be left aside in order to say a few words on the metaphysical implications of the general argument.

Hartmann's doctrine of the Unconscious is claimed by himself as the only legitimate reconciliation of Hegel and Schopenhauer, whom he regards as the two representative opposites of recent philosophy. The logical Idea of Hegel he considers to be a satisfactory enough explanation of the "What" of the world—of the nature or content of things; but the "That" of the world—the ground of its existence at all—is still to seek. This must be sought, he proceeds, in an allogical or irrational power, such as Schopenhauer assumed in his Will. It is by the Will that the cosmic Idea is posited or impelled into existence. Will and Idea are one in the Unconscious, which is therefore to be considered the ultimate ground or essence which appears in all phenomena. Now the whole nerve of this argument lies in the assumption that Hegel's idea is a *prius* of things, which in some unexplained way (therefore by an allogical principle) gets existence added to its thought-determinations. This, however, is a complete misapprehension of the Hegelian position—a misapprehension only excused by the somewhat misleading form in which Hegel presents his system. But even if this were not so, Hartmann's argument evidently involves the confusion exposed by Lotze in the third chapter of the "Metaphysic" and elsewhere—the habit of separating the world of laws or ideas from things, and treating them as something independent and previously existing, to which the latter must conform. The truth is, as Lotze insists, that the law or ideas are nothing but the mode of existence of the things, nothing but the process of their life formulated. For the rest, it is labour lost, as Lotze often quaintly informs us, to inquire *how being is made*. Yet this, or something very like it, is the problem which Hartmann here essays. It is possible, however, that this aspect of the theory may be brushed aside as a metaphysical subtlety, and we may be asked to take the Unconscious simply as the ultimate ground or noumenon which appears in all phenomena. Von Hartmann himself describes it, in a phrase borrowed from Schelling, as "the individual which is in all being." But this amounts simply to the assertion of Monism; taken together with the acute criticism of Monadistic Pluralism (II. 230, *et seq.*), it does not necessarily lead further than the position which we found Lotze compelled to take up in advance of Herbart's irrelative "reals." It carries with it no further determination of the nature of the one; and to choose for "the individual which is in all being" the designation of the Unconscious is so palpable a paying of ourselves with words, that there is incontestable justice in Lange's caustic reference to the "devil-devil" of the Australian aborigines. These savages refer all their inexplicabilities to the action of this mysterious entity. We have here, in fact, the inevitable *caput mortuum* at which every one must arrive who insists on speaking as if a thing had an existence and nature apart from the determinations under which it is known.

The translation of Schopenhauer's "World as Will and Idea" by Messrs Haldane and Kemp will form, when completed, a useful introduction to the work of the late pessimist. It will have a very definite interest of its own besides, for Schopenhauer was much the more original of the two philosophers, as well as the more striking personality. He has also literary qualities which make his work attractive apart from its philosophic value, and these the translators have shown that they are able to appreciate and to render.

Mr. Merz's compact and careful little volume on Leibniz† in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics comes opportunely just when this side of German thought is beginning to attract more interest in England. Readers of Lotze will find it a convenient introduction.

Among other recent philosophical books, the anonymous work, "Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta,"‡ by Scotus Novanticus, well deserves the careful attention of all who can appreciate a sustained piece of reasoning. It appears incidentally that part of it was written ten years ago, so that we have not to do with any raw or ill-considered product. The book displays much maturity of thought throughout, and the author, whoever he is, possesses a complete grasp of philosophical distinctions. The book is called "A Return to Dualism;" but it is not the Dualism of Reid and Hamilton for which the author contends. He is content, at last, with a quasi-independent existence of the phenomenal, "merely as one side of immanent universal reason." Indeed, though he works out his thesis forcibly in his own way, he has evidently been largely influenced by Kant and the post-Kantian idealists, particularly, perhaps, by Fichte. Dualism, however, is hardly the pivot on which the book revolves. It may be described as a succinct but comprehensive sketch of a metaphysical psychology. It is impossible here to do more than point to the careful analysis of perception from which the author mounts to his further results. Perception, according to him, is distinguished from the lower stage of passive receptivity (which he calls "attuition") by the presence of will or active prehension. In this *actus purus*—"this wholly inexplicable spontaneity"—lies the origin of self and intelligence proper. In this movement of percipiency, the author afterwards contends, there are given to us, through the movement itself, the "dialectic percepts" of being or substance, cause, and the infinite, or, as he prefers to call it, the absoluto-infinite. The chapters dealing with these conceptions are especially to be commended to those who still insist on mystifying themselves over the idea of a first cause or over the infinity of space and time. Quite apart from the question of the origin of these conceptions, the argument here is full of sound sense about their essential nature.

In what was said of Lotze above, attention was mainly directed to his general philosophical standpoint, as that may be gathered from the "Metaphysic," and from the valuable criticism of knowledge contained in the last book of the "Logic." But Lotze's contributions to

\* "The World as Will and Idea." By Arthur Schopenhauer. Translated by R. B. Haldane, M.A., and John Kemp, M.A. Vol. I. London: Trübner & Co.

† "Leibniz." By John Theodore Merz. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) London: Blackwood & Sons.

‡ "Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta: a Return to Dualism." By Scotus Novanticus. London: Williams & Norgate.

logical theory in the stricter sense are also of much importance in the recent history of the science. That they have already exercised their influence upon English thinkers is amply proved by Mr. Bradley's important work, "The Principles of Logic," and by the Essay on "Logic as the Science of Knowledge," recently contributed by Mr. Bosanquet, the editor of this translation, to the volume of "Essays in Philosophical Criticism," already referred to. The activity of English logicians at the present time is also seen in the appearance of Mr. Alfred Sidgwick's "Fallacies"\* and Mr. Keynes's "Studies and Exercises in Formal Logic."† Mr. Sidgwick's is an excellent little book, dealing largely with the practical aspect of logic, but containing in the first part a very thoughtful statement of the essential nature of proof. The plan of Mr. Keynes's book resembles that of Jevons' "Studies in Deductive Logic," but it is more conservative in tone, and is likely to be even more useful for teaching purposes. It is not so exclusively a collection of exercises as Jevons' work, and the expository part of the book is very clear and judicious. Mr. Keynes's accurate definitions, accompanied, as they are, by a review of current variations in the use of terms, will be very helpful to ordinary students who feel themselves becoming confused between Mill and Fowler and Jevons. The last part of the "Formal Logic" deals with complex propositions, and is a contribution to the symbolic and extensional logic to which Englishmen have of late devoted so much attention. Mr. Keynes's aim is to show that many of the complicated problems for which Boole and others employ mathematical methods, may be solved "without abandoning the ordinary non-equational or predicative form of proposition." It must, at least, be admitted that Mr. Keynes is himself remarkably successful in getting solutions; those who are interested in such things will find ample exercise here for their ingenuity.

We have left ourselves far too little space to give Mr. Sully's "Outlines of Psychology"‡ the notice it deserves. But that is perhaps the less to be regretted, seeing that the book is not one which lends itself much to discussion. It is a solid piece of work to be thankful for. It would be foolish to pretend that it satisfies every requirement; but it is the only book which will enable the English reader to find his way about in recent discussions, and to feel himself, in some measure, abreast of the latest developments of the science. In such a treatise there cannot, of course, be much that is definitely original, but we continually meet with evidence of delicate observation and psychological insight. A more novel interest attaches to the scattered sections on infant psychology, which may almost be said to constitute a feature of the book. Mr. Sully has collated his own observations with those of Professor Preyer, M. Perez, Darwin, Taine, and others, and the results are sometimes amusing as well as instructive. An author is perhaps the best judge of his probable readers; but it may be doubted whether the book would not have been more of a whole without the

\* "Fallacies." By Alfred Sidgwick, B.A. (International Scientific Series). London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

† "Studies and Exercises in Formal Logic." By John Neville Keynes, M.A., late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co.

‡ "Outlines of Psychology, with Special Reference to the Theory of Education." By James Sully, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

pædagogic application which is added at the end of most of the chapters. The importance of psychology to professional teachers is beyond question; but it might have been better to extend this part of the subject and to publish it separately. As it is, the pædagogical generalizations seem a little trite to the scientific student of psychology, and the interests of the generality of readers are sacrificed to those of a special class. The detachment of these sections from the body of the work, with occasional condensation in treating of the commonplaces of the science, would make the volume more available as a textbook. Its value would also be enhanced by a fuller and more profound definition of psychology, with an account of its relations to the other sciences and to philosophy. The relative chapter in the present work is not equal to the sketch already given by Mr. Sully in his admirable little book on "Illusions;" and where one naturally looks for a fuller treatment, this is disappointing. But these are shortcomings due mainly to the difficulty of throwing such a large amount of material into form, and they do not detract from the high merit of the performance.

ANDREW SETH.

## II.—SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

ONE of the most important economic books of the past half-year is Mr. Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."\* It is a supplementary fruit of his researches for the "History of Agriculture and Prices," and is based for three of the centuries on the evidence actually supplied in that book, for another century on notes collected by the author for its continuation, and for the rest of the period on data found in such authorities as Arthur Young, Eden, and Tooke. A work founded on so much original investigation could not fail to throw much light, both by fresh facts and fresh interpretations, on the economic condition of England during the last six hundred years. This light is not confined to the class of manual labourers; it is cast freely over the position of all classes—the clergy, the independent peasantry, the capitalist artisans, the intermediaries; but the history of the English labouring class is the great subject of the book, and it has never been written with the same exactness and abundance of detail. Mr. Rogers points out a new feature in the golden age of labour in the fifteenth century. He infers that the working day was then only eight hours, because winter wages were paid only in December and January, and because an hour's overtime—and there were sometimes as many as forty-eight hours' overtime in the week—cost an eighth of the wages of a day, or a little more. On the other hand, people in that age, in spite of their religion, observed none of the festivals, and took no holiday from labour except the Sunday. Mr. Rogers shows more clearly than has hitherto been done how largely the prosperity of labour during that period flowed from the existence of combinations among labourers; and he is certainly right in attributing the long decline in the condition of the lower classes from

\* London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

1563 to 1824 more to vicious legislation than to all other causes, and more to the suppression of the right of combination than to all other vicious legislation. Many of his incidental descriptions of business life in old days are very interesting, and altogether the book is one of the first value as a contribution to economical history.

Another important work, though of a different kind, comes to us from America. People have often wondered that, in spite of our much speaking and writing on politics, we have no English work like the Political Dictionary of Maurice Block in French or of the late Professor Bluntschli in German, and it has been left to the enterprise of a firm in Chicago to supply this want by a work of which the third and concluding volume has just made its appearance.\* It is not entirely a new or original work, for most of the articles are avowed translations from Block or Bluntschli, or avowed appropriations from McCulloch's "Commercial Dictionary." But along with these second-hand though most excellent materials there is incorporated a great mass of original writing by men of such reputation as David A. Wells and F. A. Walker of the United States, and Professors Fawcett and Cliffe Leslie of this country. This composite plan of construction is the source of many disadvantages; one of them being that English politics receive very inadequate treatment. There are positively no articles on even such elementary matters as the English Whig and Tory parties. On the other hand, a great and special merit of the book is the fulness and precision of its information on American politics. For this no better authority exists, and, indeed, on all subjects it will be found a most convenient and useful work of reference.

No part of the late Mr. Jevons's many-sided work was more striking or fruitful than his statistical investigations, and his contributions in that field have now been, for the first time, collected and carefully edited by Professor Foxwell.† They seem even more impressive when thus brought together, especially the remarkable series on commercial fluctuations, which constitutes a continuous study of high permanent value. The fluctuations dealt with are of various kinds: the quarterly variations due to the seasons of the year; the decennial variations connected by Mr. Jevons, as will be remembered, with the periodicity of sunspots, and attributed to variations in Oriental harvests, consequent on variations of solar activity; and finally, the secular variations, as they have been called, created by changes in the value of the precious metals. There is a paper on the Condition of the Gold Coinage, which will be read with interest at present; and among those which have not been published before are a very complete bibliography of writings on money and prices, and a paper on Sir Isaac Newton and Bimetallism, which also shows the minute care with which Mr. Jevons examined the literature of his subject.

The year which carried off Mr. Jevons took from us also a younger economist on whom many hopes had been laid. Mr. Arnold Toynbee seems to have been a pure and ardent nature, with such a faculty of

\* "Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States." By the best American and European Writers. Edited by John J. Lake. Three volumes. Chicago: Melbert B. Cary & Co.

† "Investigations in Currency and Finance." By W. Stanley Jevons, LL.D. Edited by H. S. Foxwell, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.



engaging others in his aspirations that he was the centre of a movement at Oxford which, the Master of Balliol says, recalled the beginnings of "another movement which commenced in Oxford about fifty years ago, and from a grain of mustard-seed has grown up to be a great tree." Mr. Toynbee's literary remains have now been gathered and published, together with a short memoir by Mr. Jowett.\* The principal thing in the book is a series of lectures on the industrial revolution of the last hundred years, which have been for the most part restored from the notebooks of pupils, and which therefore cannot be expected to do justice to the author, though they contain a very good account of the industrial history of the period. The chapter on the Decay of the Yeomanry, which is the only one taken from his own manuscript, dates that decay too far back, and overlooks too much its purely economic causes. His general position, as laid down in his able fragment on the Ricardian political economy, and in his interesting popular addresses to working men, so full of faithful zeal for their welfare and of an inspiring sense of the mission of science to promote it, is that of the Socialists of the Chair.

Among the solutions of the social question to which Mr. Toynbee was disposed to look with most hope is the system of industrial partnerships of which Mr. Sedley Taylor has made himself the persevering advocate. Mr. Taylor has now given us a very useful little work describing the famous *Maison Leclaire* and various other successful experiments in profit-sharing abroad, both in industry and in agriculture.† The most important thing in the book, however, is the memorandum on the industrial partnership at the Whitwood Collieries, written by the conductors of the experiment, the Messrs. Briggs, together with Mr. Taylor's own remarks on that memorandum. The rock on which that interesting experiment seems to have split was the old conflict, which profit-sharing was expected to supersede—how much to give the masters and how much to give the men. In the first place, the men were to be paid the current rate of wages apart from the profit-sharing, but the masters objected to them joining trades unions to raise the current rate of wages. Without this liberty, however, it is to be feared that profit-sharing might become a more powerful instrument of capitalist exploitation of labour than day wages. The same difficulty crops up in Messrs. Briggs's resolution to raise the masters' share in the profits in extra good years, so as to make them earn as much as other masters (why should they do so?), and in their idea that the men should share the loss in bad years. If the greater efficiency of profit-sharing labour increased the masters' gain in good years, surely it in the same way lessened their losses in bad ones. These were both departures from the principles of the experiment, but it is fair to pioneers like Messrs. Briggs to say they were influenced by the interests of other shareholders than themselves.

\* "Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England, Popular Addresses, Notes and other Fragments." By the late Arnold Toynbee, Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

† "Profit-sharing between Capital and Labour." Six Essays. By Sedley Taylor, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. To which is added a Memorandum on the Industrial Partnership at the Whitwood Collieries (1865-1874). By Archibald Briggs and the late Henry Currey Briggs. Together with Remarks on the Memorandum. By Sedley Taylor. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

Mr. Henry George's "Social Problems" \* will disappoint those who had hoped that the years that have intervened since the publication of his "Progress and Poverty" would have led a writer of his intellectual acumen and sincerity to some rectification of the glaring fallacies of that famous book. The new work goes largely over the same ground, and is even more brilliant in literary power and eloquence than the other; but the author has nothing to modify. In some directions he even goes further than before. He would now repudiate public debts as well as confiscate land, and on precisely the same principle, because the legislation of one generation has, in his opinion, no binding force over another. The book, however, throws a fierce light on social abuses, and even its practical suggestions, when they are out of reach of the strange magnetism of his idea about land—his remarks, for example, on the railways—are well worth consideration. It may be noted that he looks on the political enfranchisement of women as an indispensable agency towards social reform. Meanwhile replies to his earlier book continue coming from the press, and one of the most effective of these is contained in Mr. Mallock's "Property and Progress." † It directs its attacks indeed more to the outworks than to the citadel of Mr. George's system, but it conducts them with great skill, vigour, and success. The rest of Mr. Mallock's book is taken up with the Democratic Federation and other socialising agencies, and is vitiated somewhat by an unscientific tendency to make party capital against the Liberals out of these agitations, as if there was not a Tory Socialism of longer standing and even greater danger.

A writer who reminds us much of Mr. George is Rodbertus. His style, indeed, is heavy and colourless, and for that reason his writings, unlike those of Mr. George, were for some thirty years absolutely neglected by his countrymen; but he is now as much overrated as he was before ignored. He is very commonly described—erroneously, we think, for Marx owes less to him than he to Owen—as the founder of economic Socialism, and this description has been embodied in the title of an excellent account of him and his system which has just appeared in Leipzig.‡ Dr. Adler is not himself a Socialist, but he writes with sympathy, and the book is clear, brief and sufficient. A work by Rodbertus himself has also been at last published, which has been long looked for, and to which it was known the author himself attached great importance.§ It was hoped that in this book he would have developed his practical scheme, over which he made much mystery, and which he once told Rudolph Meyer he would reveal to him when his economical education was sufficiently advanced to understand it, but not before. The secret has probably died with him. Another volume is to follow, but this one at any rate contains nothing of the kind. It does not even carry us to any new ground, but merely develops at greater length the ideas already found in the three earlier letters, all starting from the conviction that the labouring classes are excluded from the

\* "Social Problems." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

† "Property and Progress: or a Brief Enquiry into Contemporary Social Agitation in England." By W. H. Mallock. London: John Murray.

‡ "Rodbertus, der Begründer des Wissenschaftlichen Socialismus." Von Fr. T. Adler. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

§ "Das Kapital: Viertes Socialer Brief an von Kirchmann." Von Dr. Carl Rodbertus-Jagetzow. Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht.

fruits of the increasing productivity of labour by the system of rent payments (he includes profits under rents), and all tending to find a remedy for this in Owen's old specific of a State regulation of all prices according to a purely labour standard of value. His theory of rent, his normal day of labour, his distinction between private and national capital, are re-expounded; and as Rodbertus was a man of wide reading and decided power of abstract reasoning, his speculations are all through stimulating to thought, and wear as great an air of solidity as if they were better founded.

The idea is cropping up in many quarters that the key to the social question must be looked for in the doctrine of profits, in the strictest sense of that word, according to which profits are distinguished from the interest on the capital employed in a business, and from the wages of the employer for superintending it, and denote the final sum accruing to the head of the business when these and all other incidents are paid. Hence considerable attention is being bestowed at present on this particular constituent in the distribution of wealth, and two books have now simultaneously appeared in Leipzig and Vienna which subject that constituent to scientific analysis.\* Both give excellent summaries of the history of opinion on the subject, and institute, each in its own way, an acute examination into the conditions affecting the origin of profits and their amount. Dr. Mataja takes up a peculiar and ingenious line to show that profits do not enter into the cost of production, but are something left over, like rent; are, in fact, a kind of rent accruing to superior business management, from the difference between cost of production of commodities and their market price. Holding profits to be in this way influenced by individuality, he denies any tendency in them to equalization, but he recognizes a tendency to their eventual extinction, and the complete correspondence of cost and price. One of the points touched on by Gross is profit-sharing, which he condemns, first, theoretically, because it is self-contradictory to combine wages and profits, and second, practically, because, in his opinion, profit-sharing tends to lower wages, and would leave labourers worse off in bad years than before.

An excellent account of the English Friendly Societies—the best in existence—has been published by Dr. Wilhelm Hasbach, as the first volume for the year of Professor Schmoller's series of "Staats- und Social-Wissenschaftliche Forschungen."† It is a history of their development and of the legislation affecting them, and has been drawn from the blue-books, from the few monographs existing on the subject, from personal investigations made on the spot, and from abundant intercourse by mouth and correspondence with Government officials and working-class leaders. It is a piece of careful and thorough work. He sees little hope of extinguishing poverty by means of the friendly societies alone, because the contributions the labourers have been able to make are always too small, and because the societies themselves are badly managed. He does not, however, recommend State insu-

\* "Der Unternehmerngewinn. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Gütervertheilung in der Volkswirtschaft." Von Dr. Victor Mataja. Wien: Alfred Hölder.—"Die Lehre vom Unternehmerngewinn." Von Dr. jur. Gustav Gross. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

† "Die Englische Arbeitserversicherungswesen. Geschichte seiner Entwicklung und Gesetzgebung." Von Wilhelm Hasbach, Dr. Philos. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

rance, because he believes the co-operation of men and women of the higher classes can be better depended on for effective guidance and help in England than elsewhere, and because he hopes that as employers have been made responsible for accidents, they may yet be made responsible in a more limited degree for loss of employment, or breaks in employment, on the part of labourers.

One of the most important works that have yet appeared on the new development of Socialism in the present generation has just been published in France by the well-known and very able economist, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, under the title of "*Le Collectivisme*."\* The word Socialism is now so generally used of any kind of intervention of the State in behalf of the weaker classes, that it is no longer applicable without ambiguity to those larger schemes of reconstruction which it was originally coined to describe. M. Leroy-Beaulieu, therefore, restricts it to the former sense, and proposes to express the latter by the word *collectivisme*, which has already come largely into general use for the purpose in France. He treats of collectivism under two heads—partial collectivism, which includes land nationalization schemes and views like M. de Laveleye's about common tenure and collective property; and total collectivism, the doctrines of Marx and Lassalle, and the more positive doctrine of Schaeffle. All these social speculations are explained and analyzed with great clearness, and criticized with remarkable ability and wide knowledge of pertinent facts. Henry George and the English land nationalizers are only briefly discussed, but M. de Laveleye's ideas in his work on "*Primitive Property*" are examined with great care and detail, and subjected to keen criticism.

JOHN RAE:

### III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

THE meeting of the British Association at Montreal seems to have stimulated the publication of books on Canada. There is a handsome small folio by the Marquis of Lorne, to which he gives the title, "*Canadian Pictures*,"† and to which he contributes, not merely the letterpress, but in many cases the illustrations. It is a more complete account of Canada and things Canadian than the title would lead us to suppose, and it is written in a very agreeable style. The illustrations are very abundant, and also very good.—Mr. Sandford Fleming's book is much less interesting and instructive;‡ but it is well written. It is an account of a tour made by the author partly in this country and partly in Canada. The author has lived long in Canada, and has had professional connection with public works of importance, and the Canadian part of his tour often gives us useful and solid information.

\* "*Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau Socialisme.*" Par Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, membre de l'Institut. Paris: Librairie Guillaumin et Cie.

† London: The Religious Tract Society.

‡ "*England and Canada: a Summer Tour between Old and New Westminster.*" By Sandford Fleming, C.E., C.M.G. London: Sampson Low & Co.

—Mr. Marvin takes us to a different region.\* His industry is really remarkable. He keeps sending out one considerably sized book after another; and he has given us none better than the present. It is an entertaining account of travels in interesting quarters—the Crimea, the Caucasus, the Caspian—and contains a great deal of valuable information. There is a full account of the petroleum industry of Russia, and a good deal bearing on the relations of Russia and England in the East, a subject on which the author has established for himself a right to be heard.—General Gordon's "Letters from the Crimea"† are the letters which the General sent home during his service in the Crimea, and they are published now, not on account of their own importance, but because they are supposed to have a certain biographical interest, as supplying details of Gordon's early career, and revealing his early character. They are, on the whole, not very different from what the letters of other young English officers might be expected to be; but it is well we should know all we can of a career that has struck the national imagination so much.—Miss Colenso's "Ruins of Zululand"‡ is an account of British doings in Zululand since the invasion of 1879, and it was written at the request—almost the dying request—of her father. She strongly condemns Sir Henry Bulwer, and declares that the present unsatisfactory condition of things in Zululand is entirely due to mismanagement of the restoration of Cetshwayo. The book is full of facts, and is well worth studying by those who care to form intelligent views of the troublesome South African question.—Mr. Arthur Reade, in his "Tea and Tea Drinking,"§ has gathered together a great miscellany of interesting information about tea in every aspect in which the matter can be considered, from tea culture to tea meetings. Dr. John Croumbie Brown's "Introduction to Modern Forest Economy"|| will be found to be a very useful little manual on a subject of growing importance. It describes the ancient forests of Europe, and shows the evils that have resulted from their disappearance, and it explains, with much lucidity and fulness of knowledge, the principles of scientific forestry and general forest administration.—On the heels of his first book, Dr. Brown publishes a second, as a sequel to it, on "Forestry in Norway,"¶ going into greater detail on the state of forests and forest administration in that particular country. The book does not confine itself, however, to forestry; it contains much on the physical geography of Norway, and even on interesting social features such as its Saeter life.

\* "The Region of the Eternal Fire: an Account of a Journey to the Petroleum Region of the Caspian in 1883." By Charles Marvin. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

† "General Gordon's Letters from the Crimea, the Danube, and Armenia; August 18, 1854, to November 17, 1858." Edited by Demetrius C. Boulger. London: Chapman & Hall.

‡ Vol. I. London: William Ridgway.  
Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

§ London: Sampson Low & Co.  
¶ *Ibid.*

## REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

**I**T is said that there is nothing so foolish as to be wise before the time; it is certain that there is nothing so foolish as to say a thing just before the right time for saying it. He who is so unlucky as to have spoken on the subject of the hour a short time before it becomes the subject of the hour gets no credit for having spoken, while he finds the fact that he has spoken a difficulty in the way of speaking again. If he leaves out all that he has said before, he will treat his subject very imperfectly; if he says it again, a worse thing will happen. Ninety-nine people out of a hundred will have forgotten or never have known that he ever said anything about it; the hundredth man who remembers will cry out that it has all been said before, and the ninety-nine will infer that it is no use listening to what has ever been said before, even though they themselves have forgotten it. The House of Lords, the Reform of the House of Lords, Second Chambers, and the like, are questions which are now in every one's mouth. Happy they who never thought about them till the popular movement of the other day. They can speak with all freshness and all freedom, with no fear of being charged with telling a thrice-told tale. He is less lucky who has thought about those questions for many years, and who has perhaps spoken his mind upon them in more shapes than one. In saying something on these matters in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, I am hampered by the difficulty that I have already said something about them in various forms, ranging from grave essays written before the question was stirred\* to speeches in the market-place since the movement.

\* May I refer to the article *Nobility* in the last published volume of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," to be followed by one on *Peerage* in the next volume?

has begun. Above all, I have staring in my face an article on the House of Lords in the *Fortnightly Review* for February, 1883. Nobody is likely to remember it but myself: but there it is; written before the question was generally stirred, as a comment on two articles on opposite sides in the same *Review*, it is really, on all those points on which it touches, much the same as anything that I can say now that the question has been stirred.

Now some of the propositions which I have to lay down are in themselves so very obvious that, when they are stated in their naked simplicity, no one is likely to deny them. But it is none the less needful to state them, and to state them often. For they belong to that large class of propositions which in a certain sense everybody will admit—that is, if asked in so many words, everybody will give the right answer—but which most people practically treat as if they did not admit them. They know the facts in a kind of way: but they do not act on their knowledge. They do not deny the facts when they are set before them in a formal shape; but they turn away, and think, speak, and act as if they had never heard of them. Thus, to sum up the chief points of my historical argument, the House of Lords is commonly attacked and commonly defended as being a hereditary assembly whose business it is to revise and check the acts of an elective assembly. And this is a description of its nature and action at the present day, which, though far from being strictly accurate, certainly has a rough practical truth about it. If the argument goes no farther than to attack and defend a body so constituted and so acting, simply as a practical question of the moment, no great harm is done. But this practical question is almost sure to be—often quite unconsciously—mixed up with a notion that the body which now acts in a particular way must have always acted in a particular way, and must have been always designed to act in that way. And this notion further leads to misconceptions which are practical again. The object of my former article was to mediate between a strong friend and a strong enemy of the House of Lords. I tried to show to both of them that the main characters for which one admired it and the other objected to it were no parts of its essential and original nature. They were really, I argued, accidental features which had come about by degrees, by force of circumstances, by whatever we call that kind of process by which institutions commonly come, first into being, and then to their full growth.

First then, Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the system of two Houses of Parliament, as opposed to one House or to more Houses than two, that system was not established in England with a view to any of those merits or demerits. It came about wholly by force of circumstances. Elements which might easily have joined to form one House, elements which were very near parting into three,

which might easily have parted into four or five, did, as a matter of fact, after a good many shiftings, settle down into two. The system of two Houses may have worked well or ill; it never was deliberately called into being in order to work in any particular way.

Secondly (which in fact follows from the first proposition), Of the two Houses then formed the Upper House or House of Lords was not designed as a "Second Chamber," as a body standing in a special relation to another body, and specially designed to revise the acts of that body. So far as the House of Lords discharges any such functions, those functions have come upon it by gradual force of circumstances, without any deliberate purpose at any time.

Thirdly, The House of Lords was never deliberately intended to be contrasted with the House of Commons as a hereditary body, or indeed to be a hereditary body at all. For

1. To this day it is not a wholly hereditary body.

2. For some centuries that element in it which is not hereditary was the most numerous.

3. That element in it which is hereditary was not purposely designed to be hereditary, but has become so gradually and by force of circumstances, if not to some extent by direct usurpation.

Fourthly, The distinction between the two Houses has simply grown up out of the different way of summoning different classes of persons to the national assembly. In the thirteenth century the kings found it convenient to summon the chief men, the men high in office, rank, and influence, whether in Church or State, to appear in their own persons, while the mass of the nation were summoned to appear by their representatives. The two classes of men summoned in these two different ways gradually settled down into the two distinct Houses of Lords and Commons. Of these the House of Commons, being renewed by frequent elections, could not become hereditary. Neither could one element in the House of Lords, namely, those churchmen who were summoned, the bishops and other lords spiritual. The bishops therefore remain to this day a non-hereditary element in the House. But the tendency to hereditary succession is so strong, and was so specially strong in those ages, that, as the temporal lords could become hereditary, they did. That is to say, it was first established as a custom and then maintained as a right, that, if the king summoned a man to one parliament, he was bound to summon both him and his heirs to all future parliaments. In this way the temporal peerage gradually became a hereditary body. But down to the dissolution of the monasteries the lords spiritual outnumbered the temporal peerage. It is therefore only since that time that the House of Lords can be said to have been even chiefly hereditary. Wholly hereditary it never has been, except during a few



years of the Long Parliament, when the votes of the bishops were taken away.

To all this I may add, what did not occur to me when writing my former article, that

Fifthly, The steps by which the exclusively hereditary character of the temporal peerage was gradually established have been made, not by enactments regularly passed by Parliament, but mainly by resolutions of the House of Lords itself, in the interest only of its own members or part of them. Thus—

1. It is certain that in the fourteenth century the title of *peers* and the personal privileges of *peerage* belonged to the spiritual lords equally with the temporal. After the temporal lords had obtained the majority in the House, it was ruled that the temporal lords alone were *peers*, and the spiritual lords only lords of Parliament, but not *peers*.\*

2. It is certain that there were cases in earlier times in which peers had surrendered their peerages to the Crown, and it is easy to conceive cases in which such a power might be useful. But the House of Lords ruled in 1640 and 1678 that no peer could alienate his peerage or surrender it to the Crown.†

3. It is certain that several ancient baronies, and, what is stranger, it would seem also that the earldom of Arundel, went by tenure; that is, they did not go by hereditary descent, but were attached to certain estates. In 1679 an order in council declared barony by tenure to be, not illegal but inexpedient.‡ And it is very remarkable that, except in the case of the earldom of Arundel, where the succession by tenure was confirmed by act of parliament,§ no one in later times who has claimed a barony by tenure, however strong his case, has been able to make it good.

4. In 1711 the House of Lords declared, without any ground whatever, that the Crown could not confer a peerage of Great Britain on a Scottish peer, and several peers lawfully created were kept out of their undoubted rights.

5. Lastly, in 1856 came the well-known decision in the case of Lord Wensleydale. Nothing can be more certain than the ancient right of the Crown to create a peer by *patent* for life only. This right outlived the establishment of the doctrine that the *writ* conferred a hereditary right to the summons. The right was certainly not exercised for some centuries, but it was never taken away by law, and its existence was constantly asserted by the best lawyers. But when, according to this undoubted power of the Crown, Sir James Parke was

\* This doctrine was established by a standing order of the House of Lords older than 1625. In that year, and again in 1661, the question of the peerage of the bishops was referred to committees, but no report was made either time.

† See the Report of the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer, ii. 25, 26, 48.

‡ See Lords' Report, ii. 242.

§ *Ibid.*, i. 405; ii. 320.

lawfully created a baron for life, the House of Lords, in defiance of the law, refused him his seat, till he received a new patent, extending his barony to his heirs.

Now all these are encroachments of ancient rights, made without any authority of Parliament, and all, save in one case, made without any authority but that of the Lords themselves. They come under the rule that the House is the judge of its own privileges. But who made that rule? Some of the points, to be sure, as the question of the peerage of the bishops, deal with matters of no great direct interest to any but the members of the House of Lords itself. But indirectly they are of general interest. They all look in the same direction; they all tend to the setting up of hereditary right and of a certain not very intelligible doctrine about "ennobling of blood." That doctrine teaches that a writ of summons to Parliament, once received and acted upon, "ennobles the blood" of him who takes his seat in consequence of it. It is not very clear what this means. To talk of "ennobling the blood" is in England simple nonsense.\* Where real nobility exists, all the descendants of the first created or recorded noble are alike noble. This is a necessary inference from any doctrine of nobility at all. As a matter of fact the peer's blood is not ennobled, for his children are simple commoners. The peer holds a great hereditary place, surrounded by many important privileges, real and honorary, and of his honorary privileges some extend to his children. But "nobility" in any true sense, there is none. Indeed, the greatest merit of the English peerage is, as I am quite conscious that I am very far from saying for the first time, that it has hindered the growth of a real nobility in England.† The doctrine about "ennobling the blood" is really only a grander way of saying that the peer's seat in Parliament is hereditary. But it implies or insinuates that those whose seats are hereditary have a superiority of some kind over those whose seats are not hereditary. This took the form of saying that the bishops, though equally lords of parliament with the temporal lords, were no sharers in the mysterious and purely hereditary dignity of *peerage*. And there can be little doubt that it is the same doctrine which has led to the anomalous position of the judges with regard to the House of Lords. They have something to do with that House without being exactly its members, certainly without any right to speak and vote in its debates. But there can be no doubt that the judges were, as they naturally would be, among those whose advice the kings wished to have in their parliaments. Now the parliamentary position of the spiritual lords was so ancient and so fully estab-

\* See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. 138; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 448; and cf. even Blackstone, book i., chap. xii. vol. i. p. 401. ed. Christian.

† I have referred to this point in the article *Nobility*, and it is more fully worked out in the forthcoming article *Peerage*.

lished that no growth of the hereditary doctrine could deprive them of their seats and votes, though it might deprive them of the personal distinction of peerage. But the judges were a newer and lowlier body, who were only growing into importance in the age when the two Houses of Parliament gradually took their definite shape. It was therefore possible to keep them from ever winning a full parliamentary position, and they never have won it. Yet it would have been a clear gain, and it would have avoided many difficulties, if some of the great dignitaries of the law had official seats in the House of Lords on the same terms as the bishops. It was the superstition, perhaps one should rather say the cunningly-devised fable, about hereditary right, ennobling of blood, and the like, which kept them out for ages, and which has had at last to yield so far as to give a somewhat anomalous parliamentary position to one class of them in the shape of the new Lords of Appeal in Ordinary.

Now what does all this prove with regard to any proposed reform of the House of Lords at the present day? What does any historical inquiry into the origin and growth of an institution prove as to its practical working at this moment, or as to the best way of reforming it if it needs reform? In all considerations of this kind we are beset by dangers of the most opposite kinds. We are tempted both to overvalue and to undervalue the witness of the past. And besides overvaluing and undervaluing, we are tempted to misapply it. There is that ever-recurring weakness of human nature which leads us to catch at the feeblest kind of analogy or precedent in the past, if it tells on behalf of our own side, and to despise the strongest argument from experience, if it tells on behalf of the other side. It is very hard to look at such an analogy or precedent quite calmly, and to judge whether it does or does not give us any real help towards the practical question in hand. And there is that most misleading error of all which confounds respect for the wisdom of our forefathers with blind cleaving to that shape which the institutions of our forefathers happen to have taken in our own time. This is one of the most subtle of all errors, because it is made up of several distinct errors. We hear people argue in behalf of the House of Lords or of anything else that it is "one of the oldest institutions of the country." Now whenever this is true, it is a very important fact, a fact which should always be kept in mind when we are considering what to do with such an institution. But of all things, that which the fact of antiquity pre-eminently does not prove is that we ought to keep the ancient institution in the exact shape which it has put out in modern days. The notion is unconsciously present—it is often unconsciously present and uncon-

sciously works in the teeth of much better knowledge—that the ancient institution must always have had the form which it now has, and must have been designed from the beginning to answer the purposes which it is now thought to answer. There is ever an unconscious attempt to throw the charm, the dignity, the mystery, of antiquity over something which is not ancient. From one side it is quite enough to show that the things which are put forth as ancient are really very modern; but that line of argument does not go to the root of the matter. There is more than that to be said on both sides. An ingenious advocate of the House of Lords as it stands should surely take up his parable somewhat on this wise,—“I admit every one of your facts; the House of Lords as it stands is not a very old institution. It has been developed by a series of accidents out of an assembly utterly unlike what it is now, perhaps, as some of you think, out of an assembly that was purely democratic. It is sheer matter of accident that we have two Houses of Parliament and not one or three; nobody ever ordained two because he thought beforehand that two would be the best number. It is sheer matter of accident that the chief function of the House of Lords has come to be to act as a ‘Second Chamber,’ a revising chamber, to the House of Commons; nobody ever ordained that there should be a House of Lords in order to serve this purpose; still less did anybody ever ordain that the House of Lords should take a particular shape in order that it might the better serve that purpose. I admit all this, and a great deal besides. I admit that it is a careless way of talking to speak of the House as ‘the hereditary chamber’ when some of its members are not hereditary; nay, I admit that its character as a body mainly, though not wholly, hereditary has come about wholly by force of circumstances. I know as well as you do that neither Edward the First nor anybody else ever sat down and said that it would be a good thing to have a hereditary House to balance the elective House, to represent the landed interest, or to do anything else of any kind. I go along with every word that you Liberal antiquaries say as statements of fact. But how about the inferences from the facts? If the House of Lords has in the course of ages, by force of circumstances, without any set purpose of anybody, come to put on a certain shape and to discharge certain functions, is it not likely that its various changes have in each age made it take the shape which was best suited for that age? If in the course of time certain functions have fallen to it which nobody thought of in some other past age, does not that look as if those were functions which it was needful to have discharged by some power in the State, and as if the House of Lords commended itself, by a kind of natural selection, as the body best fitted to discharge them? The constitution of the House, hereditary or mainly so, may be an

accident, never designed from the beginning; the mere fact that it has come to take that shape, by mere force of circumstances, without any violent change, surely says something for it. The hereditary constitution of the House may be open to any amount of theoretical objections, but the simple fact that it was not made but has grown, is surely in its favour. It could never have been established, if it had not been at least silently felt to have practical advantages. That an institution answers quite different ends now from what it answered, or was meant to answer, in some past age, proves nothing against it. Nothing is more common, nothing is more desirable when it does happen, than for an institution which has lost its first use to find for itself in this way a new use. The ends of reform are gained without breach of continuity, almost without the trouble of reforming. We are saved the shock either of destroying something old or of setting up something new, and yet we gain the advantages of both processes. In all that is said of it the House of Lords simply conforms to the general law of English institutions. If it has changed its nature, its constitution, its objects, its whole position, the House of Commons has done the same. The House of Commons now is perhaps more unlike the House of Commons at any earlier time than the House of Lords is unlike the House of Lords at the same time. The Crown too itself, its Ministers, all have changed their position; no one power in the State stands in the relation to any other in which it stood in the days of Edward the First, or in any other past time that may be chosen. If the change which has taken place in the other powers is held to be no objection to their continued existence, no objection to their existence in that shape which they have taken in our own age, why should another rule apply to the House of Lords? Or when we see a power in the State which has simply changed in the same way as other powers, which has shown itself so elastic in adapting itself to changed circumstances, which has so happily filled a place which those changed circumstances required to be filled in some way, and which there was no other means of filling—when we see among us a power which has done all this, may we not rather conclude that that power has as wholesome and even as necessary a place in our political system as any other? May we not expect that, if it needs further development in the face of changed circumstances, further adaptation to a new state of things, that development and adaptation may be trusted to come, as it has so often done, silently, gradually, without constraint from without, without the sweeping away, or even the serious change, of any of the elements which have so manifestly grown up as they were called for, to meet the needs of successive ages?"

I cannot say that I have heard or read any defence for the House

of Lords conceived exactly in this vein. Yet I cannot but think that an argument of this kind would tell far more than such vague and rash assertions as that the House of Lords, seemingly as it stands, is the oldest or one of the oldest institutions of the country. Such an argument as I have supposed would at least need an answer, which is more than can be said for the kind of loose sayings with which Lord Carnarvon and others stand up for their favourite order. Yet such an argument would be a fallacy from one end to the other. If anybody complained of the House of Lords simply for changing, for not standing still—if the charge against it was simply that it is not now what it was in the time of Edward the First or in any other past time—to such a complaint as that the speech of my imaginary Conservative would be a full and thorough answer. But then nobody complains of the House of Lords simply for changing. We are driven to take the time of Edward the First as the starting-point of our inquiry, but we have no wish to bring the House of Lords or anything else back to the state in which it was under Edward the First. We cannot, if we would, call back the forms of any past age, and we should be foolish indeed in trying to call them back, if we could. But it is perfectly reasonable and practical to start from the principles of any institution, to see whether the changes in form which it could not fail to go through from time to time have been in accordance with those principles, whether it has from time to time adapted itself to carry out its original objects in new ways, or, if so be, to find new objects equally worthy of being followed. We may, in short, ask whether the changes which the institution has undergone have been for the better or for the worse, whether the process which has given it a new shape has been a process of development or of corruption? Our national history supplies us with plenty of instances of both processes, sometimes of both going on at the same time. We might ask, Did England advance between the beginning of the fifteenth century and the latter days of the sixteenth? In many things the advance was beyond words. To say nothing of improvement in other ways, civil order made great strides; the law became infinitely stronger; better justice came to be done between man and man. But in the strictly political view of things, matters went back. The constitutional doctrines of the days of Henry the Fourth were far sounder than those of the days of Henry the Eighth; they were far sounder than those of the days of Elizabeth, except that in the days of Elizabeth we begin to hear the first mutterings of the great tempest of reform which was to burst in the next age. And what was the final upshot of the conservative revolution of the seventeenth century? To keep and strengthen the vigorous administration of the sixteenth, and at the same time to fall back upon the sounder constitutional doctrines of the last days of the

fourteenth. Change thus takes various shapes; there is change for good and change for evil; there is change which is a simple march forwards, and change in which true progress is to fall back, not indeed on antiquated forms, but on forgotten principles. We may therefore fairly ask in each case whether change is for good or for evil—whether, in short, the change with which we have to deal ought to come under the head of development or under the head of corruption.

Let us apply this test to the House of Lords as compared with the other great branches of the Constitution. Let us see whether the changes which have given the House of Lords its present character will bear the test as well as it is borne by the changes which have given the Crown and the House of Commons their present character. One is sometimes tempted to think that, while the history of the Crown and of the House of Commons is on the whole—allowing for times of falling back and times of winning back lost ground—a history of advance for good, of growth, of development; the history of the House of Lords has been largely made up of something which we are sometimes driven to call corruption, sometimes to call direct usurpation. Let us take a challenge which has been thrown out by one of the most uncompromising defenders of the House of Lords. Lord Carnarvon is reported to have spoken thus on September 13, 1884:—

“Upon what grounds,” he asked, “was it that the House of Lords was attacked at all the Radical meetings? It was because of the hereditary principle. Were they aware that that hereditary principle was the principle by which the monarch wears her crown in this country? Every argument almost that had been used by the Radicals against the hereditary principle applied exactly with the same force to the Sovereign as it did to the House of Lords.”

“We are all used to the formula, “Were they aware?” “Does Mr. A. know?” “Did he ever hear of?” and the like. It commonly means that the thing spoken of is something which Mr. A. has known all his life, but which his contemptuous examiner has found out within the last week. One would think that even a Conservative working-man must know that the crown goes from father to son; Lord Carnarvon trots out the fact as somewhat of a discovery which everybody may not have heard of. And the rather vague talk about the “hereditary principle” might, if we were to use his own formula, make one a little inclined to ask Lord Carnarvon whether he thinks that the House of Lords is, and has been from all eternity, a body purely hereditary. Has he forgotten a famous division, not so very long ago, in which both hereditary and non-hereditary lords voted, and in which, if it had gone by the votes of the non-hereditary lords only, the cause of the people would have

conquered by twelve to one? In any case, Lord Carnarvon's attempt to put the hereditary succession of the Crown on the same level as hereditary succession in the House of Lords is a desperate shift indeed. How comes the Crown to be hereditary? Not surely by the working of any mysterious "hereditary principle," but because the law has made it so. The Crown is hereditary by virtue of an authority which implies the inherent right of election. The Crown goes in a particular family simply and wholly by virtue of an Act of Parliament. Parliament decreed that the Crown should be hereditary in the Electress Sophia and her Protestant descendants. That is to say, Parliament elected the Electress Sophia and all her Protestant descendants in advance as their turn might come. And as the Crown is entailed no further than the Protestant descendants of the Electress, if at any time no claimants so qualified should be forthcoming, Parliament would have once more directly to elect as in old times. Is Lord Carnarvon aware that the "hereditary principle" would have given the Crown to altogether another set of owners from those who have worn it under the Act of Settlement? Can he show for the "hereditary principle" in the House of Lords, that is, for the hereditary succession of part of that House, any such good and lawful authority as can be shown for the hereditary succession of the Crown in the present royal family? Is there any Act of Parliament which in the like way declared that all or any peerages should be hereditary in particular families? Above all, is there any Act of Parliament which has taken away the ancient right of the Crown to create peerages which shall not be hereditary? Can Lord Carnarvon show us such good authority, according to the law of the land, for shutting out Lord Wensleydale from his seat in the House of Lords as may be shown for shutting out the King of Italy and certain others from that seat on the throne of Great Britain which Lord Carnarvon's "hereditary principle" would have given them? Between hereditary succession as applied to the Crown and hereditary succession as applied to the House of Lords, there is all the difference between the plain words of an Act of Parliament and a series of usages, decisions, resolutions, what not, the general result of which lawyers hold somehow to have become law, but which are not law in the same plain and unmistakeable sense as is a statute "enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same."

But it may be said that, even if Lord Carnarvon was a little unlucky in this particular illustration, yet, as a whole, the powers and relations of the other branches of the State, the Crown and the House of Commons, have been fixed far less by parliamentary enactments than by usage, precedents, resolutions, declarations, and the



like, just as in the case of the House of Lords. So it is, and it is well that it should be so. Our political system is all the better for having grown up bit by bit as it was wanted. The rule "*nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*" has held in all ages. Our forefathers in all ages rejoiced in the belief that they were not making new laws, but only better enforcing the old ones. All our greatest assertions of popular rights, from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth, take this shape. They claim nothing new; they demand only that the existing law shall be ascertained and put in practice. The House of Commons has shaped itself and has defined its own powers, just as the House of Lords has done. The successive changes which have fixed the relations between the Crown and the House of Commons have been most of them made without any formal enactment, many of them without any formal record at all. Even in earlier times, not a few of our great political landmarks were established gradually and silently; no statute enacted them, though later statutes constantly took them for granted. Where there was any formal enactment, it for the most part studiously disclaimed the character of anything new; it was the old laws of the land which it was needful to set forth again with fresh solemnity and to bind the Sovereign to them by fresh engagements. The Great Charter was deemed to be but the fuller enforcement of the charter of Henry the First; the charter of Henry the First was deemed to be but the restoration of the law of Edward the Confessor. Our later political landmarks have been established yet more gradually and silently; in many cases they compass by gradual and silent means objects which earlier reformers strove for more openly.\* They are enacted in no statute; they are taken for granted in no statute; they are not even set down in any formal shape. It is nowhere ordained, except among our unwritten traditions, that the Crown is bound to dismiss ministers who have clearly lost the confidence of the House of Commons. Still less can we find any formal record of our last established constitutional principle, the principle established by the precedents of 1868, of 1874, and of 1880, that a minister is bound to resign, not merely when the House of Commons has decided against him, but when the result of a general election makes it morally certain that the House of Commons will decide against him. As far as the letter of the law goes, the Crown has as good a right to refuse the royal assent to a bill which has passed both Houses, as the House of Lords has to throw out a bill which has come up to it from the House of Commons. These things are not written in black and white anywhere; but the chief pretensions of the House of

\* Take, for instance, the way in which the reformers of the thirteenth century, certainly following yet more ancient precedents, demand for Parliament a direct voice in the appointment of the King's ministers. Under our present system exactly the same object is compassed in an indirect way.

Lords are written in black and white somewhere, though not in the enacting clauses of any Act of Parliament. But here comes in the distinction between development and corruption, between change for good and change for evil. There have been times of blacksliding, there have been times when the House of Commons has ceased to represent the people, and has acted in the same narrow corporate spirit as the House of Lords. But, taking the general run of English history, the advance of the power of the Commons has meant the general advance of the nation, the advance of freedom and order side by side. And it is to be noticed that nearly every advance of the Commons has been marked, silently at least, by the falling back of the Lords. The controlling powers of Parliament, once shared alike by both Houses, have passed away from the Lords. It is no longer in the Lords, but in the Commons, that legislation of special moment begins. By parliamentary government we have come to understand an influence on the executive power, not wielded by Parliament in its two Houses, but by the Lower House of Parliament only.

These are changes, informal changes, unwritten changes, whole-some changes most of us think, to which the Lords have had to submit. The changes, written and unwritten, which the Lords have made for themselves have been of another kind. They have been, from the very beginning, devoted to narrowing the constitution of the House of Lords itself. The abiding object of the Lords has been, not to make their House better fitted to act as one great branch of the Constitution, but—what surely is not the way to compass that object—to strengthen as far as may be the hereditary element in the House, and to keep out, as far as may be, any other. The utmost that we can say for the Lords is, that they have twice joined in Acts of Parliament which did not strengthen the hereditary principle. One was the restoration of the bishops to their seats in the second Parliament of Charles the Second; the other was the admission of the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary during the present reign. By both these acts the constitution of the House of Lords was enlarged; by both non-hereditary lords were let in. But of these two, the first was part of a general restoration, so far as might be, of things as they had been; the latter was a matter of necessity to which the House of Lords had to bend, and which was the befitting punishment for the body which had shut out Lord Wensleydale. And all these were statutes of the realm in which the Lords simply took their share along with the other powers of the State. Whenever the Lords have decreed or resolved or acted in any way by themselves and for themselves, they have always acted with the very narrowest aim of narrowing the access to their own body in the interest of the phantasy of “ennobled blood.” The kind of legisla-

tion which was to the real taste of the Lords may be seen in the attempted Peerage Bill of 1719.

And now for a word more with Lord Carnarvon as to his attempted parallel between hereditary succession to the Crown and hereditary succession to seats in the House of Lords. The difference is simply this, that hereditary succession to the Crown fully falls in with all the other principles of the Constitution, while hereditary succession in the House of Lords goes against them. There is of course room for fair discussion as to the respective merits of various forms of executive power. The constitutional King, the President, the Council—only the odd thing is, that nobody out of Switzerland thinks of the Council—each has something to be said for it and something against it. Purely as a political device, there can be hardly any doubt that the constitutional King is the happiest device of the three. It allows the will of the people or their representatives to be brought to bear on the executive power in a way in which it cannot be brought to bear on, either President or Council. Because behind the Minister who governs stands the King who reigns. The Minister who governs can be got rid of at once, or kept in power for an indefinite period, without any formal act on the part of any one; the President or the Council cannot be got rid of till the end of a fixed term, and cannot be kept on beyond that term except by a formal re-election. But that this system may work it is plain that the King must be hereditary; an elective King, like an elective President, would fairly claim, not only to reign, but to govern, for he could be chosen only on account of his presumed fitness for governing. In this way hereditary kingship, as carried on under that system of silent understandings which is established among ourselves, has in truth become, in its purely political aspect, a democratic institution. It combines the reality of popular choice and the very highest form of popular control with all that is venerable and effective in other systems. But the "hereditary principle," as thus applied to kingship, has very little in common with Lord Carnarvon's "hereditary principle" as applied to peerage. The parallel would be if each hereditary peer had an elective somebody to vote in his name. The Crown may be hereditary, it is the better for being hereditary, because it is fully understood to what extent and by whose advice its legal powers are to be exercised. In the House of Lords each hereditary peer, qualified or unqualified, clothed with power by virtue of his birth and of nothing else, exercises his powers as he thinks good. There is no check, no definite understanding; only a vague notion that the Lords must not go too far in withstanding the declared will of the nation. But how far is too far is a matter of experiment in each case, and we have seen in these late days that the Lords and the people do not always draw the line at the same point. In short, hereditary succession to the Crown allows the

actual power to be placed in the hands of those who are best qualified to use it, or at any rate of those whom the nation for the time being looks on as the best qualified. Hereditary succession to the peerage places power in the hands of a body of men, many of whom undoubtedly rank among those who are best qualified and most worthy to wield power, but of whom the mass will always be otherwise. The mass of a large hereditary class will always be at best not better qualified than so many men taken at random, while there is no small fear that they will contain a greater proportion of men not only unqualified but disqualified, than the same number of men taken at random would give.

We may then safely infer that the growth of the House of Commons, from the time of its first beginning onward, has been on the whole a growth of healthy development, while the growth of the House of Lords, so far as it has shaped itself, has for the most part been development of quite another kind. It is a history of unreasonable pretensions, growing sometimes into open usurpations, as in the last case within our memories when the Crown was defied and the law trampled on by the caprice of the hereditary lords.

If then the accuser should be inclined strongly to press every point, it is plain that a very strong case might be made out against the House of Lords. It might be made out on purely constitutional grounds, without going into such questions as the particular way in which the Lords have used their powers during the last fifty years or any other period. That is a perfectly good line of argument; but it is not the one which first presents itself in the kind of disputation in which we just now find ourselves. Lord Carnarvon, and other disputants who enlarge with such zeal, not so much on the practical usefulness of the House of Lords as on its boundless antiquity and its inherent excellence, naturally lead us on another tack. But when we have shown that all that they prize so dearly as something almost eternal is incidental and comparatively modern, we can afford to give them something back again. An institution, whatever may have been its first form and its first objects, does not drift into a certain shape and into the practical discharge of certain special functions, without something that may be called a reason for it. A hereditary House, or a House mainly hereditary, could not have grown up in a state of things in which hereditary succession, however unreasonable in abstract argument, was felt to be altogether unreasonable in practice. We may freely allow that, in the times when the House of Lords arose, there was nothing unreasonable in allowing some substantial political privilege to the great baronial families. They might not be wiser than other men; but they unavoidably had power and influence above other men. Whether

designed or undesigned, it was a master stroke of policy to give that power and influence a legal and parliamentary shape, to make those who held it members of an assembly, accustomed to the controlling and civilizing traditions of an assembly, and drawing a large part of their dignity from its membership. Given a House of Lords the most purely hereditary in constitution, the most purely aristocratic in its spirit; still, simply because it is an assembly governed by rules, it will be a vast improvement on each lord by himself playing the petty prince on his own lordship, and never brought under the discipline of parliamentary traditions. The hereditary succession of the old earls and barons, whether reasonable or not, was something unavoidable, something which, as preventing far greater mischiefs, was not wholly mischievous. Their hereditary succession had quite another look from the spectacle, which often reaches the ludicrous, of the hereditary succession to some peerages in our own day. The created peer himself, this eminent lawyer, that eminent soldier, is perhaps the very man whom we should wish to have in the great council of the nation; but the sons and grandsons of such men have no such commanding position as was held by the son of an ancient baron, and personally they had often much better be away. What if we should yield so far as to say that the fact that a hereditary element did grow up was a proof that a hereditary element was not wholly out of place, and that the corruptions, the usurpations, of which we have complained, consisted, not in the mere growth of an hereditary element in the House, but in the abiding determination to keep out, as far as might be, any element which is not hereditary? Would it not be possible to devise a reform of the House of Lords in which the hereditary element should no longer be dominant, but from which it should not be wholly shut out? I will purposely do no more than throw out the vaguest hints; the time for elaborate schemes in detail, if it ever is to come, has not come yet. It might be possible to combine life peers,\* official peers, and peers who, though hereditary, shall not be wholly hereditary. A certain number of men might be chosen out of the hereditary peerage, some perhaps by the Crown, some perhaps by the hereditary peers themselves. To this last proposal it is sure to be objected that the lords so chosen would always be of one political party. So it might be; but no one would wish to keep out the leading men of that or any political party, and to sit as the choice of their fellows would surely be a more honourable tenure than to sit simply as the sons of their fathers. Such a reform as this, while a very thorough change in itself, could be made with the least possible amount of

\* I speak of "life peers" in the popular sense; but, remembering that the bishops, as not being ennobled in blood, are ruled not to be peers, it may be doubted whether the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, or any other Lords of Parliament whose seats are not hereditary, would be allowed to be peers either.

formal change. All the old titles, forms, and traditions, would be left untouched; the honorary distinctions of the peerage, the power in the Crown of creating new hereditary peers, need none of them be meddled with. All that would be needed would be to provide by law that no peer or other person shall be entitled to a summons as a lord of Parliament unless he be qualified in some of the ways which the new law shall prescribe.

The position of the spiritual lords is at this moment a very singular one. Their seats in Parliament have been objected to on many and very different grounds. They are objected to, quite reasonably from his point of view, by the Nonconformist seeking for the disestablishment of the Church. They are objected to, no less reasonably from his point of view, by the zealous Churchman, whose idea of the bishop's office is so high that he regrets to see those who hold it mixed up with worldly affairs at all. But there is something to be set on the other side. If there is to be any House of Lords at all, we cannot afford to turn the bishops out of it till we have some other visible class of non-hereditary lords to put in their places. Two or three Lords of Appeal in Ordinary are not enough. Strange as it may seem, the bishops are the only class of men who keep their seats in Parliament by the old traditional right of the English freeman to appear in person in the assembly of his people.\* They have kept what others have lost. In theory we might say the same of the earls; but the earldoms have utterly lost their ancient character—they have become simply one rank in the hereditary peerage. The earl, with his illustrious Scandinavian title, really differs in nothing from the French marquess who walks before him and the French viscount who walks after him. But the bishops still hold the same seats by the same tenure as when Anselm braved the wrath of Rufus, not for ecclesiastical privilege, but for moral right—as when Stephen Langton read out the charter of Henry, and wrung its more than renewal from John—as when Edmund, meek and ascetic as Anselm, could withstand King and Pope alike in the cause of English freedom. If the bishops' seats had been taken away at any moment up to the present, it would have been simply giving up the innermost defence of the fortress to its assailants. It would have been setting the final seal to the long encroachments of the exclusive hereditary doctrine. In any more general consideration of the whole subject, this matter, like others, will have to be thought over. Two points may claim a word or two in the meanwhile. At the present moment we cannot forget the all but unanimous vote given by the spiritual lords on behalf of the Franchise Bill, a change

\* The notion that the bishops sit by virtue of holding baronies was doubtless devised when the history of our earliest assemblies had been forgotten. But we may fairly call their seats official; it was because they held certain offices that they kept their places in the assembly when other men lost them.

indeed from the action of their predecessors in 1831. But, with all thankfulness for this service in the cause of right, it cannot be wrong to remind the bishops that, if they wish to keep their votes, they must use them. Sitting, as we may say, as the last representatives of the people in a House which has been so largely handed over to the pride of a silly superstition, they should not shrink—as in this case they emphatically have not shrunk—from coming forward as the champions of every cause of truth and justice and charity. It will not do simply to muster on some ecclesiastical question. The claims even of the tortured pigeon—tortured for the amusement of hereditary legislators—might well have drawn a greater gathering of those whose Master did not despise the sparrows. It is said that it is hard for a bishop of an ordinary see to get a hearing from those lords of more recently invented classes who deny him the rank of peer. Here we see the same kind of insolence as that which refused his seat to the great lawyer who was not “ennobled in blood.” Something indeed may be allowed to the feelings of upstarts in the presence of their historic elders, and most of the ranks of the lords temporal are upstarts indeed in the presence of the lords spiritual. The two or three hundred years during which a Cecil or a Herbert has fancied his blood “ennobled,” do indeed seem as yesterday beside the long ages of the sees of Winchester and London.

But all this goes on the assumption that there is to be a House of Lords still, or, to use the phrase of modern politics, that there is to be a “Second Chamber.” “Second Chamber,” we may take it, is the high-polite translation of the homely phrase of “the Other House,” which in the Protector Cromwell’s day described that House which was not the House of Commons. The phrase is a notable one in every way. In Cromwell’s day it was historically true. At that moment one House was already in being; another was called into being alongside of it, which therefore could not be better described than as “the Other House.” Either phrase, “Other House” or “Second Chamber,” expresses the same meaning. The body so called is conceived only in reference to “the House,” “the First House,” so to speak even, to use a more historic phrase, “the Lower House.” But what the name “Other House” implies is not strictly subordination to “the House;” it indeed suggests a higher measure of formal dignity; it implies that “the Other House” stands in a relation to “the House” in a way in which “the House” does not stand to it. It implies that itself exists only to stand in a relation to “the House,” certainly that “the House” can be conceived standing alone, while “the Other House” cannot be conceived standing alone. “The House,” in short, is absolutely essential; it could not be dispensed with; “the Other House” may be ornamental, it may be useful, it may discharge some functions

better than "the House" can; it may answer a thousand good ends in various ways; but it is not absolutely essential; the commonwealth might be conceived going on without it. This is something like the generally received notion of a "Second Chamber" or "Senate." It is manifestly not a true historical description of the origin of the House of Lords, but it is in a rough way not a bad description of the position which the House of Lords has in the course of ages come to take. Historically the House of Lords is the "First Chamber" in every sense, first in age, first in dignity; practically it has come to be the "Second Chamber." It has reached that point at which it becomes matter of discussion whether it is worth keeping or not. Nobody in any free country discusses the necessity either of the popular assembly or of the executive Government. There may be differences of opinion as to the shape which either of them should take; but nobody doubts that both must exist in some shape. But men do discuss whether the "Second Chamber" need exist in any shape. This alone shows that it does not rest on the same foundation of absolute necessity as the other two elements in the State. I pointed this out, though it hardly needs pointing out, in the article to which I have already referred. And I pointed out also that it is true in some measure even of commonwealths whose constitution is federal. For though in such commonwealths the Senate or Second Chamber cannot really be dispensed with, yet even there it is not so obvious at first sight that it cannot be dispensed with as that the Lower House cannot. "Its necessity is a matter of reflexion, while the necessity of the two other elements is a matter of instinct." It is amusing to see discussions on the possible abolition of the American Senate, in which the disputants on one side do not seem to see that what they are proposing is the abolition of the federal system altogether. It has been explained over and over again—yet, as long as some seem not to understand so plain a matter, it must be explained once more—that a proposal to abolish the American Senate is quite a different matter from a proposal to abolish the French Senate. With regard to the French Senate the question is simply whether the business of the nation is likely to be best done by one House or by two. With regard to the American Senate we have to go much deeper. The House of Representatives represents the nation formed by the union of all the separate States; the Senate represents the separate States themselves. The federal nation is formed by the union of States differing widely in size and power, but equal in rights and dignity, each of which still keeps all such attributes of independent commonwealths as it has not formally given up to the federal power. To hinder alike the federal nation from being swamped by the States and the States from being



swamped by the federal nation, it is needful to have one assembly in which each State has only that amount of voice to which it is entitled by its population, and another assembly in which each State, great and small, has an equal voice. If any party in the United States wishes altogether to get rid of the federal system, if they wish to get rid of the independence of the several States, if they wish the great names of Massachusetts and Virginia to mean no more than an English county or a French department, then let them propose the abolition of the Senate of the United States, and not otherwise. Yet even under a system where the Second Chamber is absolutely necessary, we see the comparative weakness of Second Chambers ; its abolition can be discussed. And herein comes the wonderful wisdom of the founders of the American Constitution in strengthening the Senate with those powers of other kinds which make it something more than a Second Chamber or Upper House. And mark further that the Swiss *Ständerath* or *Conseil des Etats*, formed after the model of the American Senate, like it, absolutely necessary if Switzerland is to remain a federal commonwealth, is far from holding the same position in the country which the American Senate holds. For it is a mere partner with the *Nationalrath*, and has not those special powers in and by itself which the American Senate has. But mark again that the great position of the American Senate is something which cannot exist along with our form of executive government. A President may be asked formally to submit his acts to be confirmed by one branch of the Legislature ; a King can hardly be asked to do so. It may come to be understood that the acts of the King are practically the acts of Ministers approved by the House of Commons ; but it is hardly consistent with kingship for the King's ordinary official acts to be imperfect without the approval of Lords or Commons. A King placed in such a position might at least fairly ask that the acts so to be approved should be in the first instance his own, that, in short, within such limits as the law set him, he should not only reign but govern. Where there is a King, one House, the Lower House, may be practically all-powerful over administration as well as legislation ; but where there is a King, no House, either Upper or Lower, can hold the same position of direct and formal authority which is held by the Senate of the United States.

The system of "Second Chambers" has become so common during the present century that it is hard to take in how completely its existence anywhere is owing to the accidents which gave our Parliament its peculiar character. The English Parliament had two Houses. Many of the English colonies therefore had legislatures of two Houses ; when the colonies became independent and framed for themselves a federal Legislature, that Legislature also took the form of two Houses.

It is not quite certain how far in this matter the founders of the American constitution knew exactly what they were doing ; it is no kind of discredit to them if they did not ; the authors of great political changes, good and bad, have seldom known exactly what they were doing. The Senate seems to have been much spoken against beforehand ;\* but it was adopted with wonderfully little debate, almost as if two Houses had been a matter of course.† There is not in the *Federalist* any distinct setting forth of the doctrine that two Houses are necessary in a federation, but a matter of choice only in a Constitution which is not federal ; but it would seem from a remarkable passage that Hamilton at least instinctively felt that it was so.‡ In any case the Senate did put on the character of a specially federal House, a House representing the equality of the States, as the House of Representatives represents their inequality, and as such chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. The Senate of the United States therefore, as having this distinctively federal object, is of less importance in argument about the advantages of Second Chambers than the Senates of the several States. It surely does seem to prove something on behalf of the system of two Houses, that, besides many European examples, every one of the States of the American Union has adopted it, some of them after trying the experiment of a single House, and that the municipal constitutions of many of the great American cities follow the same pattern.

Now it is plain that the Senate of the United States is something more than a "Second Chamber," if by a "Second Chamber" is meant a body whose chief business it is to revise the acts of another body, and, if need be, to exercise what is called a *veto*. It is a body possessed of real and independent powers, some of which we could not, with our form of executive, transfer to any House of Lords, Senate, or "Other House" of any shape that we could set up. On the other hand, few evils are without some counterbalancing good, and the hereditary character of our temporal peerage gives our two Houses one marked advantage over the two Houses of Congress. Where seats in the Senate go either by election or nomination, there is a far greater temptation to leading men in the representative House to press into the Senate than there is with us. With us men of the first eminence choose to stay in the House of Commons who elsewhere would certainly prefer seats in the "Other House." The largely hereditary character of the Upper House thus in a strange way helps to keep up the character and authority of the Lower, and

\* From No. lxiii. of the *Federalist*, the work of Hamilton, it appears that all kinds of "aristocratic" oppression were expected from the Senate. Yet from No. lxii. it would seem that the institution of some Senate and the election of its members by the State Legislatures were generally approved.

† See Bancroft, *History of the Constitution of the United States*, ii. 29.

‡ See the *Federalist*, No. lxiii., Art. iii.

to give the House of Commons its undoubted superiority over the House of Representatives.\* Whatever then we make of our "Other House," we must make it something which differs a good deal from the Senate of the United States. But if we give it such a constitution as will make its acts and judgments likely to command public respect, it might surely be set to do something more than exercise a so-called *veto* on the House of Commons. Indeed it would be a gain for clearness of thought if the word *veto* could be banished from political discussion on both sides of the ocean. The use of that word gives a false conception of the position of King, President, House of Lords, any person or assembly to which it is commonly applied. The word *veto* is in place when one power in the State whose active consent is not necessary to an act has the purely negative power of stepping in to forbid that act. It is from the *intercession* of the Roman tribune that the whole notion of *veto* comes. The tribune had strictly a *veto*. His consent was not needed to an act of the magistrates, of the Senate, or of the popular assembly; if he held his peace, the act took effect; but he had the power of stepping in with his *veto* to hinder any act of any of them from taking effect. The principle of the *liberum veto* which belonged to each member in the Polish Diet was much the same. But the English King has in theory, the American President has in practice, something more than a mere *veto*. The active consent of the King in all cases, the active consent of the President in all but one specified case, is needed for all legislative acts of the two Houses. The King or President never stands by, as the Roman tribune did whenever he held his peace, and sees the acts of the other powers take effect without any reference to him. Still less does the word apply to the action of co-ordinate Houses towards one another. If we say that the Lords have a *veto* on the acts of the Commons, we must also say that the Commons have a *veto* on the acts of the Lords. But in truth the word is misapplied in both cases. It is not that either House has a power of stepping in to forbid acts of the other House which otherwise would take effect; the two Houses are co-ordinate; neither can carry anything into effect without the help of the other; each needs the other's active consent to every act of legislation and to some others. There is indeed a real power of *veto* in those cases where certain administrative acts are laid on the table of both Houses, which acts take effect unless either House addresses the Crown against them. But in the case of ordinary legislation the word is misapplied, and to speak of "the *veto* of the House of Lords," while we never speak of "the *veto* of the House of Commons," puts the House of Lords in a needlessly invidious light. But when we have reformed our

\* I have quoted elsewhere the saying of an American friend of large experience in European politics: "Some Impressions of the United States," p. 118.

"Other House," we may perhaps find something for it to do besides simply reconsidering acts of the Commons. It has been often remarked that certain kinds of questions, when the Lords can be got to forego their dinners to discuss them at all, get better discussed in the Lords than in the Commons. In a reformed "Other House" many more measures might be brought in than are brought in in the present House of Lords.

Lastly, all this discussion cannot but bring before our minds that we have among us what surely is the most illustrious assembly in the world, and yet we find for it, as an assembly, nothing whatever to do. The British Privy Council is surely more like the Roman Senate than any body of men that has been since the Roman Senate. Like the Senate, it is not hereditary, it is not elective, it is not filled by mere arbitrary nomination. The first men, of all sides in politics and in all branches of public life, find their way into it by natural selection. As in the earlier estate of the House of Lords, there are some men who must be put on its roll; there are others who may be. One would think that a debate on a great question in the Privy Council would be the wisest, the most eloquent, the most instructive of all debates. There certainly are plenty of men in the Privy Council, of all callings and of all ways of thinking, who are able beyond other men to make it so. I will not venture to suggest either that the Privy Council should in any way supplant the House of Lords, or that the House of Lords should be reconstructed after the pattern of the Privy Council. There is the obvious difficulty that many of the most eminent Privy Councilors are wanted in the House of Commons. And it may be that the process of natural selection, which acts so wonderfully in gathering the most eminent men in the kingdom to become members of a body which practically never acts or meets, might lose some of its virtue if it became matter of enactment instead of understanding, and if it were applied to the choice of men who should have something to do. I only point out the singular anomaly that we have a body—an assembly we can hardly call it—which numbers in its ranks our Claudii and our Fabii on the one hand, our Flamini and our Catos on the other, and yet we can find nothing for the members of such a body to do, except to put the words "Right Honourable" before their names.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

## GOETHE.

### II.

**T**HERE has always been, and there is to this day, in spite of the Biography of Lewes, a certain vagueness in the English mind with respect to the literary career of Goethe. His name and fame were familiar to us for an unusually long time before we made any close acquaintance with his personality. Though he lived almost sixty years after his "Werther" created a rage all over Europe, yet our public scarcely formed a distinct notion of him till after he was dead. In English books of poetical criticism, even those which we are only just ceasing to regard as authorities, his name is strangely absent where we might most expect to find it. Macaulay and Hallam must have known how it was regarded abroad, and certainly Macaulay had read "Wilhelm Meister" and "Faust," but both these critics are on very distant bowing terms with Goethe. When they make those solemn critical awards in which that school delighted, arranging the poets of all ages in order of merit, it is to be observed that they silently exclude Goethe from the competition. Thus, when Hallam pronounces of Spenser that he is the third name among the poets of England, and has been surpassed by Dante alone among those of the Continent, we are clearly not to understand that Hallam means to put the author of the "Faery Queene" above the author of "Faust." Evidently for some reason Goethe is not in Hallam's mind when he passes this judgment. In like manner Macaulay, who in literature drew such a rigid line between the present, to which he was indifferent, and the past, to which he was devoted, draws the line so as to exclude Goethe. He does not deny his merit; he simply refuses either to think or to write about him. More remarkable than the silence of Macaulay and Hallam is the silence of Coleridge, which was in fact the main hindrance to Goethe's reputation in England.

In all the writings of Coleridge, I know only of a single passage in which the merits of Goethe are discussed. This is puzzling. It was the peculiar mission of Coleridge to make England acquainted with German genius and thought. We can scarcely suppose that he overlooked Goethe. At the time when he first attended to German literature, he must have become acquainted with Goethe's writings. In 1798, when Coleridge was in Germany, a large fragment of "Faust" had been before the public for several years, and "Götz" and "Werther" were already a quarter of a century old; nor was that one of the moments in which Goethe was inactive, or had suffered his name to pass out of the public mind. On the contrary, at the very time when the young Englishman was curiously watching from Göttingen one of the most singular fermentations recorded in literary history, Goethe was reaching his zenith. His alliance with Schiller had lately been formed. "Wilhelm Meister" and "Hermann und Dorothea" were just launched or being launched into the world. But even if by some accident the phenomenon escaped Coleridge's notice at the time, yet, in the thirty years that followed, did he never become alive to the imposing greatness of it? In the mirror which he holds up to Germany, Goethe's figure is not to be seen. We see there Lessing, Kant, Schiller and Schelling, but not Goethe. And yet several of Coleridge's contemporaries outside Germany had seen what Coleridge could not see. Mme. de Stael had pronounced Goethe "*le poete de l'Allemagne, le philosophe, l'homme de lettres vivant dont l'originalité et l'imagination sont les plus remarquables.*" Scott had translated "*Götz v. Berlichingen,*" and he habitually spoke of Goethe as his master. Shelley translated the "*Prolog im Himmel.*" Byron paid him homage, "*as a vassal to his liege lord.*" Only Coleridge, the professed literary critic, the recognized authority on German literature, knows nothing of him! He brings to us information about several interesting and remarkable writers; he can tell of the clear style and masterly logic of Lessing, of the glowing poetical eloquence of Schiller, of the great philosophic genius of Kant. Has it escaped his notice that in this throng of new writers there is one to whom almost all the others look up as to their Musæus, one "*whose fame over his living head like heaven was bent*"—a man of unique personality, belonging not to Germany only, but to the world?

Certainly it did not escape his notice. It would have been strange indeed if a Coleridge had failed to appreciate the songs of Goethe, or if he, of all our poets the most familiar with the dangers of philosophic speculation, if he who wrote "*Dejection,*" had been unable to appreciate "*Faust.*" But the one passage in which he does speak his mind about Goethe betrays in every line that he thought of him what he could not but think. It has the character

of an apology, and is expressed in a constrained style which marks embarrassment. "The style of 'Wilhelm Meister' is excellent; the songs in 'Faust' and the characters of Mephistopheles and Gretchen are excellent. He has been advised to translate 'Faust,' but has had reasons for not doing so. One is that he doubted whether it became his moral character to translate what in parts is vulgar and blasphemous. Moreover, he has himself planned a poem on a similar subject. Michael Scott was to have been his Faust, and he had had ideas and inventions, better, he thinks, than anything in 'Faust.'" Probably Coleridge did really feel that kind of dread which the Stolbergs in Germany felt of the so-called heathenism of Goethe. Probably he shrank from the responsibility of introducing into England an influence at once so powerful and so questionable. Goethe's thoughts had been dropped into a soil ploughed up by scepticism both religious and moral, and Coleridge might reasonably consider them ill adapted for England, where the current was at that very time setting strongly towards a positive system of belief. But a profound admiration, and almost awe, curiously mixed with a kind of envy, breaks through his reticence.

Had Coleridge translated "Faust," "Hermann und Dorothea," and the songs; had he seen his way to bring Goethe's works as a whole before the English public, which he could have done with more subtlety and discrimination than Carlyle, and twenty years earlier, we should have been further advanced in the knowledge of Goethe now than we actually are. In particular, we should have escaped an illusion which is caused by the fact that his writings were first studied by us so long after they were written. It was near the centenary of his birth when we first fell under his influence. Not only did we see his works, as we see all foreign works, divorced from the circumstances which produced them, but we listened to him for the first time almost in the middle of the nineteenth century, and scarcely remarked that the voice to which we listened spoke to us from the eighteenth. The speaker seemed to be the old man of Weimar, the old man who had so lately occupied the literary throne. It was in the forties and fifties that we studied him, and then it was fresh in our remembrance that he had noticed Carlyle, and written verses to Mrs. Carlyle, that he had flattered Scott, and translated passages from Byron. His name was associated with the literary celebrities of the time of our George IV. He seemed almost a later poet than Byron, since he not only outlived Byron, but in his poetical philosophy was held to have gone beyond him, so that those who suffered from the Byronic fever were advised to take Goethe as an antidote. Moreover, the Second Part of Faust, in mere compass the greatest of his poems, and not so manifestly a failure that it could not be represented by some critics as the greatest also in importance, was actually

not finished till 1831, and not published till later still, so that Goethe appeared, in some sense, as an active contemporary of Tennyson, Bulwer, and Macaulay.

This was an illusion. Goethe was not really a writer of that age, nor even of the age before. He is not properly a contemporary even of Scott, much less of Tennyson. The roll of his really important works was almost made up before that of Scott was begun. He is in fact, properly speaking, a writer of the eighteenth century. But even this statement is not strong enough. It is not easy quite to realize at once the great length of his career and the great influence and fame of his earliest works. As I have said, Goethe was not at his commencement, but about at his zenith, when Coleridge was in Germany, and that was earlier by seven years than the first great success of Scott. If his zenith was so far back, how far must we travel to find his commencement? We must go beyond the first appearance of Cowper and Crabbe, beyond the publication of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" (1781), or Miss Burney's "Evelina" (1778). This brings us to the age of Goldsmith, and it is in this period that we find the first astonishing successes of Goethe. Goldsmith died in 1774, which is the year in which all Germany was shedding tears over "Werther." But "Götz" had appeared the year before that, and reached a second edition in the month before Goldsmith's death. Even "Werther" and "Götz" are not absolutely the earliest writings of Goethe; they are only the writings which first made his name celebrated. His essay on German architecture had appeared in 1772; and among the poems now included in his works some were written as early as 1765.

It excites astonishment that a writer who finished a great and imposing poetical work three years after Lord Tennyson's name came before the public, should have written the most successful book of the year which witnessed the death of Goldsmith. But of this long period, if Goethe's fame belongs principally to the latter half, his character and genius belong principally to the former. He has influenced the nineteenth century and is influencing it, but he belongs to the eighteenth. And not even to the last years of the eighteenth. He is not one of those great men whom we often suppose, rather mistakenly perhaps, to have been inspired and formed by the impulse of the French Revolution. The French Revolution fell in the middle of his career, when his apprenticeship (*Lehrjahre*) was over, when his principal works were planned and half written. It disturbed instead of inspiring him. As a subject for poetry, he could never handle it successfully, except when in "Hermann und Dorothea" he uses, as it were, the remote thunder of it to heighten the idyllic serenity of the scene. Of the successful works which he published in the nineteenth century, the chief—viz., the First Part of



Faust—was not only planned and in great part written in the eighteenth, but in conception it is one of the earliest of his works, almost as early as "Götz." We sometimes hear "Faust" spoken of as the great characteristic poem of the nineteenth century, but it has nothing of the nineteenth century in it. Goethe himself, in the impressive dedication, describes the effort which he made in completing "Faust" to revive the feelings and fancies of his earliest youth. That effort carried him back to days when the French Revolution was undreamed of, far back into the old *régime* of Europe, the days of Maria Theresa, Frederick, and Louis XV., the days when Voltaire and Rousseau were still reigning in the world of literature. And generally in his later works, with the exception of "Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre," the peculiar spirit of the nineteenth century is studiously excluded, and the train of thought is imperturbably pursued which would have been natural to us all if no French Revolution and no nationality movement had occurred to throw everything into confusion.

Thus our conception of Goethe is distorted by the illusion which makes him seem to us more modern than he is. But it is also rendered indistinct by our imperfect knowledge of the development which his genius underwent. Few writers passed through so many phases. He did not write in his old age as he had written in the Napoleonic time, nor in the Napoleonic time as he had written at the close of the eighteenth century, nor after his visit to Italy as he had written before it, nor after he settled at Weimar as he had written in his native city of Frankfurt. Of this succession of phases we have no doubt some notion—we know that the Second Part of "Faust" belongs to the old age and "Werther" to the period of immaturity—but our notion is not sufficiently distinct. Yet Goethe is an artist, and to say this is to say that a true knowledge of him, as of other artists, consists mainly in an accurate discrimination of the phases or periods of his genius.

Let us begin this discrimination of periods by marking off the period of old age. A collected edition of his works appeared between 1806 and 1808, and this collection caused the want of a biography of the poet to be felt. He undertook to be his own biographer, and the chief part of "Dichtung und Wahrheit" appeared between the years 1811 and 1814. We may regard this as the winding up of his literary life, since the works which appeared later, with the exception of the "West-östlicher Divan," contained little that was valuable which had not been composed at an earlier time. When a period of nearly twenty years has thus been assigned to the old age, there remain about forty years for the period of active genius. It is this period which it is important properly to subdivide.

There is this difference between the periods of a painter and of a

writer such as Goethe was, that the painter is always painting, whereas the writer is often otherwise employed, and may even for long years abandon writing altogether. Goethe to be sure was almost always producing, but he was by no means always publishing; he was not dependent on his authorship. He began life as Doctor Goethe, an advocate at the Frankfurt bar, where he actually practised for about three years. Afterwards he became an official in the service of the Duke of Weimar, and may be said to have been for about ten years his Prime Minister. In 1786, when he was thirty-seven years old, he obtained a long leave of absence and spent two years in Italy. On his return to Weimar he did not resume general administrative business, but reserved to himself the department of culture, and was from this time forward Education Minister. These cares were enough to fill the life of an ordinary man, even of an ordinary able man. It was, as it were, out of office hours that he played the part of the greatest, most original, most various, and most consummate writer of his time. Accordingly his literary life falls into short periods of activity separated by longer periods of comparative inaction, reappearances, as it were, after intervals of retirement. The plan of it is less simple than that of Shakspeare or Scott. We have to deal not with an uninterrupted series of plays, as in the case of Shakspeare, nor with a series of poems followed by a series of romances and novels, as in the case of Scott. Goethe makes several pauses and several new departures; there are, as it were, several Goethes, who are separated from each other by intervals of time.

Perhaps we may distinguish three appearances of Goethe in German literature.

First, there is that early appearance, now more than a century behind us, when he wrote " *Götz* " and " *Werther.* " This appearance comes to an end when he is summoned in 1775 to Weimar, when he passes into a new world, and undertakes new duties.

For about a dozen years from this time he is comparatively inactive in literature, and might seem to have lost ground. At least he had not followed up, as a bookseller would have advised him to do, the astonishing hits he had made at the beginning of his career. But about the year 1788, at the time when he was in Italy, he began a new period of activity and success, which may be said to have lasted till the end of the eighteenth century. This second Goethe is extremely different from the first. He does not now take the public by storm. He is called artificial, and cold; sometimes he is called by even worse names; only one of the works of this period, " *Hermann und Dorothea,* " was received with general enthusiasm. But upon thinking men this second Goethe produces gradually an effect more profound than was perhaps ever produced in any age by a contemporary poet.

Just at the close of the eighteenth century he falls once more into the background. Schiller steps forward, and for some years occupies the stage in such a striking manner as to draw attention away from every other actor. There is at this time no rivalry, but the most intimate accord, between him and Goethe; but in these years he pours forth his dramas in such rapid succession, and these dramas are so imposing, so much more calculated to impress the general public than the works of the second Goethe had been, that he could not but have, and had a right to have, the stage to himself for a time. When he passed away, in 1805, much was altered. Under a number of powerful influences which all worked together, the influences of Kant and Fichte, and those of Goethe and Schiller themselves, new literary movements had begun, and the fashion of literature was changing. Romanticism had set in, which, though it had started with a great profession of reverence for Goethe, yet led the public taste away from the severe principles of his second period. He becomes aware of a certain degree of reaction against his influence.

Goethe, however, was able in some measure to reconcile himself to this reaction. He now makes a third appearance, and this time in some sense as a romanticist writer. To this period belong the "Elective Affinities," the "West-östlicher Divan," and another work more important than either. There was a certain resemblance between Romanticism and that earlier movement in which the first Goethe had taken the lead. To become a Romanticist, therefore, Goethe had only to go back to his youth. It happened that of the designs which had occupied him in that now remote period, one had never been completed. It was mediæval, like "Götz," and as mystically, as awfully sombre as any of those plays of Calderon which the new school was now reviving. This was "Faust." And when thus he returned for a moment to the style of his youth, he had again the astonishing success that had hailed his youthful efforts. "Faust" stood out at once as the great work of Goethe, and the fame of it went round the world.

We may almost consider the autobiography, which followed so soon, as belonging in some degree to Goethe's romanticist works; for it tells only of the first Goethe. It does not describe the austere, cold, second period, but only the enthusiastic days which Romanticism seemed to have brought back again, the days in which he wrote "Götz" and planned "Faust."

Such, roughly, are the three Goethes. The first is best described as a Shakspearian, for Goethe in the seventies of the eighteenth century was mainly under the influence of Shakspeare, and appeared to his countrymen as the leader of the Shakspearian school. The second is a rigid classicist, writes plays on the Greek model, narrative poems in hexameters, and elegiacs after Propertius and

Martial. The third is, to some extent, a romanticist. He has dropped his classical models and wanders after Calderon and Hafiz. He adapts to the romanticist fashion the Shakspearian sketches of his youth.

But though in this latter period there was some concession to a reigning fashion, yet it is not to be supposed that Goethe abandoned that devotion to the Greek ideal upon which, in the second period, he had based his art. "Faust" itself proves his fidelity to it, if we bear in mind how that work may probably have been regarded by Goethe himself. We think almost exclusively of the first part, and because we take little interest in the second part, which strikes us as prolix and fantastic, we unconsciously assume that in Goethe's mind, too, it was of secondary interest; one of those after-thoughts by which an artist, who has had a happy idea, hopes to make it serve him a second time. But the old story which Goethe had undertaken to dramatize said that Faust's compact with the fiend was for Helen of Greece. Now, as Helen does not appear in the first part, and does appear in the second; moreover, as the second part is more than half as long again as the first, and is a regular play in five acts, whereas the first is only a series of scenes; it would seem that to Goethe the first part appeared rather as the introduction to a work than as the work itself. And if we think of the two parts together, as Goethe thought of them, we see that Helena is intended to be, as it were, the central figure, the Beatrice of this new Divine Comedy. Now Helena is none other than the Greek ideal, and thus we see that the whole work treats of the return of the modern mind to ancient classical ways of thinking. Even in his third period then, though he appeared as a romanticist, Goethe is at heart a classicist. In this instance, indeed, it was not any compromise that made him appear otherwise, but only the accident that the introduction to his work was infinitely more successful than the work itself. The introduction, that is, the First Part, contains some of the brightest inventions of his youth, and is throughout the work of his vigorous period, while at the same time it spoke to the popular mind. The Second Part is a compound of the languor of his old age with the coldness of his second period, and thus speaks in a drowsy tone of things which only the few understand.

As I have remarked, Goethe sometimes kept designs so long by him that when the work appeared it was difficult to say to what period it belonged, since it bore the marks of several periods. This remark applies especially to "Faust." Of this play some scenes were written in 1775, but the whole was not completed till the middle of 1831. In other words, he had this poem in hand at least fifty-seven years. Even the First Part took him thirty-three years. In

"Faust," therefore, every phase of Goethe is to be traced somewhere. It is only in general and roughly that we can say that the First Part belongs to the first and third periods, and the Second Part to the second period and to the old age.

"Wilhelm Meister" is another work to which the same remark applies. He kept it by him (I speak only of the *Lehrjahre*) more than twenty years. By observing this fact we discover how to place it in our classification. By the date of its publication it belongs to the second period, of which indeed it is the principal work. And yet it is not in classical form. The truth is, it is the work of transition, the work in which Goethe records in what way and through what stages he passed out of his first into his second period. The earlier part of the novel may almost be said to belong to the first period, and throughout the prominence which is given to Shakspeare is a note of the first period. But Mignon's figure and Mignon's song draw our thoughts more and more towards Italy; Greek statues float before us; and at last, in the eighth book, we are introduced to the Hall of the Past, where Goethe himself, disguised as the Uncle, stands in the midst of a world of Greek art. Here we are in the midst of the classicism of the second period. Here is preached to us the culture-gospel, of which the principal maxim is *gedenke zu leben*—study to live, instead of *memento mori*—study to die.

Thus, "Wilhelm Meister" runs parallel to "Faust," if we think of the two Fausts together. Wilhelm's apprenticeship corresponds in prose to the course of Faust as depicted in poetry. Both move out of what is described as a Gothic confusion into the Hellenic world. The one rests in the culture-gospel, the other marries Helen of Greece. We have here a sort of clue to the vast and various labyrinth of Goethe's writings. What may be the value of this fundamental Goethian maxim I do not inquire in this article, which deals with the classification of Goethe's writings, not with the substance of them.

So far, then, Goethe's progress appears to consist in a gradual estrangement from everything Gothic, or, as he expresses it, northern, and in a conversion to classicism. It is a progress which causes him to part company with the public for which he writes. They like what is Gothic, and are cold to what is Hellenic. They receive with enthusiasm his youthful works, but are cold to "Tasso," and not more than respectful to "Iphigenie;" they like "Faust" so far as it is Gothic, but turn away from it when it begins to become Hellenic. But is this a complete account of the matter? We know that Goethe in his later life smiled at "Werther." Did he simply and merely repent of all that he had written in his first period, and wish it unwritten? Or did he only modify his early views, and perhaps add something to them? It is the more important to arrive at a

clear view on this head, because the first period of Goethe, upon which he would seem to have afterwards turned his back, is in its effect upon the literature both of Germany and the world almost greater and more striking than the second.

When we speak of Goethe as having created the literature of Germany, do we mean that he brought it back from wildness to Greek shapeliness and decorum? And in the general movement of European literature does Goethe stand among the correct and cold, and not rather among the audacious and inspiring masters? There is surely much confusion in the ordinary view which is taken of him outside Germany. He is commonly named among the great literary leaders who exploded the classicism of the stage, who wrote the name of Shakspeare on their flag, and conquering under that sign, introduced a richer, bolder, more imaginative style of literature. As a specimen of this new style we point to "Faust." The best proof that Goethe really had this kind of influence is afforded by the career of Scott. Though English writers in general were slow to feel the influence of Goethe, as I have remarked especially in the case of Coleridge, yet there was one exception. Scott, the very incarnation of Romanticism—Scott, of all great modern poets the most completely a stranger to the whole Hellenic world—read and imitated Goethe when as yet no other Englishman did. He translated "Götz v. Berlichingen" in 1799, and the influence of that play is traceable in "Ivanhoe," as "Mignon" is imitated in "Peveril of the Peak," and perhaps also the harper of "Wilhelm Meister" in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel." He spoke of Goethe as his master, and does not this naturally lead us to think of Goethe as a great light of the romantic school? Scott's biographer thinks that but for "Götz" the idea might never have flashed upon Scott's mind that his own legendary lore might be worked up into poems and romances. Thereupon he takes occasion to speak of Goethe as if he were undoubtedly a writer of the same order as Scott, and of "Götz" he says that it is "the first-fruits of that passionate admiration for Shakspeare to which all that is excellent in the recent imaginative literature of Germany must be traced."

How are these undoubted facts, that Goethe wrote romantic works which had a powerful influence all over Europe, that he appeared before Germany as an enthusiastic Shakspearian, that a great part of "Wilhelm Meister," not one of his earlier works, is occupied with the praise of Shakspeare, and that "Faust" is Shakspearian, to be reconciled with another set of facts equally undoubted—viz., that Goethe was a decided classicist, who was censured for his coldness, and has to defend himself against the charge that he "refused to leave the ancients behind him," that he writes plays in antique form, and ceases to imitate Shakspeare (except in the single case of

"Faust"), and that he represents the abandonment of Gothic for Greek models as all-important, as no mere matter of taste, but as a kind of moral conversion or salvation.

This is partly explained by the distinction I have marked between the first and the second Goethe. It was the first Goethe, the contemporary of Goldsmith, who was Scott's master; of the second Goethe Scott knew nothing, nor, apparently, did Scott's biographer. If "Faust" is Shakspearian, this is because the plan of it was conceived by the first Goethe, and because it was finally executed, not by the second Goethe, but by a third, who was in some degree an echo of the first. If "Wilhelm Meister," a work of the second period, is full of the name of Shakspeare, this is because it was begun in the first period, and has many characteristics of the first period, especially in its earlier parts. But when we have recognized so much, we must still crave to understand more distinctly the nature of the difference between the first and second Goethe. For it is rather shocking to find the young genius who at four-and-twenty warmed German literature into life by the fire of his first writings, and by the same writings later inspired Scott, disowning in a manner those writings, becoming as remarkable for coldness as he had been for warmth, and going over, as it might seem, to the very school over which he had triumphed. It is perplexing as well as shocking; for to say simply that Goethe missed his way, and, having begun well, yielded, as many others have done, to the seductions of a conventional art, is easy, but it is almost equivalent to pronouncing his whole career a failure. This change of opinion is the great occurrence of his life—it is the great subject of his writings. If we treat it as an unfortunate bewilderment, we reduce Goethe's rank and importance incalculably. He is regarded by his countrymen as one who through a long life struggled victoriously forward to the light; whose clearness and instinct for truth were almost more remarkable than his imagination. It is for this reason that they are never weary of contemplating and studying him. But all his reputation for wisdom is involved with his change of opinion. If that be treated as an aberration, we have before us quite another sort of Goethe. It is the Goethe we meet with in many French and English criticisms—a brilliant poet of the same family as Byron, Moore, and Scott, and having some of the qualities of each of these. It is the author who, in "Götz" and the "Erkönig," led the way for Scott; in "Faust" gave Byron the model for "Cain;" while in his "West-östlicher Divan" he ran a race with the poet of "Lalla Rookh." But this Goethe must be conceived as dying young, like Byron, not literally, but in the sense that we must deny him all qualities but those of youth, sensibility, imagination and passion.

Let us look then a little closer at this change of opinion. The

first Goethe, as has been said, is best described as a Shakspearian. Just when Lessing had brought the French plays into discredit, and had called attention to Shakspeare, appeared "Götz v. Berlichingen," and the whole nation felt that they had in the young Goethe the man who could realize all that Lessing had taught them to desire. For some time Goethe himself took the same view of his vocation. With what enthusiasm at this time he regarded Shakspeare we may read in "Wilhelm Meister." Of all the testimonies to Shakspeare's genius which have been rendered by great judges, perhaps this of Goethe's is the most striking:—

"These precious pieces seem to be the work of some heavenly genius who mixes with mankind to give it in the gentlest manner the knowledge of itself. They are not poems! I seem to stand before the monstrous books of fate thrown wide open, a whirlwind of restless life rushing through them and flapping the leaves now this way, now that. The strength and tenderness, the power and repose, astonish me so, they disturb me with such agitation, that I can only wait longingly for the time when I may find myself in a situation to read further."

It might have been expected that he who felt thus, and who had already written "Götz," would now proceed to write many other plays in the same taste. He does proceed to write "Egmont," but even in this play the inspiration seems on the ebb, and after this he writes no Shakspearian play until, thirty-five years after "Götz," he launches "Faust" into the world.

We do not find him ceasing to admire Shakspeare, still less beginning to see merit in those French pieces which had reigned on the stage before Shakspeare came into vogue. He does not precisely change any opinion. Still it appears that before what I have called his second appearance, Shakspeare has ceased to have an active influence over him. He has passed under the influence of another set of writers, and these, it so happens, are the classics. From this time he begins to stand before the public in a new character, no longer as the darling and idol of the reading world, but as an unpopular, unappreciated writer, appealing to the Muses in the approved fashion against the unjust judgment of the world. His manifesto is the preface to "Hermann und Dorothea," written in elegiacs, where he begins thus: "So it is a sin that I am inspired by Propertius, and that the rogue Martial keeps company with me, that I did not leave the ancients behind me in the school, but took them with me to Latium," &c. &c.

And then he goes on to put his new poem under the protection of two of the great classicists—F. A. Wolf, whose "Prolegomena" were just then occupying the learned world, and Voss, the great authority on German hexameters. It is to be observed that during this second period, as a sort of badge of adhesion to classicism, he adopts classical metres or a highly classical form of blank verse.



This change looks superficially like reaction, like a sort of apostasy, but it is in reality something much less and something much more. There is in it, indeed, a certain element of reaction. The disappearance of the French conventional rules had introduced confusion. Both Goethe, and in the later years of his life Schiller, were impatient of the formlessness which had begun to reign in literature. It was not enough that Germany should throw off the foreign style, she was now to substitute a style of her own. Having breathed life into the literature of his country twenty years before, it now devolved on Goethe to give it form. Warmth and good feeling it had in abundance, but it wanted character. Canons were needed, standards had to be set up; for Goethe perceived with distress how readily the Teutonic genius reconciles itself to a certain vague rich confusion, how lightly it dispenses with outlines, how tolerant and helplessly good-natured is its taste. It is the burden of the correspondence between Goethe and Schiller that the public have no judgment, no character; and both alike see the only remedy in giving greater regularity, greater firmness of outline to literary work. That they should agree so decidedly on this head is a great proof that they were right in relation to their time and country, however in the abstract we may be surprised to find poets of that order laying so much stress on form. Both alike, too, agree in going to the antique for models; it may surprise those who regard modern German literature as founded on Shakspeare to observe how seldom in this correspondence Shakspeare, and how continually the antique, is referred to. Moreover, though the charge of coldness, of artificiality, has fallen principally upon Goethe, yet we see that Schiller is quite as much open to it, nay is, in literary criticism, even more rigorously classicist than Goethe.

So far then Goethe, in his second period, may be called a reactionist, though we can easily imagine that the reaction in which he led the way was wise and necessary. There are times when liberty is the good cause, but there are other times when law, or restriction of liberty, is the thing most urgently needed. In Germany, at that moment, scarcely anything in the art of literary composition was fixed. We find Goethe himself anxiously studying books on prosody in order to find out how to write verses. To him, too, the hexameter, which he now adopts, and which he strangely uses even where, as in "*Reineke Fuchs*," both the fable and the tone of thought are Teutonic, is no mere exotic which he takes a pedantic pleasure in naturalizing. German literature had no recognized metre for long narrative poems; but Klopstock's "*Messiah*" was in hexameters; the conservative course therefore, on the whole, was to write in hexameters, and all that remained for decision was how to write good ones.

But, after all, this formal and technical aspect of Goethe's classicism is only one side of it. The great change of opinion of which he makes so much, the initiation of Wilhelm, the marriage of Faust to Helen of Greece, is not a mere literary change, not a mere recognition of the importance of rules in literature. Goethe professes to have undergone a complete transformation, a sort of regeneration, through his visit to Italy. The sight of Greek sculpture and Italian life under an Italian sky suggests to his mind, not merely certain new rules of composition and versification, but a new conception of life. It transforms in the first instance his opinions about literature, in the next his opinions about art in general, but also his whole manner of regarding human life, and therefore his morality and his religion. A visit to Italy has often produced some such effect upon painters and sculptors, but they have been only half conscious of it, or have but inarticulately striven to communicate it to others. A great event happened, when the southern world of art was reflected for the first time in the mirror of a mind large enough to contain it all, and clear enough to give it back faithfully. A great event, and an event which would have been unique, if Goethe had not had a precursor in Winckelmann.

Goethe becomes a classicist in the sense that he begins to see the world with the eyes of an ancient artist, and therefore begins to have the instincts and to adopt the views of an ancient artist. Classicism in this sense is widely different from the classicism of the French period, against which this same Goethe led the rebellion. It might be an illusion, or illusion might mix with it, or the notion that it was possible or desirable to revive an obsolete view of the world, might be erroneous; in any case, it was wholly different from French classicism. That was a conventional classicism. It rested on a blind reverence for the ancient world as superior to the modern, or, if on reason, on a cold prosaic reason. Against it every warm feeling, every fresh recognition of the truth of Nature, every new movement of the human heart, every stirring of genius, was always in rebellion. This, on the other hand, was a natural classicism. It was all on the side of genius and Nature; but it affirmed, at the same time, that genius and Nature were on the side of the ancients. It began, we are to remark, by altering somewhat the terms of the discussion, for instead of merely the drama or merely literature, it spoke of art in general. By this means it brought Greek sculpture, architecture, and painting to the help of Greek poetry. Phidias and Apelles were called in to help Euripides. Then it went on to affirm that art, the name of the comprehensive conception to which so much importance was now for the first time attached, was the result of a peculiar view of the universe and of human life which had prevailed among the ancients, but had been for the most part lost

among the moderns. In the modern world, indeed, there had been germs of art, impulses towards it—nay, exceptionally, there had been great and striking artistic creations. But, on the whole, the antique was the school, not only of sculpture, as every one admitted, but of art as such, and therefore of every art, including poetry and literature. Nay, culture itself (*Bildung*, the word which is repeated with such iteration in "Wilhelm Meister"), a conception more comprehensive still than art, is in the main only a journey southward. It begins in the yearning cry, "Kennst du das Land?" It proceeds by purging the mind of "northern phantoms," northern bewilderments, and making it clear, cheerful and sunny, as was the mind of an ancient Greek.

This view was not gradually excogitated by Goethe, but came upon him as a revelation while he lived in Italy. Under that sun, in that climate, so it seemed to him, art was natural, inevitable. On the northern side of the Alps it was not so natural, and if it was to thrive there, it must thrive as an exotic. Thirty years after his Italian journey, when he had been half disenchanted by a second tour, when he had witnessed the partial failure of his classicising experiments, and had made large concessions to the opposite school, he still says that he takes courage when he thinks that he too "has lived and loved in the sun-bright land" (*Hab' doch auch im sonnenhellen Land gelebt, geliebt*).

This theory, it is to be observed, does not break with Shakspeare; rather, it classes Shakspeare along with the ancients. For it lays stress upon that one feature in which Shakspeare is so remarkably an ancient—his naturalism, his enjoyment of the world as it is, his freedom from the disease which has been called other-worldliness.

But why, it may be asked, should Goethe look to models at all? Had not he, above all other men, shown that genius can depend on its own inherent powers? He had found a nation of richly imaginative, but somewhat too passive, temperament, slavishly devoted to foreign models. He had broken the yoke, flung aside conventions, and produced in "Götz" an original work, full of warmth, vigour, and genuine German feeling. How disappointing to find this Prometheus, before twenty years have expired, dangling in Roman studios, talking the cant of the dilettante, and vainly endeavouring to force the consonantal syllables of his native German into the frame of the hexameter and the pentameter!

"So hab' ich von Herzen  
Rothstrumpf immer gehasset und Violetstrumpf dazu."

If the shade of Virgil read this line, would it treat Goethe as affectionately as it did Dante? Would it not remark that in that last dactyl the second syllable, which should be short, is assuredly

long, if ever a syllable was long, by position? Indeed, it does not seem certain that so much trouble bestowed on the naturalization of classical metres was well spent. Heinrich Heine, it has been observed, would never use them, and I find a very recent critic of "Hermann und Dorothea" remarking that the poem is not really so popular in Germany as might be supposed, and that the obstacle to its popularity is its metre, which the multitude do not understand, so that they read the verses as prose. But when we blame Goethe for wandering after foreign models, perhaps we do not rightly understand his position, and perhaps also we err when we suppose that even the greatest poet can dispense with models. At any rate, Goethe's early works cannot be cited in proof of such a position. In several of those early works he had shown himself unable to rise out of the element that surrounded him. "Stella" is as false, "Clavigo" as poor and mean, as other German works of that time. "Werther" is superior in force only; it has certainly no advantage in healthiness of tone. Of all those compositions of the first Goethe only "Götz" can be called healthy. Only of "Götz" can we say that, after a century has passed over it, it may still be read with delight. And to what does "Götz" owe this superiority? To the fact that here Goethe had models, by the contemplation of which he could raise himself above and out of his time. He had the ancient ~~Æ~~meioir, and for dramatic style and tone he had Shakspeare. So far in fact from leaning only on himself, the peculiar characteristic of the young Goethe is that he lives in the writings of the great primitive poets. Thus his Werther always carries a Homer, and in his last despair reads Ossian. Here, as usual, Goethe's fiction is only fact slightly disguised. The classical models which he followed in his second period were not really more foreign than the Homer, the Ossian, and the Shakspeare who were his models in the first.

It must be confessed that he could not do without models of some kind, but if he looked abroad and not at home for models, this was not from perverseness or pedantry, but simply because they were not to be found at home. Germany had indeed the popular song, and no one will deny that Goethe did full justice to this. But what had Germany besides? There was the old puppet-show, and there were the rough-hewn verses of honest Hans Sachs. Goethe does not neglect these. He makes far more out of them than would have been thought possible. He almost revived the fame of Hans Sachs by that most delightful poetical sketch of him. And he wrote in his first period a great quantity of popular doggerel (*Knittelverse*), in which satire, humour and pathos, the grave and the gay, are freely blended together. Such hearty enjoyment had he of the popular element in poetry! In this free-and-easy popular style the First Part of "Faust" itself is for the most part written.

But Germany could furnish no more. It was not from pedantry that Goethe turned his back on the German literature of recent generations. There were no German Miltons and Shakespeares against whose examples it would have been an impiety to rebel. But could he not have gone back to the Minnesänger? He answers us himself: "The Minnesänger lay too far from us; we should have had to begin by learning their language; and that was not in our way; we wanted to live, not to learn." These then were the circumstances which drove Goethe to seek for foreign models. He could not find at home poets who could teach him how to speak in the great style. He was forced to look abroad. Shakespeare attracted him first; there he found, even in the heart of the cold north, the vigour, freshness, freedom, natural passion and natural grace, of which he was in search. But later he thought he saw that what was to be found in Shakespeare alone among the moderns was to be found everywhere among the ancients, and that the true home of the artist is not where an exceptional genius triumphs over the gloom of Nature, but where Nature itself is sunny and where men have a religion of joy.

It is to be observed that this discovery of Goethe's was not made quite so suddenly, and was not quite such an original discovery, as we might be inclined to suppose. His father had made a tour in Italy, which he regarded as the great event of his life and which he recorded in Italian, so that the feelings of Mignon's song, the vague yearning towards Italy, were natural to the young Goethe. Thus predisposed, he watched in the most impressible years of his life the career of Winckelmann; he has described it in language which shows how deeply it had interested him. The transformation he himself underwent in Italy was after all, we discover, the same transformation that Winckelmann had undergone in Italy twenty years earlier. Goethe went to Italy prepared to undergo it, and he underwent it accordingly. The feelings he describes were no doubt real, but he would scarcely have experienced them had not Winckelmann experienced and described them a few years before. Out of this transformation there came forth a new Goethe, the author of "Iphigenie," "Tasso," "Hermann und Dorothea," the Roman Elegiacs, and a multitude of less striking compositions, all alike antique in form. Here was a Goethe whom assuredly Scott would never have called his master; indeed it is difficult to imagine Scott reading any of these poems with patience. It was a Goethe whom the German public itself could not at first recognize. They became estranged from their old idol. They said he was altered, that he had become cold, a sensualist, a heathen. They thought that his court-life must have spoiled him. This was a Goethe clad in soft raiment, and living in kings' courts; it was not the Goethe they had seen out into the wilderness to see. He was deeply hurt, and

began to fall into despondency, he was in a fair way to abandon poetry, when Schiller came to the rescue. Schiller had succeeded to something of the popularity of the first Goethe; his "Robbers" and "Don Carlos" were now what "Götz" and "Werther" had been twenty years earlier. To him men pointed in triumph when they spoke of the melancholy decline of Goethe's genius, for in him they found still all the warmth, the glowing sentiments, the enthusiastic eloquence which Goethe had had before he sank into sensualism. It was therefore an extraordinary surprise, and almost the beginning of a new life for Goethe, when this Schiller, whom he had for some time avoided as a rival, showed himself a devoted disciple. In his letters to Goethe, especially those in which he reviews "Wilhelm Meister," he uses such language of admiration as perhaps no man of equal mark ever used to a contemporary; and, what was more surprising, he did not, even by the faintest hint, allege any of the objections that were fashionable against Goethe's new style. His admiration is unqualified and unbounded. Thus encouraged, Goethe remained a poet, and fought the battle of classicism manfully as long as Schiller lived. By Schiller's help, by the help of the rising Schlegels, and by the support of Rahel's *salon*, Goethe retains in this second period, in spite of all opposition, his pre-eminent place, which is further assured to him by the concessions he makes and the new successes he wins in the third period.

Thus, there are two Goethes, one of world-wide popularity, the great sentimentalist and romancer, the poet of Gretchen, Clärchen, Mignon, and Zuleikha; the other, little known to the multitude either in Germany or abroad, but the master of a school, the great practical philosopher of culture and the artistic life. In the first character Goethe stands by the side of Byron and Scott, or at some point between them and Shakspeare. In particular, his songs are unrivalled, and no one has surpassed him in the delineation of female character.

But he is also, above and beyond Scott and Byron, a great mover of modern thought, one of the principal makers of modern opinion. That Hellenic view of life, which passed from Winckelmann to him, does not now appear, as we approach the centenary of his Italian tour, to have been a mere illusion, a mere passing crotchet. Goethe's adhesion to classicism appears now as a leading event in the later stages of the Renaissance. In the main the nineteenth century has been moved by impulses in which he had little share. He is in the main a man of the old *régime*, without sympathy either for popular or for national movements. Occasionally we are startled at the obsolescence of the opinions he expresses, as when he told a young admirer of Dante at Rome that "he had never been able to conceive

how a man could choose to busy himself with such poems." That certainly is the true voice of the eighteenth century! And, in like manner, a recent worshipper of Goethe (Friedrich Vischer) detects the old *régime* in the moral laxity of "Wilhelm Meister," and declares that on this account the German nation has never cared for or understood "Wilhelm Meister." Nevertheless, the Renaissance of the nineteenth century, which is not less victorious than that of the fifteenth and sixteenth, has taken, on the whole, the form which it assumed in Goethe's mind. We do not regard the ancients now with any superstitious veneration; we do not dream of contrasting them either favourably or unfavourably with Shakspeare; but we do homage to the Hellenic genius, because we find in it the same clearness and health, the same cheerful enjoyment and bold grasp of Nature, that we find in Shakspeare. This latest Renaissance is a doctrine that has a deep and wide application, and Goethe is the greatest teacher of it.

J. R. SEELEY.

(To be continued.)

## SOCIALISM AS GOVERNMENT.

**T**HE logical creation of a curtailed type of humanity, the effort to adapt the living man to this type, the interference of public authority in every branch of public endeavour, restrictions put upon labour, exchanges and property, upon the family and education, upon worship, habits, customs, and sentiments, the sacrifice of the individual to the community, the omnipotence of the State—such is the Jacobin theory. None could be more retrograde ; for its object is to bring the modern man back to social forms which, for eighteen centuries, he had already passed through and left behind him—during the historical era which precedes our own, and especially in the old Greek or Latin cities, in Rome and Sparta, which the Jacobins take for their models,\* human society was shaped after the pattern of an army or convent. In a convent, as in an army, one idea, absorbing and unique, predominates—the aim of the monk is to please God at any sacrifice, the soldier makes every sacrifice to obtain a victory ; accordingly, each renounces every other desire and entirely abandons himself, the monk to his rules and the soldier to his drill. In like manner, in the ancient world, two preoccupations were of extreme importance. In the first place, the city had its gods, which were both its founders and protectors ; it was therefore obliged to worship these in the most reverent and particular manner, otherwise they abandoned it ; the neglect of any insignificant rite might offend them and ruin it. In the second place, there was incessant warfare, and the rights of war were atrocious. On a city being taken every citizen might expect to be killed or maimed, or sold at auction, and see his

\* Buzeh et Roux, xxii. 354. (Speech by Robespierre in the Convention, Floreal 18, year II.) "Sparta is like a flash of lightning amidst profoundest darkness."



children and wife knocked down to the highest bidder.\* In short, the ancient city, with its acropolis, its temples and its fortified walls, surrounded by implacable and threatening enemies, resembles for us the institution of the Knights of St. John on their rocks at Rhodes or Malta, a religious and military confraternity encamped around a church; liberty under these conditions is out of the question. Public convictions are too imperious; public danger is too great. With this pressure upon him, and thus hampered, the individual gives himself up to the community, which takes full possession of him, because, to maintain its own existence, it needs the whole man. Henceforth no one may develop apart and for himself; no one may act or think except within fixed lines. The type of man is distinctly and clearly defined, if not logically at least traditionally; each life, as well as each portion of each life, must conform to this type; otherwise the security of the public is compromised: any falling-off in gymnastic education weakens the army; passing the images of the gods and neglecting the usual libation draws down celestial vengeance on the city. Consequently, to prevent all deviations, the State, absolute master, exercises unlimited jurisdiction; no freedom whatever is left to the individual, no portion of himself is reserved to himself, no sheltered corner against the strong hand of public force, neither his possessions, his children, his personality, his opinions, nor his conscience.† If, on voting days, he shares in the sovereignty, he is a subject all the rest of the year, even to his private sentiments. Rome, to serve these ends, had two censors; one of the archons of Athens was inquisitor of the faith; Socrates was put to death "for not believing in the gods in which the city believed."‡ In reality, not only in Greece and in Rome, but in Egypt, in China, in India, in Persia, in Judæa, in Mexico, in Peru, during the first stages of civilization,§ the principle of human communities is that of animal or insect communities; the individual belongs to the public, just as the bee to its hive and the ant to its ant-hill; he is simply an organ

\* Milos taken by the Athenians; Thebes, after Alexander's victory; Corinth, after its capture by the Romans. In the Peloponnesian war, the Plataeans, who surrender at discretion, are put to death. Nicias is murdered in cold blood after his defeat in Sicily. The prisoners in Ægos-Potamos have their thumbs cut off.

† Fustel de Coulanges: *'La Cité Antique,'* ch. 17.

‡ Plato: *"The Apology of Socrates."* See also in the *"Crito"* Socrates' reasons for not eluding the penalty imposed on him. The ancient conception of the State is here clearly set forth.

§ Cf. the Code of Manu, the Zendvesta, the Pentateuch, and the Tcheon-Li. In this last Code (Biot's translation) will be found the perfection of the system, particularly in vol. i. 241, 247; ii. 393; iii. 9, 11, 21, 52. "Every district chief, on the twelfth day of the first moon, assembles together the men of his district and reads to them the table of rules; he examines their virtue, their conduct, their progress in the right path, also in their knowledge, and he encourages them; he investigates their errors, their failings, and prevents them from doing evil; superintendents of marriages see that young people marry at the prescribed age." The reduction of man to a State automaton through the institution of "Overseer of Gags." . . . "At all grand hunts, at all gatherings of troops, he orders the application of gags. In these cases gags are put in the soldiers' mouth; they then fulfil their duties without tumult or shoutings."

within an organism; in diverse forms and in diverse applications authoritative socialism alone prevails.

It is just the opposite in modern society. What was once the rule has now become the exception. The ancient system survives only in temporary associations, like an army, or in special associations, like a convent. The individual has liberated himself by degrees, and from century to century, he has extended his domain; the two chains which once bound him fast to the community are broken or become loosened. In the first place, public power has ceased to consist of a militia protecting a cult. Through the institution of Christianity civil society and religious society have become two distinct empires, Christ Himself having separated the two jurisdictions: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." On the other hand, through the rise of Protestantism, the great Christian Church is split into numerous sects, which, unable to destroy each other, have been so compelled to live together, that the State, even when preferring one of them, has found it necessary to tolerate the others. At length, through the development of Protestantism, philosophy and the sciences, speculative beliefs have multiplied. There are almost as many faiths now-a-days as there are thinking men, and as thinking men are becoming daily more numerous, opinions are daily becoming more numerous, so that if the State should try to impose any one of these on society, this would excite opposition from an infinity of others. Hence the wisdom of the State is found, first, in remaining neutral, and next in acknowledging that it is not qualified to interfere. In the second place, war has become less frequent and less destructive, because men have not so many motives for waging it, nor the same motives to push it to the same extremes. Formerly, war was the main source of wealth; through victories man acquired slaves, subjects, and tributaries; he turned these to the best account through a luxurious enjoyment of their forced labour. Nothing of this kind is seen now-a-days; people no longer think of providing themselves with human cattle; they have discovered that, of all animals, these are the most troublesome, the least productive, and the most dangerous. Comforts and security are obtained much more readily through free labour and machinery; the great object now, is not to conquer, but to produce and interchange. Every day, man pressing forward more eagerly in civil careers, is less disposed to put up with any obstacle that interferes with his aims; if he still consents to be a soldier, it is not to become an invader, but to provide against invasion. War, meanwhile, has become more scientific, and through the complications of its machinery, more costly. The State can no longer call out and enlist for life all its able-bodied men without ruining itself, nor impede, through too many regulations, that free industry which,

through taxation, provides it with its means of support; however shortsighted the State may be, it consults civil interests, even in its military interest. Thus, of the two nets, in the toils of which it has enveloped all human activity, one is rent asunder, and the other has relaxed its meshes. There is no longer any reason for conferring omnipotence on the community; the individual need not alienate himself entirely; he may, without inconvenience, reserve to himself a part of himself; and, if now called upon to sign a social contract, you may be sure that he would make this reservation.

## II.

Outward circumstances, indeed, are not only changed, but the very depths of the soul are changed; the breast of man is animated by a sentiment which is repugnant to ancient stipulations. Undoubtedly in extreme cases, and under the pressure of brutal necessity, I may, without special instructions and for a time, give the State my signature in blank; but never, with a full comprehension of the meaning of the terms, will I sign away in good faith the complete and permanent abandonment of myself; it would be against my *conscience* and my *honour*, which two possessions are not to be alienated. My honour and my conscience are not to go out of my keeping; I am their sole guardian and depositary; I would not even entrust them to my father. Both these terms are new and they express two conceptions unknown to the ancients;\* both are of profound import and of infinite reach. Like a bud separated from its stem and taking root apart, the individual, through these conceptions, has separated himself from the primitive body—clan, family, caste, or city, in which he has lived indistinguishable and lost in the crowd; he has ceased to be an organ and an appendage: he has become a complete personality. The first of these conceptions is of Christian origin, and the second of feudal origin; both, following each other and conjoined, measure the enormous distance which separates the ancient soul from the modern soul.

Alone in the presence of God, the Christian is sensible of every tie dissolving like wax that binds him to the group around him; he stands face to face with the Great Judge, and this infallible Judge sees all souls as they are, not confusedly and in masses, but distinctly and each by itself. At the bar of this tribunal no one is answerable for another; each answers for himself alone; one is responsible only for one's own acts. But these acts are of infinite consequence, for the

\* There are no exact equivalents for these two words in Greek or Latin. *Conscientia*, *dignitas*, *honor*, denote different shades of meaning. This difference is most appreciable in the combination of the two modern terms *delicate conscience*, *scrupulous conscience*, and the phrase *one's honour on this or that*, *make it a point of honour*, *the laws of honour*, &c. The technical terms of ancient morality, the *beautiful*, the *virtuous*, the *excellent* good, indicate ideas of another stamp and origin.

soul, redeemed by the blood of a God, is of infinite price; hence, according as it has or has not profited by the divine sacrifice, so will the reward or punishment be infinite; at the final judgment an eternity of torment or bliss opens before it. All other interests vanish alongside of an interest of such vast disproportion. Thenceforth, the most serious of all aims is righteousness, not in the eyes of man but of God, and again, day after day, the soul renews within itself that tragic questioning in which the Judge interrogates and the sinner responds. Through this dialogue, which has been going on for eighteen centuries, and which is yet to continue, conscience has grown more and more sensitive, and man has conceived an idea of absolute justice. Whether this is vested in an all-powerful master, or whether it is a self-existent truth like mathematical truths, in no wise takes away from its sacredness, nor, consequently, from its authority. It commands with a superior voice, and its commands must be obeyed, cost what it will: there are strict duties to which every man is rigorously bound. No pledge may relieve him of these duties; if not fulfilled because he has given contrary pledges, he is no less culpable on this account, and besides, he is culpable for having pledged himself; the pledging of himself to crimes was in itself a crime. His fault thus appears to him twofold, and the inward prick galls him twice instead of once. Hence, the more sensitive the conscience, the greater its repugnance to self-abdication; it repels in advance any pact tending to wrong-doing, and it will not give to men the right of imposing remorse.

At the same time another sentiment has arisen, not less precious, and still more energetic, more human and more efficacious. Solitary in his stronghold, the feudal chieftain, at the head of his band, could depend on nobody but himself, for a public force did not then exist. It was necessary that he should protect himself, and, indeed, over-protect himself; whoever, in the anarchical and military society in which he lived, allowed the slightest encroachment, or left unpunished the slightest approach to insult, was regarded as weak or craven, and he at once became a prey; one had to be proud-spirited under penalty of death. And do not imagine that this was a difficult task for him. Sole proprietor and absolute sovereign, with no equals or peers on his domain, he was a unique being of a superior species and out of proportion with all others.\* Hence his soliloquising during the long hours of a dreary solitude, which soliloquy has lasted for nine

\* Montaigne, "Essais," book i. ch. 42. "Observe in the provinces far from the Court, as in Brittany, for example, the retinue, the subjects, the duties, the ceremony of a seigneur living alone by himself, brought up among his dependants; and likewise observe the flights of his imagination, than which nothing is more royal; he may allude to his superior once a year, as if he were the king of Persia. . . . The burden of sovereignty scarcely affects the French *gentilhomme* twice in his life, who cares only to nestle at his own hearthstone, and who knows how to rule his household without dispute or trial; he is as free as the Duke of Venice."

centuries.\* Thus, in his own eyes, his person and all that depends on him are inviolable; rather than tolerate the slightest infringement on his prerogatives, he will dare all and sacrifice all.† A proud spirit (*orgueil exalté*) is the best of sentinels to guard a right; for it guards the right not only to preserve the right, but also and especially, to satisfy the proud spirit itself; man imagines the character which befits his rank, and this character he imposes on himself as a password. Thenceforth, he not only compels the respect of others, but he respects himself; he possesses the sentiment of honour, a generous pride which makes him regard himself as noble and incapable of doing anything mean. In discriminating between his actions, he may err; fashion or vanity may often lead him too far, or lead him astray, either on the path of recklessness, or on that of puerility; he may fix his point of honour in the wrong place. But, in sum, and thanks to this being a fixed point, he will maintain himself erect even under an absolute monarchy, under a Philip II. in Spain, under a Louis XIV. in France, under a Frederick II. in Prussia. From the feudal baron or gentleman of the Court, to the modern gentleman, this tradition persists and descends from story to story, down to the lowest social substratum; now-a-days, every man of spirit, the bourgeois, the peasant, the workman, has his point of honour like the noble; he likewise, in spite of the social encroachments that gain on him, reserves to himself some private nook, some sheltered retreat in which he can store his faiths, his opinions, his affections, his obligations as son, husband and father, all that constitutes what he holds dearest in life. This stronghold belongs to him alone; no one, even in the name of the public, has a right to enter it; to surrender it would be an act of cowardice; rather than give up its keys he would die in the breach.‡ When this militant sentiment of honour is enlisted on the side of conscience it becomes virtue itself.§ Such are, now-a-days, the two master ideas of our European morality. || Through the former the individual

\* "Mémoires de Chateaubriand," vol. i. ("Les Soirées au Château de Combourg.")

† In China, the moral principle is just the opposite. The Chinese, amidst obstacles and embarrassments, always enjoin *siao-sin*, which means "abate thy affection."—Hué, "L'Empire Chinoise," i. 204.

‡ In the United States the moral order of things reposes chiefly on Puritan ideas. Nevertheless deep traces of feudal conceptions are found there, much deeper than elsewhere; for instance, the general deference for women which is quite chivalric and even excessive.

§ Observe, from this point of view, in the woman of modern times the preservatives of virtue. The sentiment of duty takes the lead in modesty, but this has a much more powerful auxiliary in the sentiment of honour or a deep innate pride.

|| The moral standard varies, but, according to a fixed law, just like a mathematical function. Every community has its own moral elements, its own peculiar organization, history and surroundings, and necessarily its own conditions of vitality. When the queen bee in a hive is chosen and impregnated, this condition involves the massacre of ancient male and female rivals. In China it consists of paternal authority, literary education, and ritual observances. In the ancient classical city it consisted of the omnipotence of the State, gymnastic education, and slavery. In each century, and in each country, these vital conditions are expressed by more or less hereditary prescriptions which act forth as interdict this or that class of actions. When the individual dwells on these in his mind, he is conscious of obligation; when he does not fulfil them he experiences

recognizes duties from which nothing can exempt him; through the latter, he claims rights of which nothing can deprive him. Our civilization has sprung from these two roots, and the growth still continues. Consider the depth and extent of the historical soil in which they penetrate, and you may judge of their vigour. Consider the height and unlimited growth of the trees which they nourish, and you may decide on their healthiness. Everywhere else, one or the other having failed, in China, in the Roman empire, in Islamism, the sap has dried downward, and the tree has become stunted or has fallen. These two roots keep our civilization alive and diffusive; they give substance to its noblest branches, to its best fruits; their human offshoots are more or less beautiful according as the sap is more or less pure—and these are the roots which the Jacobin axe seeks to eradicate. It is the modern man, not a Chinese, not an ancient Greek or Roman, not a Mussulman, not a negro, not a savage, but a man formed by Christian education, and taking refuge in his conscience as in a sanctuary, a man formed by feudal education, and entrenched behind his honour as in a fortress, who is bid by the new Social Contract to surrender this sanctuary and stronghold.

Now, under this democracy, founded on the preponderance of members, into whose hands am I required to make this surrender? Theoretically, into those of the community; that is to say, of a crowd in which an anonymous impulse is the substitute for individual judgment; in which action becomes impersonal because it is collective; in which nobody acknowledges responsibility; in which I am borne along like a grain of sand in a whirlwind; in which all sorts of outrages are condoned beforehand for reasons of State. Practically, into the hands of the majority counted by heads; a majority which, over-excited by the struggle for mastery, will abuse its victory and wrong the minority to which I may belong; of a provisional majority which, sooner or later, will be replaced by another, so that if I am to-day oppressor, I am sure of being oppressed to-morrow; still more particularly, of six or seven hundred representatives among whom I am called upon to choose but one. To elect this one representative I have only one vote among ten thousand; in helping to elect him I am only the ten thousandth; I do not even count for a ten thousandth in electing the others. And it is these six or seven hundred, strangers to me, to whom I give full power to decide for me; note the expression, full power, which means *unlimited power*, not alone over my property and life, but, again, over my

*remorse*; the moral conflict is the inward struggle which takes place between the general prescription and the personal impulse. In our European society the vital condition, and therefore the general prescription, is self-respect coupled with respect for others (including women and children). This new prescription in history has a singular advantage over those that precede it; each individual being respected, each can develop himself according to his nature: he can invent in all directions, bring forth every sort of production, and be useful to himself and others in every way, thus enabling society to develop indefinitely.

conscience with all its powers combined ; that is to say, power much more extensive than that I confer separately on ten persons in whom I place more confidence—on my legal adviser who looks after my fortune, on the teacher of my children, on the physician who cares for my health, on the confessor who directs my conscience, on the friends who are to serve as executors of my last will and testament, on seconds in a duel who decide on my life, on the waste of my blood, and who guard my honour. Without reference to the deplorable farce, so often played around the ballot-box, or to the forced and spurious elections which put a contrary interpretation on public sentiment, or to the official fictions by which, actually at this moment, a few fanatics and madmen, who represent nobody but themselves, assume to represent the nation, measure what degree of confidence I may have, even after honest elections, in representatives thus chosen ! Frequently I have voted for the defeated candidate, in which case I am represented by the other whom I did not want for a representative. In voting for the elected candidate I did it because I knew of no better one, and because his opponent seemed to me worse. And even him I have seen only at odd moments ; I scarcely know more of him than the colour of his coat, the tone of his voice, and the way he has of thumping his breast. All I know of him is through his addresses, vague and declamatory, through editorials, and through drawing-room, coffee-house, or street gossip. His title to my confidence is of the flimsiest and shallowest kind ; there is nothing to substantiate his integrity or competency ; he has no diploma and no one to endorse him, like the teacher ; he has no guarantee from the corporation to which he belongs, like the physician, the priest, or the lawyer ; with certificates of character such as he has one would hesitate to engage a domestic. And all the more because the class from which I am obliged to take him is almost always the politicians, a suspicious class, especially in countries where universal suffrage prevails ; for this class is not recruited from the most independent, the ablest, and the most honest, but from voluble, scheming men and zealous charlatans, who, having failed in private careers for lack of character, in situations where one is watched too closely and too nicely weighed in the balance, fall back on vicious courses, in which the want of scrupulousness and discretion is a force instead of a weakness. To their indelicacy and impudence the doors of a public career stand wide open. Such is the august personage into whose hands, according to the theory, I am called upon to surrender my personality. Certainly, if self-renunciation were necessary, I would rather give myself up to a king or to an aristocracy, even hereditary ; for then would my representatives be at least recommended by their evident rank and their probable competency. Democracy, in its nature and composition, is a system in

which the individual awards to his representatives the least trust and deference; hence it is the system in which he should entrust them with the least power. Conscience and honour everywhere enjoin a man to retain for himself some portion of his independence; but nowhere else will he cede so little of it. If in every modern constitution the domain of the State ought to be limited, it is in modern democracy that it should be limited most.

### III.

Let us try to define its limits. After the turmoil of invasions and conquest, at the height of social disintegration, amidst the combats daily occurring between private parties, there arose in every European community a *public force*, which force, lasting for centuries, still persists in our day. How it was organized, through what early stages of violence it has passed, through what accidents and struggles, and into whose hands it is now entrusted, whether temporarily or for ever, whatever the laws of its transmission, whether by inheritance or election, is of secondary importance; the main thing is its functions and their mode of operation. Substantially, it is a mighty sword, drawn from its scabbard and uplifted over the smaller blades around it, with which private individuals once cut each other's throats. Menaced by it, the smaller blades repose in their scabbards; they have become inert, useless and, finally, rusty; with few exceptions, everybody has now lost both the habit and the desire to use them; thenceforth, in this pacified society, the public sword is so formidable that all private resistance vanishes the moment it flashes. This sword is forged out of two interests; its efficacy was first needed against similar blades brandished by other communities on the frontier; and next, against the smaller blades which had passions are always sharpening in the interior. People demanded protection against enemies without and ruffians and murderers within, and, slowly and painfully, after much groping and many retemperings, the hereditary union of persistent energies has fashioned the sole arm which is capable of protecting lives and property with any degree of success. So long as it does no more I am indebted to the State which holds the hilt; it gives me a security which, without it, I could not enjoy; in exchange for this security I owe it, for my quota, the means for keeping this weapon in good condition: any service rendered is worth its cost. Accordingly, there is between the State and myself, if not an express contract, at least a tacit understanding, analogous to that which binds a child to its parent, a believer to his church, and on both sides this mutual understanding is clear and precise. The State engages to look after my security within and without; I engage to furnish the means for its doing so, which means consist of my respect and gratitude, my zeal as a citizen, my



services as a conscript, my contributions as a taxpayer; in short, whatever is necessary for the maintenance of an army, a navy, a diplomatic organization, civil and criminal courts, a militia and police, central and local administrations; in brief, a harmonious set of organs, of which my obedience and loyalty constitute the aliment and the blood. This loyalty and obedience, whatever I am, whether rich or poor, Catholic, Protestant, Jew or freethinker, royalist or republican, individualist or socialist, I owe in honour and in conscience, for I have received their equivalent. I am very glad that I am not vanquished, assassinated, or robbed. I pay back to the State exactly what it expends in machinery and oversight for keeping down brutal cupidity, greedy appetites, deadly fanaticisms, the entire howling pack of passions and desires of which, sooner or later, I might become the prey, were it not constantly to extend over me its vigilant protection. When it asks repayment of its outlay, it is not my property which it takes away, but its own property which it resumes, and in this light it may legitimately force me to pay. On condition, however, that the State does not exact more than my liabilities—and this it does when it oversteps its original engagement; when it undertakes some extra material or moral work that I do not ask for; when it constitutes itself sectarian, moralist, philanthropist, or pedagogue; when it strives to propagate within its borders, or outside of them, any religious or philosophic dogma, or any special political or social system; for then it adds a new article to the primitive pact, for which article there is not the same unanimous and assured assent that existed when the pact was first completed. We are all willing to be secured against violence and fraud; outside of this, and on almost every other point, there are divergent wills. I have my own religion, my own opinions, my habits, my customs, my peculiar views of life and way of regarding the universe. Now, this is just what constitutes my personality, what honour and conscience forbid me to alienate, that which the State has promised me to hold harmless. Consequently when, through its additional article, it attempts to regulate these in a certain way, if that way is not my way, it fails to fulfil its primordial engagement and, instead of protecting me, it oppresses me. Even if it should have the support of a majority, even if all voters, less one, should agree in entrusting it with this supererogatory function, were there only one dissident, this one would be wronged, and in two ways. In the first place, and in all cases, the State, to fulfil its new task, exacts from him an extra amount of subsidy and service; for every supplementary work brings along with it supplementary expenses; the *budget* is overburdened when the State takes upon itself the procuring of work for labourers or employment for artists, the maintenance of any particular industrial or commercial enterprise, the giving of alms, and the furnishing

of education. To an expenditure of money add an expenditure of lives, should it enter upon a war of generosity or of propagandism. Now, to all these expenditures that it does not approve of, the minority contributes as well as the majority which does approve of them; all the worse for the conscript and the tax-payer if they belong to the dissatisfied group; whether they like it or not the collector puts his hand in the tax-payer's pocket, and the sergeant lays his hand on the conscript's collar. In the second place, and in numerous cases, not only does the State take unjustly over and beyond my liability, but, again, it uses unjustly the money it extorts from me in the application of this to new constraints. Such is the case when it imposes on me its theology or philosophy, when it prescribes for me or interdicts a cult, when it assumes to regulate my ways and habits, to limit my labour or expenditure, to direct the education of my children, to fix the prices of my wares or the rate of my wages. For then, in support of its commands or prohibitions, it enacts against the refractory light or serious penalties, all the way from forfeiture of political or civil rights, to fine, imprisonment, exile and the guillotine. In other words, the crown I do not owe it, and of which it robs me, pays for the persecution which it inflicts upon me. I am reduced to paying out of my own purse the wages of my inquisitors, my jailor and my executioner. A more glaring oppression could not be imagined! Let us take heed of the encroachments of the State, and not allow it to become anything more than a watch-dog. Whilst the teeth and nails of other guests in the household have been losing their sharpness, its fangs have become formidable; it is now colossal, and it alone still keeps up the practice of fighting. Let us supply it with nourishment against wolves; but never let it touch the peaceable folks around the table. Appetite grows by eating; it would soon become a wolf itself, and the most ravenous wolf inside the fold. The important thing is to keep a chain around its neck and confine it within its own pale.

Let us inspect this fold, which is an extensive one, and, through its windings, reaches into almost every nook of private life. Every private domain, indeed, physical or moral, offers temptations for its neighbours to trespass on it, and to keep this intact, demands the superior intervention, or arbitration, of a third party. To acquire, to possess, to sell, to give, to bequeath, to contract between husband and wife, father, mother, or child, between master or domestic, employer or employée, each act and each situation involves rights limited by contiguous and adverse rights; and it is the State which sets up the boundary between them. Not that the State creates this boundary; but that this may be recognized, it draws the line,

and therefore enacts civil laws, which it applies through its Courts and gendarmes, in such a way as to secure to each individual what belongs to him. The State stands, accordingly, as regulator and controller, not only of private possessions, but also of the family and domestic life. Its authority is thus legitimately introduced into that reserved circle in which the individual will has entrenched itself, and, as is the habit of all great Powers, once the circle is invaded, its tendency is to occupy it fully and entirely. To this end it promulgates a new principle. Elevated into a moral personality, the same as a church, university, or charitable or scientific body, is it not bound, like every corporate institution organized to last for ages, to extend its vision far and near, and prefer to private interests, which are only life-interests, common interests which are eternal? Is not this the superior end to which all others should be subordinated? And should this interest, which is supreme over all, be sacrificed to two troublesome instincts, which are oftentimes unreasonable and dangerous—to conscience, which overflows with mystic absurdities, and to honour, the incitements of which end in murder? Certainly not; and first, in its grandest works, when the State, as legislator, regulates marriages, inheritances, and testaments, it is not respect for the will of individuals which solely guides it; it does not content itself with obliging everybody to pay his debts, including even those which are tacit, involuntary and innate; it takes into account the public interest, it calculates remote probabilities, future contingencies, all results singly and collectively. Manifestly in allowing or forbidding divorce, in extending or restricting what a man may dispose of by will, in favouring or interdicting substitutions, it acts chiefly in view of some political, economical; or social advantages, such as the consolidation of the union of the sexes, or the implanting in the family of habits of discipline or sentiments of affection, or exciting in children a conciliatory spirit, or one of concord, or the training for the nation of a staff of natural chieftains, or an army of small proprietors, advantages that are always authorized by the universal assent. Moreover, and always with this universal assent, it does other things outside the task originally assigned to it, and nobody thinks that it usurps, as when it coins money, when it regulates weights and measures, when it establishes quarantines, when, on condition of an indemnity, it expropriates private property for public utility, when it builds lighthouses, harbours, dykes, canals, roads, when it defrays the cost of scientific expeditions, when it founds museums and public libraries; at times toleration is shown for its support of universities, schools, churches, and theatres, and to justify fresh drafts on private purses for each object no reason is advanced but the interests of the public. Why should it not, in like manner, take upon itself every enterprise for the benefit of all? Why should it

hesitate to command the execution of every work advantageous to the community, and why abstain from interdicting every disadvantageous work? Now, observe this: in human society every act of omission, or of commission, even what is done singly and apart, or in secret, is a loss or gain to that society. If I neglect to take care of my property, of my health, of my intellect, of my soul, I undermine or weaken in my person a member of the community who is rich, healthy, and strong, only through the richness, health, and strength of his fellow-members, so that, from this point of view, my private actions are all public benefits or public injuries. Why, then, from this stand-point should the State scruple about prescribing some and interdicting others? Why, in order to better exercise this right, and better fulfil this obligation, should it not constitute itself the universal contractor for labour, and the universal distributor of productions? Why should it not be the sole agriculturist, manufacturer, and merchant; the single proprietor and administrator of all France? Precisely because this would be opposed to the common weal. Here the second principle, that advanced against individual independence, operates inversely, and, instead of being an adversary, it becomes a champion. Far from setting the State free, it puts another chain around its neck, and thus strengthens the pale within which modern conscience and modern honour have confined the public guardian.

## v.

In what, indeed, does the common weal consist? It consists in the interest of each and all—that is to say, in every one's interest; and the interest of every one consists in things the possession of which is agreeable and the deprivation painful. The whole world would in vain gainsay this point. Every sensation is personal. My sufferings and my enjoyments are not to be contested, any more than my inclination for objects which procure me the one and my dislike of objects which procure me the other. No arbitrary definition, therefore, can be given of each individual's particular interest; this exists as a fact independently of the legislator; all that remains is to show what this interest is, and what each individual prefers. Preferences vary according to race, time, place and circumstance; but, among the things the possession of which is ever desirable, and the privation of which is ever dreaded, there is one which, directly desired and for itself, becomes, through the progress of civilization, more and more cherished, and of which the privation becomes, through the progress of civilization, more and more grievous, and that is, the full possession for everybody of one's self, the entire ownership of one's body and property, the faculty of thinking, believing, and worshipping as one pleases, of associating with others, and of acting separately or

along with others, in all senses and without hindrance—in short, one's liberty. That this liberty may be as extensive as possible is, in all times, one of man's great needs, and, in our day, it is the greatest of all his needs. There are two reasons for this: one natural and the other historical. Naturally, man is a separate individuality; that is to say, a small distinct world in himself, a centre apart in an enclosed circle, a detached organism complete in itself, and he suffers when his spontaneous inclinations are thwarted by the intervention of a foreign power. Historically, he has become a complex organism, whercon three or four religions, five or six civilizations, thirty centuries of assiduous culture have left their imprint, wherein all his acquisitions are combined together, wherein heredities are intercrossed, wherein special traits have accumulated in such a way as to produce the most original and the most sensitive of beings. Just as civilization increases, so does his complexity go on increasing; his originality becomes more intense, and his sensibilities keener; from which it follows that the greater his civilization the greater his repugnance to constraint and uniformity. Each person now-a-days is the terminal and peculiar product of a vast elaboration, of which the divers stories have been built up in this order but once, a unique plant of its kind, a solitary individual of superior and finer essence, which, with its own inward structure and its own inalienable type, can bear no other than its own characteristic fruit. Nothing could be more adverse to the interest of the oak than to be tortured into bearing the apples of the apple-tree; nothing could be more adverse to the interest of the apple-tree than to be tortured into bearing acorns; nothing could be more opposed to the interests of both oak and apple-tree, and of other trees, than to be pruned, shaped, and twisted, so as all to grow after a forced model delineated on paper, according to the rigid and limited imagination of a geometrician. The least possible constraint is, therefore, everybody's chief interest; if one particular constraint is established, it is that every one may be preserved by it from other more powerful constraints, especially those that strangers and malefactors would impose. Up to that point, and no further, its intervention is beneficial; beyond that point it becomes one of the evils it is intended to forestall. Such, then, if the common weal of all is to be looked after, is the sole office of the State—to prevent constraint, and therefore never to use it, except to prevent worse constraints; to secure respect for each individual in his own physical and moral domain; never to encroach on this except for that purpose; to withdraw immediately; to abstain from all indiscreet meddling; and yet more, as far as it is practicable without any sacrifice of public security, to reduce old assessments, to exact only a minimum of subsidies and services, gradually to limit even useful action, to set itself as few tasks as possible, to let each

one have all the room possible and the greatest amount of initiative, slowly to abandon monopolies, to refrain from competition with private parties, to rid itself of functions which they can fulfil equally well—all clearly showing that the limits prescribed to the State by the common good are just those which duty and right render obligatory.

## VI.

If we now take into consideration no longer the direct but the indirect interest of all; if, instead of looking to men, we concern ourselves with their works; if we regard human society as a material and spiritual workshop, the perfection of which consists in its being the most productive and economical, and as well furnished and well managed as possible; from this point of view again, with this secondary and subordinate aim, the domain of the State is scarcely less limited; very few new functions are to be attributed to it; nearly all the rest had better remain in the hands of independent persons, or of natural or voluntary associations.—Contemplate the man attending to his own affairs, an agriculturist, a manufacturer, a merchant, and observe his earnestness and devotion to them. His interest and pride are both involved. His own welfare, and that of those around him, is at stake, his capital, his reputation, his social position and advancement; while, on the other side, he has to face want, ruin, social degradation, dependence, bankruptcy, and the hospital. In the presence of this alternative he keeps close watch on his affairs and becomes industrious. His business keeps his mind on the stretch, even when a-bed or at his meals; he studies it, not afar off, speculatively, in a general way, but on the spot, practically, in detail, in all its bearings and relationships, constantly calculating difficulties and resources, with such sharp insight and special information, that for any other person to try to solve the daily problem which he solves, would be impossible, because nobody could possess or estimate as he can the precise elements which constitute it. Compare with this unique devotion and with these peculiar qualifications the ordinary capacity and languid uniformity of an administrative head-clerk, even when an expert and honest. He is sure of his salary, provided he does his duty tolerably well, and this he does when he is occupied during official hours; let his papers be correct as the rules and traditions of his bureau demand, and nothing more is asked of him. If he conceives any economical measure, or any improvement of his branch of the service, not he, but the public, an anonymous and vague impersonality, reaps all the benefit of it. Moreover, why should he care about it, since his project or reform ends in a report that finds its resting-place in a pigeon-hole? The machine is too big, too complicated, too unwieldy, too clumsy, with its rusty wheels, its

"ancient rights and acquired situations," to be reconstructed, just as one pleases, like a farm, a warehouse, or a foundry. Accordingly, he gives himself no further trouble in the matter, and, on leaving his bureau he thinks no more of it, but lets things go on automatically, just as it happens, in a costly way and with indifferent results. Even in a country of so much probity as France, it is calculated that every enterprise managed by the State costs one quarter more and brings in one quarter less than when entrusted to private hands. Consequently, if work were withheld from individuals in order that the State might undertake it, the community would suffer a loss of one-half when the accounts came to be balanced.

Now this is true of all spiritual or material labour, not only of agricultural, industrial, and commercial products, but also of works of science and of art, of literature and philosophy, of charity, of education and of propagandism; not only when the motive power is egoistic, like personal interest and vulgar vanity, but likewise when a disinterested sentiment is involved, like that which prompts to the discovery of truth or the creation of beauty, to the spread of a faith or the diffusion of convictions, religious enthusiasm or natural generosity, affection on a broad or on a narrow basis, in one who embraces all humanity or one who devotes himself wholly to his friends and kindred. The effect is the same in both cases, because the cause is the same. Wherever individual energies are free, the motive force is always enormous, almost infinite, because the source of it is a living spring which flows at all hours and which is inexhaustible. The mother thinks constantly of her child, the *savant* of his science, the artist of his art, the inventor of his inventions, the philanthropist of his endowments, Faraday of electricity, Stephenson of his locomotive, Pasteur of his *microbes*, De Lesseps of his isthmus, Sisters of Charity of their poor. Through this peculiar concentration of thought man derives every possible advantage from human faculties and surroundings; he himself gets to be a more and more perfect instrument, and moreover he fashions others; he daily reduces the friction of the powerful machine which he controls and of which he is the main wheel; he increases its yield; he economizes, maintains, repairs and improves it with a capability and success that nobody questions—in short, he fabricates in a superior way. But this living spring, to which the superiority of the product is due, cannot be separated from the producer, for it consists of his own affections and profoundest sentiments. It is useless without him; out of his hands, in the hands of strangers, the fountain ceases to flow and production stops. If, consequently, a good and large yield is wanted, he alone must have charge of the mill; he is the resident owner, the one who sets it in motion, the born engineer, installed and specially designed for that position. In vain may attempts be made to turn the stream elsewhere; it results

simply in a stoppage of the natural issue, in a dam interfering with useful channels, a haphazard change of current, not only without gain but with loss, the stream subsiding in swamps, or running to waste and undermining the steep banks of a ravine. At the utmost, the millions of buckets of water forcibly taken from private reservoirs, half fill with a good deal of trouble the great central artificial basin in which the water, low and stagnant, is never sufficient in quantity or force to move the huge public wheel that replaces the small private wheels doing the nation's work.

Thus, even regarding men merely as manufacturers, in treating them simply as producers of what is valuable and serviceable, with no other object in view than to furnish society with supplies, and to benefit consumers, the private domain comprehends all enterprises undertaken by private individuals, either singly or associated together, through personal interest or personal taste. This suffices to ensure their being better managed than by the State; it is by virtue of this that they have devolved into their hands. Consequently, in the vast field of labour they themselves decide on what they will undertake; they themselves, of their own authority, set their own fences. They may, therefore, enlarge their own domain to any extent they please, and reduce indefinitely the domain of the State. On the contrary, the State cannot pretend to more than what they leave; just in proportion to their advance on a partitioned soil with a doubtful frontier, it is bound to recede and leave the ground to them; whatever pursuit they may follow the State must let that alone, except in case of their default, or their prolonged absence, or on proof of their having abandoned it. All the rest, therefore, falls to the State; first, offices which they would never claim, and which they are always glad to leave in its hands, because they do not possess, and it reserves to itself the only appropriate instrument for discharging them, that special, indispensable instrument—viz., armed force—the protection of the community against foreign communities, the protection of individuals against one another, the levying of soldiers, the imposition of taxes, the execution of the laws, the administration of justice, and of the police. Next to this, come matters of which the accomplishment concerns everybody without directly concerning any one in particular—the government of unoccupied territory, the administration of rivers, coasts, forests, and public highways, the task of governing subject countries, the framing of laws, the coinage of money, the conferring of a civil status, the negotiating in the name of the community with local and special corporations, departments, communes, banks, institutions, churches, and universities. Add to these, according to circumstances, sundry optional co-operative services,\* such as subsidies granted to

\* When the duty to be performed is of an uncertain or mixed character, the following rule may be applied in deciding whether the State or individuals shall be entrusted with



institutions of great public utility, for which private contributions could not suffice, now in the shape of concessions to corporations for which equivalent obligations are exacted, and again in those hygienic precautions which individuals fail to take through indifference; occasionally, such provisional aid as supports a man, or so stimulates him as to enable him some day or other to take care of himself; and, in general, those discreet and scarcely perceptible interpositions for the time being which prove so advantageous in the future, like a far-reaching code and other consistent regulations which, mindful of the liberty of the existing individual, provide for the welfare of coming generations. Nothing beyond that.

## VII.

Again, in this preparation for future welfare the same principle still holds. Among precious productions, first and most precious of all, is the living, breathing implement called man, who produces the rest. The object, then, is to fashion men capable of physical, mental or moral labour, the most energetic, the most persistent, the most skilful and the most productive; we already know the conditions of their formation. What is most essential, and this suffices, is that each living spring, as above described, should flow in its own channel, each through its natural outlet, and wholly under the control of its owner. On this condition the stream becomes more powerful, the original source gaining additional force through its acquired impetus; the inventor becomes more and more skilful as he gains knowledge through practice, while those around him likewise become better workmen, inasmuch as they find encouragement in his success and avail themselves of his discoveries. Thus, simply because the State respects and enforces respect, for these private sources in private hands, it develops in individuals as well as in those around them, the disposition and talent for producing largely and well, the faculty for and desire to keep on producing more and better; in other words, all sorts of energies and capacities, each of its own kind and in its own place, with all compatible fulness and efficiency. Such is the function, and the sole function, of the State, first, in relation to the turbid and frigid streams which issue from selfishness and self-conceit, whose operations demand its oversight; and next, for still stronger reasons, in relation to the warm and pure streams whose beneficence

it; also, in determining, in case of co-operation, what portion of it shall be assigned to individuals and what portion to the State. As a general rule, when individuals, either singly or associated together, have a direct interest in, or are drawn towards, a special function, and the community have no direct interest therein, the matter belongs to individuals and not to the State. On the other hand, if the interest of the community in any function is direct, and that if individuals singly or associated together indirect, it is proper for the State and not for individuals to take hold of it. According to this rule the limits of the public and private domain may be defined, which limits, as they change backward or forward, may be verified according to the changes which take place in interests and preferences direct or indirect.

is unalloyed, such as the family affections and private friendships ; and next, in relation to those rare and superior qualities like the love of beauty, the yearning for truth, the spirit of association, of patriotism and love of mankind ; and finally, for still stronger reasons, in relation to the two most sacred and salutary of all streams, that conscience which renders will the devoted servant of duty, and that honour through which will becomes the energetic defender of the right. Let the State guard both and abstain from any interference with either ; let this be its object and nothing more. Attention is as necessary as vigilance. Let it watch over these and it will see everywhere growing spontaneously, hourly, each in degree according to conditions of time and place, the most diligent and most competent workmen, the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the merchant, the savant, the artist, the inventor, the propagandist, the husband and wife, the father and mother, the patriot, the philanthropist and the Sister of Charity.

On the contrary, if, like our Jacobins, the State seeks to confiscate every natural force to its own profit, if it seeks to make affection for itself paramount, if it strains to suppress all other passions and interests, if it tolerates no other pre-occupation than that which concerns the common weal, if it tries forcibly to convert every member of society into a Spartan or a Jesuit, then, at enormous cost, it will not only destroy private fountain-heads and spread devastation over the entire territory, but it will destroy its own fountain-head. We honour the State only for the services it renders to us, and proportionately to these services and the security it affords us, and to the liberty which it ensures us, under the title of universal benefactor ; when it deliberately wounds us through our dearest interests and tenderest affections, when it goes so far as to attack our honour and conscience, when it becomes the universal wrong-doer, our affection for it in the course of time turns into hatred. Let this system be maintained, and patriotism, exhausted, dries up, and, one by one, all other beneficent sources, until, finally, nothing is visible but stagnant pools or sudden inundations over a whole country inhabited by drilled subjects or lawless brigands. As in the Roman Empire in the fourth century, in Italy in the seventeenth century, in the Turkish provinces in our own day, naught remains but an ill-managed herd of stunted, torpid beings, limited to their daily wants and animal instincts, indifferent to the public welfare and to their own prospective interests, so degenerate as to have lost sight of their own discoveries, unlearned their own sciences, arts, and industries, and, in short, worse than all, base, false, corrupted souls, entirely wanting in honour or conscience. Nothing is more destructive than the unrestricted intermeddling of the State, even when wise and paternal. In Paraguay, under the discipline of the Jesuits, so minute in its

details, "the Indian's physiognomy appeared like that of animals taken in a trap." They worked, ate, drank, and engendered by sound of bell, under watch and ward, correctly and mechanically, but showed no liking for anything, not even for their own existence, being transformed into automatons. The least that can be said is that the means employed to produce this result were gentle, while before this these people were mere brutes. Now, the revolutionist Jesuit undertakes to transform men into automatons, and the means are harsh.

## VIII.

Frequently in European history despotisms almost as harsh as this have borne down heavily on human effort; but never have any of them been so thoroughly inept, for none have ever attempted to raise so heavy a mass with so short a lever. In the first place, however authoritative the despot might be, there was a limit to his interference. Philip II. burnt heretics, persecuted Moors, and drove out Jews; Louis XIV. forcibly converted Protestants; but both used violence only against dissenters, about a fifteenth or twentieth of their subjects. If Cromwell, on becoming Protector, remained sectarian and the compulsory servant of an army of sectarians, he took good care not to impose on other churches the theology, rites, and discipline of his own church;\* on the contrary, he repressed fanatical outrages, protected the Anabaptists equally with his Independents, granted to the Presbyterians endowed charges and the public exercise of their worship, and to the Episcopalians private worship with liberal toleration; he maintained the two great Anglican Universities, and allowed the Jews to erect a synagogue. Frederick II. drafted into his army every able-bodied peasant that he could feed; he kept every man twenty years in the service under a discipline worse than slavery, with the almost certain prospect of death, and in his last war he sacrificed about one-sixth of his male subjects.† But they were serfs, and his conscription did not touch the bourgeois class. He put his hands in the pockets of the bourgeois and of every other class, and took every crown they had; but, under the scrutiny of his eyes, always open, the administration was honest, and the police effective, justice exact, toleration unlimited, and the freedom of the press complete; the King allowed the publication of the most cutting pamphlets against himself and their public sale at Berlin. Peter the Great, with whip in hand, lashed his Muscovite bears, and made them drill and dance in European fashion; but they were bears accustomed from father to son to the whip and chain. Moreover, he remained as the orthodox head of their religion, and left their *mir* (the

\* Carlyle: "Cromwell's Speeches and Letters," iii. 418. (Cromwell's Address to Parliament, September 17, 1656).

† Seeley: "Life and Times of Stein," ii. 143.

village commune) untouched. Finally, the Caliph or Sultan, an Omar or a Mahomet, a fanatical Arab or brutal Turk, who had just overcome Christians with the sword, himself assigned the limits of his own absolutism. If the vanquished were reduced to the condition of heavily-ransomed tributaries and of inferiors subject to daily humiliation, he allowed them their worship, civil laws, and domestic usages; he left them their institutions, their convents, their schools, and allowed them to administer the affairs of their own community as they pleased under the jurisdiction of their patriarch or other natural chieftains. Thus, whatever the tyrant may have been, he did not attempt to create man over again and recast all his subjects according to one pattern. Far as his tyranny went, it did not master the soul of man beyond a certain point; that point reached, the sentiments were left free. Whatever hold this tyranny had on men, it affected only one class of them; the others outside of its network remained untrammelled. In wounding sensibilities it affected only those of a small minority incapable of self-defence; with the majority, able to protect itself, the main sensibilities were respected, especially those on which religion, honour, private habits, hereditary customs, or external deportment depend. As far as the others were concerned, those which relate to property, personal welfare, and social position, it proceeded cautiously and with moderation. In this way the discretion of the ruler lessened the resistance of the subject; a daring undertaking, even when mischievous, was not outrageous. It might be carried out; nothing was required but a force in hand equal to the resistance provoked.

Again, on the other hand, the tyrant possessed this force. Very many and very strong arms stood behind the prince ready to co-operate with him and countervail any resistance. Behind Philip II. or Louis XIV. stood the Catholic majority, either exciting or consenting to the oppression of dissenters, as fanatical or as illiberal as their king. To aid and co-operate with Philip II., Louis XIV., Frederick II., and Peter the Great stood the entire nation, equally violent; rallied around the sovereign through his consecrated title and uncontested right, through tradition and habit, through a rigid sentiment of duty and the vague idea of public security. Peter the Great counted among his auxiliaries every eminent and cultivated man in the country. Cromwell had his disciplined and twenty times-victorious army; the Caliph or Sultan brought along with him his military and privileged population. Aided by cohorts of this stamp, it was easy to raise a heavy mass and even maintain it in a fixed position; this once established, there followed a sort of equilibrium; the mass, kept in the air by a permanent counterbalance, only required a little daily effort to prevent it from falling down.

Just the reverse with the measures of the Jacobins. According

as these are carried out their theory, more exacting, adds extra weight to the uplifted mass, and, finally, a burden of almost infinite proportions. At first, the Jacobin confines his attacks to royalty, to nobility, to the Church, to parliaments, to privileges, to ecclesiastical and feudal possessions—in short, to mediæval foundations; now he attacks yet more ancient and solid foundations, positive religion, property and the family. For four years he has been content with demolition; he now aims at reconstruction. His object is not merely to do away with a positive faith and social inequality, to proscribe revealed dogmas, hereditary beliefs, an established cult, the supremacy of rank and superiority of fortunes, wealth, leisure, refinement and elegance; but, in addition to all this, he must refashion the citizen, create new sentiments, impose natural religion on the individual, civic education, uniform ways and habits, Jacobin conduct, Spartan virtue—in short, nothing must be left in a human being that is not prescribed, enforced and constrained. Henceforth, there are opposed to the Revolution, not only the partisans of the ancient *régime*, priests, nobles, parliamentarians, royalists, and Catholics; but, again, every man tainted with European civilization, every member of a regular family, any possessor of capital, much or little, any kind or degree of proprietor, agriculturist, manufacturer, merchant, artisan, or farmer, and even most of the Revolutionists, who, nearly all of them, count on escaping the constraints they impose, and who like the strait-jacket only when it is on another's back. The pressure of resistant wills now becomes incalculable. It would be easier to raise a mountain while, just at this moment, the Jacobins have deprived themselves of every moral force through which a political engineer acts on human dispositions.

Unlike Philip II. and Louis XIV., they are not supported by the intolerance of a vast majority, for, instead of fifteen or twenty orthodox against one heretic, they count in their church scarcely more than one orthodox against fifteen or twenty heretics.\* They have not at their back, like legitimate sovereigns, the stubborn loyalty of an entire population following in the steps of its chieftain through the prestige of hereditary right, and through habits of ancient fealty. On the contrary, their reign is only a day old, and they themselves are interlopers, at first installed by a *coup d'état*, and afterwards by the semblance of an election, having extorted or obtained by trick the suffrages they claim; so familiar with fraud and violence that, in their own Assembly, the minority which succeeds has seized and held on to power by violence and fraud, putting down the majority by riots, and the departments by force of arms, while, to give to their brutalities the semblance of right, they improvise two pompous demonstrations—first, the sudden manufacture of a paper constitu-

\* Cf., "The Revolution," vol. ii.

tion, which moulders away in their archives, and next the scandalous farce of a hollow and compulsory *plébiscite*. A dozen leaders on the Committee of Public Safety, who head the faction, centre unlimited authority in their own hands; but, as admitted by them, their authority is derivative. The Convention makes them its delegates; their precarious title has to be renewed monthly; a turn of the majority may sweep them and their work away to-morrow; an insurrection of the people, whom they have familiarized with insurrection, may to-morrow sweep them away, their work and their majority. They maintain only a disputed, limited, and transient ascendancy over their adherents. They are not military chieftains, like Cromwell and Napoleon—generals of an army, obeyed without a murmur—but plain speech-makers, at the mercy of an audience that sits in judgment on them. There is no discipline in this audience: every Jacobin by his principles remains independent; if he accepts leaders, it is with a regard to their worth to him; selecting them as he pleases, he is free to change them when he pleases; his trust in them is intermittent, his loyalty provisional, and, as his adhesion depends on a mere preference, he always reserves the right to discard the favourite of to-day as he has discarded the favourite of yesterday. In this audience there is no such thing as subordination; the lowest demagogue, any subaltern brawler, a Hébert or Jacques Roux, who is ambitious to step out of the ranks, outvies the charlatans in office in order to obtain their places. Even with a complete and lasting ascendancy over an organized band of docile supporters, the Jacobin leaders would be feeble for lack of reliable and competent instruments; for they have but very few partisans other than those of doubtful probity and of notorious incapacity. Cromwell had around him, to carry out the Puritan programme, the moral *élite* of the nation, an army of rigorists with narrow consciences, but much more strict towards themselves than towards others, men who never drank and who never swore, who never indulged for a moment in sensuality or idleness, who forbade themselves every act of omission or commission about which they held any scruples, the most honest, the most temperate, the most laborious, and the most persevering of mankind,\* the only ones capable of laying the foundations of that practical morality on which England and the United States still subsist at the present day. Around Peter the Great, in carrying out his European programme, stood the intellectual *élite* of the country, an imported staff of men of ability associated with natives of moderate ability, every well-

\* Macaulay, "History of England," i. 152. "The Royalists themselves confessed that, in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alm, and that, if a baker, a mason, or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers."

taught resident foreigner and indigenous Russian, the only ones able to organize schools and public institutions, to set up a vast central and regular system of administration, to assign ranks according to service and merit—in short, to erect on the snow and mud of a shapeless barbarism a conservatory where civilization, transplanted like an exotic tree, might grow and gradually become acclimated. Around Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre, with the exception of certain men devoted not to Utopianism but to the country, and who, like Carnot, conform to the system in order to save France, there are only sectaries eager to carry out the Jacobin programme, men so short-sighted as not clearly to comprehend its fallacies, or so fanatical as to accept its horrors, a pack of social outcasts and self-constituted statesmen, infatuated through faculties incommensurate with the parts they play, unsound in mind and superficially educated, wholly incompetent, boundless in ambition, with perverted, callous, or deadened consciences, deluded by sophistry, cold-blooded through vain-glory, and vicious through crime, impunity and success. Thus, whilst other despots raise a moderate weight, calling around them either the majority or the flower of the nation, employing the best strength of the country and lengthening their lever as much as possible, the Jacobins attempt to raise an incalculable weight by repelling the majority as well as the flower of the nation, discarding the best strength of the country, and shortening their lever to the utmost. They hold on only to the shorter end, the rough, clumsy, iron-bound, creaking and grinding extremity—that is to say, to physical force, the means for physical constraint, the heavy hand of the gendarme on the shoulder of the suspect, the jailor's bolts and keys turned on the prisoner, the club used by the *sans-culotte* on the back of the bourgeois to quicken his pace, and, better still, the *Septembriseur's* pike thrust into the aristocrat's belly, and the blade falling on the neck held fast in the clutches of the guillotine. Such, henceforth, is the only machinery they possess for governing the country, for they have deprived themselves of all other. Their engine has to be exhibited, for it works only on condition that its bloody image be stamped indelibly on everybody's imagination; the negro monarch or the pasha who desires to see heads bowing as he passes along, must be escorted by executioners. They must abuse their engine, because fear, losing its effect through habit, needs example to keep it alive; the negro monarch or the pasha who would keep the fear alive by which he rules must be stimulated every day; he must slaughter too many to be surer of slaughtering enough; he must slaughter constantly, in heaps, indiscriminately, haphazard, no matter for what offence, on the slightest suspicion, the innocent along with the guilty. He and his are lost the moment they cease to obey this rule. Every Jacobin, like every African monarch or pasha, must observe it, that

he may be and remain at the head of his band. For this reason the chiefs of the sect—its natural leaders designated beforehand—consist of theorists able to grasp its principles and logicians able to arrive at its conclusions, narrow-minded enough not to see that their undertaking exceeds their powers and all human powers, shrewd enough to see that brute force is their only weapon, inhuman enough to apply it without scruple or reserve, and to resort to systematic murder on all sides in order to deepen or spread the impression of the terror.

II. A. TAINE.



## ON FLYING AND BALLOON STEERING.

**T**HERE is one aspect of this interesting subject which should be regarded as an important preliminary allusion, and that is, whether the great or small achievements said to have been accomplished are owing to steering power having been obtained, or to opposing air currents having produced an optical illusion, such as we realize when two railway trains are deceiving the sharpest eyes : one is in motion, the other at rest ; yet it appears that our own train has started, until we perceive the mistake by noticing that we have not budged an inch ?

Sometimes it happens on the water, when the tide is far spent and the breezes soft, that a portion of wreckage or a dismantled vessel will float to and fro as if it were urged by inherent propelling power.

In a recent paper in the *Pall Mall Gazette* I drew attention to the fact that in my own experience I had several times wandered in the regions of space as if guiding machinery had been at work, whereas the capricious turns of the balloon were wholly attributable to gentle conflicting currents which somehow do exist, especially when we are passing through an anti-cyclone, the eddy being at that time frequently devoid of reliable motion.

Suppose, however, that a remarkably large or ridiculously insignificant amount of direction has been gained, that will not, in a time of doubt, render a short review of the supposed difficulties less instructive.

There are now, we read, more rival claimants for the honour of having navigated the air. Captain Renard and his intrepid colleague, Captain Krebs, are confronted with a German competitor in the person of Dr. Woelfert, who, on August 30, is reported to have

progressed against a north-east wind of a force of from two to three mètres a second. The doctor is negotiating with the German Admiralty for the establishment of a trial ground at Kiel, a rather awkward locality, by-the-by, considering its proximity to the water, and certainly not so eligible as the romantic site of Blue-Bell Hill, in the Garden of England, which was talked of as the lofty camping-ground of the British military amateurs, who are clearly not so ambitious, assertive, or warlike as the early or latest representatives of the French aeronauts.

Now, if these new lights, whose names and deeds have not exactly become familiar to the world by degrees, but have burst upon us in a magnificent blaze—if they really have succeeded, then we take it for granted that they will repeat their marvellous performances at no distant date. In the meantime we may venture upon a concise and familiar review of their doings, and take a retrospect of the hitherto insuperable barrier to locomotion in the fields of air.

No doubt electricity is the coming power, at present in embryo. What it has positively done in Paris we do not know so much about as we could wish. It is said that the "results will remain ever memorable in the annals of discovery." But wherefore remain? Why not move on expeditiously in a quick march worthy of La Grande Nation?

After some delay a second but less satisfactory edition of steering has taken place. In England, we long to follow them in the regions above, as the French are our acknowledged teachers in ballooning.

The motor which was first employed at the Châlet Meudon was, we are informed, composed of accumulators which can supply a 10-horse power for a period of four hours. It appears to be a gramme machine, supplied by a secondary battery. The gas envelope is elliptical, or cigar-shaped, being 197 feet long by 39 feet in diameter. The rudder is 39 feet square, the screw propeller in front of the acrostat, which is excited by a current from voltaic cells. The cigar drifted, be it observed, two miles with the wind, and was steered round. It rose 180 feet, and then, by a rotatory movement of the screw, made a straight course for the Hermitage of Villebon. Here Captain Krebs waved a flag as a signal that he was going to turn. The spectators were amazed to see the balloon gracefully describe a curve of 300 mètres radius and sail back. When within twenty feet of the ground it was cased, reversed, and stopped. The whole journey occupied forty minutes.

Another account says that the acrostat drifted to Petit-Bicêtre, and came back in two minutes. *Very calm weather prevailed*, and the question is, whether the air-currents or the machinery produced these effects when the attempt was made?

The reports of Depuy de Lômes' plan, in 1871, led Gambetta to

suppose that a method of steering would be discovered if a sufficient sum of money was bestowed ungrudgingly for further trials. Such a liberal amount (£24,000 sterling) has been provided already, so that it became expedient, perhaps, to make a show in behalf of the costly undertaking.

How different were our humble supplies in England as regards the British Association ascents in the year 1862! A small, worn out-Cremorne balloon was first employed, wherewith to attempt explorations up to five miles high. This balloon did not go more than a fifth of the elevation specified, and came down from sheer inanition. When I was telegraphed for to Wolverhampton, no balloon that I possessed at that time was capacious enough to do the required work; but at my own cost and with my own hands I designed and made a large balloon which made the series of voyages, culminating in a trip seven miles high; and it is not too much to declare, when we read of French generosity and encouragement of science, that the aid of my experience and capital, together with the matchless observations of Mr. Glaisher, achieved those meteorological investigations which have rarely been equalled and never yet surpassed. As "a nation of shopkeepers," not particularly patronized in matters of research, we, in Great Britain, have had to work with limited means, but we struggle on under disadvantages, and need not be ashamed of the risks encountered and the results obtained.

In an English book on aerial navigation, by C. A. Mansfield, M.A., it is argued that the best form for an air-ship is to be had by joining two semi-prolate spheroids by their bases, and placing a cap on each end; but if this last steering manifestation is all a hoax, who is to decide as to the best shape? Is a too fine and lengthy conformation to be haggled about? Would not a round, old-fashioned balloon do to experiment with, and would it not, like a Dutch billy-buoy, answer to the helm, even if less graceful and fast than a modern yacht?

Twenty years since, at the Crystal Palace, I showed elliptical skin balloons that travelled in any direction inside the building with screws set in motion by clockwork and other machinery. Colonel Beaumont, who ascended with me several times when we initiated military balloons at Aldershot and Woolwich, seems to think that steering may come when more than 5 per cent. of heat force is utilized—practically, he despairs at present of going 15 miles an hour, which is absolutely necessary as a rate of driving to hold one's own or do much good. The Colonel further considers that a 30,000 feet balloon would need a 10 feet fan making 1,000 revolutions per minute. What size of fan would his Dome-of-St.-Paul's balloon require? We may well feel doubtful about electric storage batteries if 5,000 horse-power would not drag the tram-car. But

Mr. Radcliffe Ward has something to say in favour and explanation of this trial. We will not enter upon the merits of compressed air, steam power, and electricity in this paper, but I should like to do so with my largest balloon, just to solve some points by examination instead of argument.

It is indisputable that electric motor machines must be heavy in proportion to their effective power. Storage accumulators weigh, I am told, about 75 to 80 lbs. each. Dr. Meldon's motor is stated to be attended with good results: its total weight is a little over 3 cwt. The motor is capable of making 900 revolutions per minute. It drove a boat, 22 feet long, 5 feet beam, at the rate of 11 miles an hour. Two horse-power was registered from 24 cells of an accumulator; 45 of these would supply 4 horse-power for 6 hours, doing 9 miles an hour.

Colonel Beaumont alluded to a fan we once took up in my 60,000-foot balloon, and of its being "absurdly small;" but this was a first trial of an inventor on a small scale, and was merely a one man-power with a 30-inch fan. Before Lord Wolseley's departure, the public read with delight about the promising boat expedition; but I, for one, took note of the ominous silence of the authorities and the press as to balloons, which are favourably alluded to in the "Soldier's Pocket Book," and which were to have been used in the Soudan, after I had called attention to this speciality on more than one occasion. If we became paralyzed and terror-stricken at home, after the lamented death of a late Member of Parliament through the escapade of a war balloon on the English coast, then, indeed, we can comprehend a waiting game and a sudden fascination for foreign precedents, which, after all, may only turn out to be a phantom air-ship, and yet this great nation is, so far as military efforts in aerostatics are concerned, merely chasing the shadow while the substance—the aerial fleet, already built—is lying idle in ordinary, or, perchance, in dock to get the dry rot, instead of being sent out to do what is possible, and to afford scope for our aeronautic officers to win their spurs with. Excuses have been put forth that the impedimenta are cumbrous, and that there would be impossibilities to contend with in connection with a hot country and the production of hydrogen. But have skilled, recognized balloonists ever been taken into the employ and confidence of the inner circle of erudite and profound committee men at Woolwich and Chatham? I have not, but could certainly design and suggest a light composite balloon which could be carried on a soldier's back, and sent up without all this furnace work of bricks, mortar, iron, acid, and so forth. For intricate steering with ships *Pilots* are held in esteem. Able officers are all very well for plain sailing, but when rocks and shoals abound, a different class of man is wanted, or the vessel may founder and do very little good.

Recently, army signalling between London and Portsmouth has attracted public notice. The heliograph could not do much, owing to the lack of sunshine; flags were resorted to, and, to my thinking, the system of balloon signalling I designed three years since would have come in opportunely, as well as the plans of others in the same line.

But we will not wander beyond short and apt digressions from our text—viz., “Flying and Steering.” To touch upon the former is our next duty, and this will, in gradual sequence, lead one to attempts at flight.

“Can you, Mr. Aeronaut,” said a gentleman who lately interviewed me, “give, as it were in a nutshell, a few references as to flying, with a dash of modern thought as to its possibilities at the present time?”

Just so. To make a long tale short, I may remind you, that, to commence with fables, the story of Dædalus arose from his being the first to use sails in a ship. But, in the reign of Nero, a man at the public games attempted to fly; he was killed; his blood sprinkled the Emperor.

Archytas made a pigeon that could fly by an enclosed spirit, but if it fell it could not rise. This probably turned out to be a parachute disguised as a bird.

Elmer attempted to fly, in the days of Edward the Confessor, from a tower—he broke his legs; an Italian, too, from Stirling Castle—he broke his thigh.

Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, imagined that a flying chariot could be made. He anticipated a time when a man would call for his wings as he does for his boots, so that—

“When pleasure begins to grow dull in the East,  
We may order our wings, and be off to the West.”

The Marquis de Bacqueville, in 1742, crossed the Seine and fell on a boat at the opposite quay—he was injured. Just so, Borelli proved that the human muscles are not able to raise a man with wings. To simply test muscular power, just place two posts at such a distance that a man could, by extending his arms, rest a hand on each post, when he stands on a chair; remove the chair and he will fall. If he cannot thus support himself, much less can he by striking the thin air with wings. Colonel Burnaby, himself no insignificant specimen of strength, argues, with his customary lucidity of expression, that if any one takes a large umbrella when his weight is nicely balanced, and gives a downward tug with all his might, the result will be disappointing—he will merely score a few pounds the less.

On this topic we may gather some valuable information from the discussions of the Aeronautic Society.

At a general meeting held at the Society of Arts, in the year

1868, a paper was read announcing that one of its members had actually accomplished the feat of flying. This afforded an exciting subject for conversation over the tea and coffee which followed.

Probably, the first imposing exhibition of the Society at the Crystal Palace caused a mere flight of fancy, on a par, we may take it, as to figurative licence with the balloon steering in Paris. It could not well have been quite accurate, for on p. 13 of the second Society's Report we read that: "On reviewing the facts that have come within the reach of this Society during the past year, it is apparent that our knowledge of aeronautics, so far as regards the navigation of the air by mechanical means, amounts to but very little, and the information recorded is of a contradictory character. Without a definite law of the acting and counteracting forces of the elastic air, *we have not even entered* the threshold of aeronautical discovery."

Whether the Balloon Society, which is a totally different and distinct association, can give any more cheering tidings I am unaware, not being a member. Their range of inquiry is certainly most extensive, as it takes in subjects appertaining to the earth below as well as the heavens above, and even goes into cremation and fog-formation, and at length a centenary commemoration is added.

Cocking's parachute, in the year 1837, and the ghastly descent of the poor young Belgian at Cremorne, did not materially advance this feature of ballooning. A writer in the *Engineer* made use of language which seems to describe the present phase of air-locomotion. "Beautiful as it would be," he says, "to have a flying-machine, the motive engines at present at our command do not allow of its construction."

The Duke of Argyll remarked that "if the air is ever to be navigated, it will not be individual men flying by means of machinery; but that it is quite possible vessels may be invented which will carry a number of men, and the motive force of which will *not* be muscular action."

Dr. Pettigrew most pertinently observes that "the problem of flight seems to resolve itself into one of weight, power, velocity, and small surfaces *versus* buoyancy, diminished speed, and extensive surfaces." It is scarcely ten years since an Englishman at D—— gave it out that he could fly without a balloon and cross the Channel at an enormous pace, not even wings or propellers being requisite. The audacity of the assertion captivated a vast number of people, and a few nice hundreds were soon forthcoming as a mark of confidence. At that time I happened to be at F——, and went over with a friend to make the acquaintance of this professor. My companion's card instead of my name was sent up for obvious reasons, when we were graciously received; but, "dear me," as my

friend observed, "what a queer fellow." He was a Midland man of no education, address, or even of presentable appearance. For our inspection he handed a ridiculous sketch of some mystic wheels inside of a wicker basket, which contained the source of flight, but no wings or propellers were to be seen, and he professed not to want a balloon. A spring like that in a railway buffer was produced. "There it is," he said; "when that is turned on away I go, and once off it would take a good deal to stop me."

"That," I said, with a sly wink, "we can readily believe; and I can only say that if you will come and take your luncheon with us to-morrow in your aerial chariot you shall have a cheque for £500."

"I might think seriously of your offer," said the professor, "but to-night I am going to Prince Bismarck for war objects. But might I ask," he continued, "if your name is Coxwell?"

My friend suppressed an outburst of laughter, while I made a clean breast of it by confession. "Why do you ask?" I inquired.

"Because," said he, "some few years since you must have made a similar offer to me when I wrote to you about this affair."

"Then your name is so-and-so, and you have evidently not succeeded yet."

Shortly after this interview we heard that the professor had positively flown; but then the sheriffs' officers were behind him, and it is doubtful where he landed, as he has never since been heard of at D——.

Although Dr. Lardner asserted the impracticability of steam navigation, I am not going to imitate that distinguished authority as far as balloon steering is concerned. At the same time, until undeniable proof is forthcoming that it has been done, we may proceed to point out the various impediments to success. In the spring of 1840 the action of one of Mr. Green's models at the Polytechnic Institution may be thus described:—A miniature balloon was filled with common coal gas; to this was attached a small piece of spring mechanism, to give motion to the fans, which communicated a rotatory movement, whereupon the machine rose steadily to the ceiling. Deprived of this assistance, it immediately fell. The reverse of this was next shown, and the model was pulled down to the ground. A more interesting effect was then exhibited. The balloon, with the guide-rope attached to it as before, was balanced with a wheel fixed to the end of the cord which trailed on the ground. Mr. Green stated that by these simple means a voyage across the Atlantic might be performed as easily as one from Vauxhall to Nassau. But the renowned aeronaut never attempted it, nor did our American cousins a few years since, when they insisted that at two miles high a regular current moved from east to west. I made it my business, with the identical Nassau balloon, which I purchased of Mr. Green, to ascend,

at the time of the American projected trip across, and so far from finding a settled current at two miles high from east to west, I encountered, after lingering at this height for some hours, a wind blowing due north. Green's adaptation of Mr. Taylor's fan was somewhat of a new departure, but it was not the celebrated aeronaut's own conception. The true secret of directing within doors was the brass wheel and the trail rope, which could not well be used in the open air, and without them steerage was impossible. Green never tried it on the large scale, or on the broad Atlantic, as he talked of doing. A sample of the vast number of propositions for guiding may here be appropriately given. Some of these would not stand investigation, as my esteemed friend, Hatton Turnor, shows in "*Astra Castra*." No. 1. A flying globe, made by an engineer named Blainville; his idea was weighting and lightening a balloon by means of a pump. No. 2. 1784, Abbé Molans Montgolfiere, a lateral opening in the envelope, from which it was expected the heated air would rush out and force the balloon in an opposite direction. No. 3. A balloon with a reversed parachute, by M. Henin, to slacken the ascent and allow the action of sails. No. 4. Sir George Caley's navigable balloon, 1816. No. 5. Samson's acrostat, furnished with fins made of feathers. No. 6. The aerial ship *L'Aigle* of Mr. Lennox; it proved a failure in the Champs de Mars in the year 1834. No. 7. Petins' system of balloons in a row, with sails and planes attached to them in line. No. 8. Julien's acrostat, its movement by clockwork suspended below. No. 9. Aerial scheme of Mr. Helle, consisting of oblique vanes.

M. Depuis Delcourt said acrostats of spherical shape can never be guided. They should be, ship-like, of wood and metal.

Henson's aerial carriage was a singular looking construction. The apparatus, according to the sketch, consisted of a car to contain passengers, engine, fuel, &c., to which a rectangular frame, made of bamboo-cane, and covered with canvas, was attached. This frame extended on either side of the car in a similar manner to the outstretched wings of a bird, but with this difference, that they were immovable; behind the wings were two vertical fan-wheels, furnished with vanes, intended to propel the apparatus through the air. These wheels received motion, through bands and pulleys, from a steam or other engine. To an axis at the stern of the car a triangular frame was attached, resembling the tail of a bird; beneath the tail was a rudder, and, to facilitate the steering, a sail was stretched between two masts.

Incredible as it may appear, the whole affair weighed 3,000 lbs., and the area of surface spread out to support it, 4,500 square feet in the wings, and 1,505 in the tail, making altogether 6,000 square feet. The engine was to be of 30-horse power. On launching, an elevated



situation was to be selected, and the machine allowed to run down an inclined plane. When the machine had thus acquired a momentum, the fan wheels were to be put in motion and raise it in the air. Strange to say, this ponderous, unsightly affair, bore nothing like so commendable an outline as M. Renard and Krebs' cigar, or Mr. Brearey's plan, or that of Mr. Thos. Moys, and others. It was believed that it would safely run off the stocks and rise; its actual flight, I remember, was notified in a leading newspaper and credited, until the joke was exposed.

If this apparatus had been rigged and set up on an incline, an ordinary wind, acting on such a mass of surface, would have hurled it upon the trees or house-tops before it had got half-way down the slip. If any machine fails to embrace the requisite power contained in a small compass, and cannot shut up its wings like a partridge, and move them with a rapidity producing an audible whirr, its chance of *go* is minimized extremely.

But we have yet to learn the merits of the Meudon war balloon; at any rate the secrets have not transpired, so far as I am aware, at the time of writing these remarks. Should the broken screw be made good, the inventors may land themselves beyond the English cliffs. We would rather decline the honour of an escort of light infantry, and should decidedly object if they spring up from beneath the "silver streak." Should they come manfully by the overhead route, and discuss a genuine foreign balloon cigar of a good brand, we shall give them a friendly greeting, and we are sure to patronize and imitate the Paris fashions.

"The English haughtily demand,  
That seas should be at their command.  
The French, both light and free from care,  
Seize on the empire of the air."

But in thus seizing on the empire, how about the right and title or the ability to do it? A new and extensive colony will this "conquest of the air" add to the possessions of our neighbours. Talk about "perfidious Albion," and the sun never going down on ours: well, if space is laid hold of, the King of Day must always smile on France or her belongings.

As this paper merely professes to enter upon a familiar conversational statement of professional opinion, without offering or combining the formulæ of engineers and scientific men to bear out the abstruse calculation advanced by steering aeronauts, it would be quite out of place where I to affect general approval or laboured disagreement with the kinds of motors and machinery selected, and of the arguments adduced in favour of each as to weight, size, and pitch of screw, together with the proportions as to shape and displacement of air. I simply hold that no invention, as yet introduced, has given

satisfactory results, or it surely would have been established and subsequently pursued, instead of being allowed to dazzle and bewilder by a single miraculous flutter without appearing to be susceptible of repetition. As we lack full or, indeed, concise particulars of this latest plan, a few general allusions as to what we are called upon to believe seems all that it is possible to review. We may say generally of other schemes bearing a family likeness, that it is not yet clear about the decided reduction in the weight of steam motors and accumulators so as to solve the problem before us. Long after Lavoisier had perceived the analogy between water and air, he suggested the force of men to cause the balloon to vary from the direction of the wind. The last noteworthy effort in this line was when eight men worked together with a screw from Dupuy de Lôme's aerostat on February 2, 1872, when it was said that an independent velocity was obtained of 2.82 metres per second, or about 6.3 miles per hour.

M. Giffard's trial in Paris with an elongated balloon on September 24, 1852, was not very dissimilar in appearance to the Meudon production. Although some results were obtained—so we are told as regards M. Giffard's machine—it was notified soon after that improvements were necessary, which "would take time." The inventor of the dirigible balloon then went into the construction of captive balloons. This retreat or change of front might have been masterly, but it was not following up the asserted advantages that had been gained, and grave doubts may be felt whether the next trial would have produced equal results. It is evident, therefore, that before it is possible to produce a more purely practical investigation of flying and steering, it is necessary to rely upon something like positive data to be used as a groundwork. As these are wanting *in toto*, I decline to examine separately mere speculative dogmas supported by clever figuring, which, if falsified, may be made to prove anything.

Paris and London have just experienced prodigious struggles to maintain the apparently waning character of ballooning. To my thinking, a more suitable demonstration might have been devised for the Honourable Artillery Company of Great Britain. In the first place, the mechanical changes and improvements should have been shown between Lunardi's balloon and those that were exhibited. Secondly, each ascent should have practically illustrated some progressive feature. Balloon signalling, as designed by Major Jones, myself, and others, would have formed a novel display. Thirdly, if each balloonist had been called upon to state his opinion as to where he was likely to drift to, and had consulted the map and compass, to spot his supposed locality, a moot point in military ballooning would have been advanced a stage perhaps. Fourthly, if trained observers for meteorological purposes had ascended, the

upper-air readings might have been added to those below. Fifthly, the three balloons might have contrasted their speed with the anemometer indications on the earth's surface. In short, many amusing and instructive things might have been added to show that some advancement had been made, and that more might follow if the subject had been handled in a manner worthy of the occasion.

HENRY COXWELL.

## THE AMERICANS PAINTED BY THEMSELVES.

IS it fair to judge a nation by the pictures of society and manners given in its works of fiction? Should we be content to abide the test of the descriptions given of ourselves in our own novels, considered of course in the mass, not taken by isolated instances here and there? And are we doing injustice to the United States in accepting as true and life-like, and to the manner drawn, the pictures of men, and especially of women, which are found in American story-books? Whether this be so or not, it may at least be allowed that if certain persistently recurrent types are to be found among the characters in these books, and if the other personages of the stories show no disapprobation of the style of manners permitted, and the standards of taste held up by them, the former are at least commonly in use, and the latter are considered as agreeable to the national palate.

We will therefore take some very clever American novels lately published, purely society pictures without a trace of sensation, constructed ostentatiously without plot, and as pure studies of character.

The first and most striking trait in these books is the extraordinary respect for class-distinction, position, "gentility," and money, among the characters described, with scarcely an exception. The highest feather in a girl's cap is to have refused a "British nobleman," or, at least, one of the Boston "aristocrats." Next comes the value set upon dress. The importance of the *gown* question can hardly be imagined by the European mind. A French heroine is of course "bien mise," and her "chaussure" is probably insisted on; the "petites mules," or the "bas bien tirés." An English girl must be picturesque in her attire, and her clothes must be becoming; but

to say that her gowns came from Paris would not enhance her charms in the eyes of the readers, who would probably consider her very absurd for her pains. A wild civility—

“Doth more bewitch me than where art  
Is too precise in every part.”

There is not much trace of Herrick, however, in the United States ideals. A list of Miss Lydia Blood's gowns, as given by so clever a man as Mr. Howells, might be drawn up for the advantage of milliners; Miss Daisy Miller's flounces, and the many buttons of her gloves, are among the chief points of her portrait by Mr. James.

The respect for position runs as an under-current in every story. The fine gentleman in the “Lady of the Aroostook” falls in love with a “school marm,” who is accidentally the only woman on board the packet vessel in which he is sailing, and by his own remarks and those of his friends, the reader is made to feel that an “alliance” with the girl is as impossible as one between a Schwarzenberg and a bourgeois of aristocratic Vienna. When “love is still the lord of all,” and he marries her, the enormity of the sacrifice is borne in upon one's inmost soul; indeed it is only made possible at all by the pair resolving to go and settle in California, beyond the pale of his disapproving friends.

There is a class of cheap American novelettes, written by second-class writers entirely for second-class readers, which have no parallel in England, where books are written for any who read, and there is absolutely no class-literature unless we descend as low as “penny dreadfuls” and yellow railway novels. In these little books the caste question is paramount. The fine people of the something Avenue will have nothing to do with the virtuous heroine living in the shabby street, and the moral of the tale is to show how she wins the heart of the prime hero of the “Upper Ten,” and either marries or refuses him, or is taken up into some seventh heaven of position, some paradise of gentility, by the sun of an even higher sphere than the “Avenue” society.

In “Work,” a story by Miss Alcott, the heroine is first a governess, then goes on the stage, passes through many chances and changes, and ends as “help” to a Quaker mother and her son, a nursery gardener, whom she tries to fascinate by “an apron with very effective pockets and frillings.” Here she falls in again with the brother of her former mistress, who proposes to her. He has no one quality that is admirable, nothing but fine clothes, and what are taken by the author to be fine manners, and money; yet the heroine is only saved from accepting him by her Quaker friends' expostulations, and it is feelingly insisted on how great is the temptation and how noble and good is she who can resist such a lover. “Best

society;" "great families;" "long descended;" the "exclusiveness" of the "fastidious American aristocracy," "who think as much of their positions as the haughtiest *vieille noblesse* in Europe;" these are a few gems culled from the different stories. "A Gentleman of Leisure" is introduced to a young man, "Sprowler the Fifth," marking the ancient descent of the owner of this illustrious name. "I should like to take you to a patrician crush," says a friend to him at Boston: the sentiment apparently fills the atmosphere.

As for the clothes, the most harrowing incident in "A Chance Acquaintance" arises from the heroine, Miss Kitty, having put on an old travelling gown. The courage of the Boston fine gentleman, who has just engaged himself to her (and who, as the author loses no opportunity of assuring us, is "exactly like an Englishman") is not proof against the trial of acknowledging to some Boston "belles" that the inmate of a shabby toilette is the lady of his choice. He accordingly ignores her presence altogether, whereupon she not unnaturally refuses to have anything more to do with him. Is there any society in the world out of the United States, where such a piece of snobbism could be represented as possible in a *soi-disant* gentleman? *Noblesse oblige* in that state of life if right feeling be absent, and even the vulgarest of men would hardly dare elsewhere so to slight a woman whom he was about to make his wife, and whom he must then, at least, introduce to the well-gowned fair ones. There is a pretty scene in one of Miss Bremer's Swedish novels, in which the girl puts on her oldest and shabbiest dress, in order to test her lover, and he does not even find it out, his whole soul filled with the deeper thoughts of having won his lady. You feel in a higher atmosphere there than in the milliner's estimate of life, which seems to have got by mistake into such clever books as those by Mr. James and Mr. Howells.

Every gown which the "Lady of the Aroostook" wears is chronicled with affectionate minuteness, and an exact account is given of how her country aunt got the patterns from "summer boarders," and of the use she made of her knowledge—of "the blue flannel with a scarlet bow," which is thought divine, and "the black silk fitting like a skin," in which the cabin boy takes a lively interest. The photograph is so complete that one feels a sort of injury when the realism fails, and one is called on to believe that the blue flannel is as fresh and lovely as ever, after a six weeks' voyage, and that the girl landing out of her obscure village "down east," into the arms of an aunt at Venice, who is as gown-loving, and as inane as most other American chaperones in the stories, her dress should be declared to be "perfect," and she herself be hurried off to church immediately to show her (and it) off. One knows with scientific certainty that

the gowns on the contrary were in reality bundled into a closet, and Miss Lydia was not allowed to show till they were all remodelled after the best lights.

Gowns! gowns! gowns! they appear everywhere, and weigh upon the brain. Even in "Democracy" Miss Sybil's dress is an important factor, but then there is some fun in the description of M. Worth's *chef d'œuvre* of inspiration, "The Dawn of a June Morning," composed for a princess of the house of Dahomey, of which he allows the young lady at Washington to have a duplicate, "having ascertained that the towns are not in the same hemisphere," and that the gowns are not likely to clash.

Dress becomes a nightmare, until at last it is evident that a new commandment has been added to the heroine's decalogue—"Thou shalt have thy gowns from Paris." In a novel in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the heroine, belonging to the very lower half of the middle classes, is about to "come out," and her mother sends to Paris for four gowns as a matter of necessity. The father who is in trade, not at all rich, is more than annoyed, and is really hampered by the expense, but his wife tells him it is quite essential for the happy future of his daughter, and there is an end of it. Strange incidental manners come out in this and other tales. At the ball where Miss Annie appears in one of the gowns in question, the daughter of the house stands by her mother to receive their guests, bearing in her hands six bouquets, "given by her *beaux*," to show the number of her admirers. This it appears is the common practice, and must make the girls look like flower sellers. When the dancing is over, although both father and mother are present, it is "Miss Annie Davies's carriage" which is called.

By far the most interesting point, however, in these stories is their illustration of the position and education of women, at this moment one of the important questions of the world. In what direction ought it to be developed? Is the American model a success—a lead which it is desirable to follow out? Do the results of the independence—the almost absolute choice allowed them, of where they will go, and what they shall do and say—tend to the happiness, or the best development of the species?

Take the question of marriage for instance; many of the stories might have been written to show how much there is to say for the old world habit of allowing the parents a large voice in the choice of a husband. No French *mariage de convenance*, indeed, could have done worse than the young ladies do for themselves in "Washington Square," in Howells' "A Modern Instance," and in the "Portrait of a Lady," &c. At least it would be thought that their prominent position in America would have saved women from the vice of husband

hunting; but the manner in which Miss Victoria Dare in "Democracy" pursues and captures Lord Dunbeg, in which Marcia in "A Modern Instance" forces that "poor cheap sort of creature" Hubbard to marry her, is not exactly maidenly.

In the "Adventures of a Bashful Man," the way in which the damsel proposes herself in a railway carriage, and her victim is barely able to save himself by leaping from the car after it is in motion, is of course meant for gross caricature; but caricature is only amusing when it has at least some slight foundation of fact in the habits of a nation.

With regard to the older women, the type is given with curious sameness, of the matrons, aunts, mothers, elderly cousins. Limp, flaccid, nerveless, with all the aptitudes of a polypus for adhering to anything and anybody, and sucking out all the help and sustenance they require—this is repeated so often that it must be a common character. The mother in "Daisy Miller" and "A Foregone Conclusion," the aunt in "Washington Square," &c., may be classed as "fool, fooler, fooliest"—but it is only a question of degree. They go abroad with their daughters and nieces, utterly ignorant of art, of history, without interest in scenery and even in people. To see "the convent in which Byron studied the Armenian language preparatory to writing his great poem in it," is given as the solitary bit of literature which Mrs. Vervain starts with on her travels in Italy.

Why they travel no mortal can explain, as they enjoy nothing, and would apparently be happier in watering-places and hotels at home. Mothers and daughters unattached alike thrust themselves into positions where, according to the received customs of Europe (which, whether wrong or right, are no scaled books to the heroines who always study English and French novels), they are misconstrued and ill-looking upon; as, for example, in the French *pension* where the Frenchmen of Mr. James suppose that they are made love to by the American heroine.

Is it a proof of the wisdom brought about by the independent attitude of the American girl that she feels herself capable of resolving every problem, and deciding on every action, from the slender stock of her own experience? The girls are depicted as ignorant and uninterested in everything on earth and in heaven; and although in the "Confessions of a Frivolous Girl" she is said to have "learnt English, French, German, Italian, physics, Latin, botany, art (?), geology, astronomy, and metaphysics," it is evident that she was (perhaps fortunately) able to leave school without having imbibed the smallest particle of information concerning any of them. She observes casually about a lecture on Spenser, "*not* Mr. Herbert Spencer, as I always thought."



Upon such stocks of vacuity they undertake to do everything, and to decide all questions with an aplomb of ignorance utterly startling. In "A Foregone Conclusion" the young lady takes lessons from a young Italian priest, much addicted to mechanical pursuits; she comes to the conclusion that he is not sufficiently "pious" for a priest, and forthwith decides, off-hand, that he ought to leave the Catholic Church; after which step she and her mother (the usual fool whom the American mother is held to be) promise to take him with them to America, and launch him in a new life! He accepts the offer with joy, and they are just about to start when she discovers that the man is in love with her, and that he hopes on giving up his career to be free to marry; upon which she flings him over immediately, shows her horror of the very idea, and leaves him with scarcely a word of self-reproach. The *donnée* is a very difficult one, and the picture of the gentle, pure-minded, unworldly, inexperienced, child-like man is extremely touching and delicately done. He is friendless and hopeless; his uncle, an old Canonico, gets hold once more of him; in his bitter misery he returns to his Catholic allegiance, and dies in a very short time of misery (and fever). Miss Florida is apparently troubled with no remorse for what she has done, and indeed when she returns to Venice, married to a most odious Yankee, she is made to observe, "I know that I was not to blame!" She has thrust her ignorant hasty finger into the most sacred regions of a man's heart, his religion and his love, and having brought havoc and death there, is quite unconscious of the cruelty and cool impertinence of undertaking such a task, or of the miserable poverty of her own knowledge for the purpose. The elements of deep tragedy are in the situation, if either the girl had become conscious of her sin, or the writer had been conscious of it for her, and had marked the contrast between her shallow self-sufficient conduct occupied only with herself and her own interests, and the deep feeling she was trifling with in this airy fashion; but Mr. Howells rather seems to applaud her.

In another of his stories, "Miss Kitty," who is intended to represent the fresh, bright, real country cultivation as contrasted with the Boston sham refinement, is saved by Mr. Arburton from a furious bulldog which rushes down some steps at her in a narrow alley. She is too stupid to find out what her companion has done for her, and thinks only that the dog has flown at his throat. What there is droll or ridiculous in any person's escaping the bite of a violent dog, it is certainly impossible to discover, but she is afflicted during the rest of their walk by the giggles to that extent, and titters so audibly, that she can hardly behave herself. No doubt giggles will exist as long as schoolgirls are to be found, but this is the first time

they have been considered fit objects of art; the statuette of "You dirty boy" is a high ideal in comparison.

In "The Portrait of a Lady," whose chief claim to the title seems to be that she has refused the "British Nobleman" *de rigueur*, the lady is an unattached heiress, Isabella Archer; her bosom friend and chosen companion is the female correspondent to "a New York paper," the most impertinent and irrepressible of interviewers, who, when she hears that the father of a much-prized cousin of her friend's is dead, insists on being asked to the funeral. "I have never seen an English funeral, and I want to describe it!" Everything she sees and hears is worked up into "copy," yet Mr. James is evidently much surprised that this Gorgon is not taken to the homes and hearts of the British aristocracy. Miss Archer goes about the world breaking hearts. The code of honour as to proposals differs apparently in the old and new worlds. A great English authority once declared that no good girl would have more than three—the first time she would be too inexperienced to understand what was coming to pass; a second offer even might happen without her fault; but the third time she must be forewarned, and unless she meant to accept the man, she ought to save him the pain of a refusal. Miss Archer gets as many as possible, and somehow the facts all ooze out to her friends, for her glorification. As if to show how little of sense, common or uncommon, of intelligence, or of knowledge of character is obtained by the freedom permitted to the United States girls, she chooses the very worst of her suitors, a bad man, without a single charm or recommendation of any kind, "from sheer cussedness;" and the complications with his illegitimate daughter, and the lady who has served as his wife at Rome, form as unpleasant a picture as is to be found in any of M. Cherbuliez's books, but without the power and the tragic pathos of those French editions of evil manners. The end of the story is that, having shown her husband very decidedly how cordially she detests and despises him, the "lady" goes off to the deathbed, in England, of one of the three lovers who have dangled about her after her marriage, in a way not usual with well-conducted young brides. Her husband has flatly refused to let her go, and threatened not to receive her again, which, of course, decides her departure immediately. The lover and cousin who has given her her fortune, though she was fool enough never to find out where it came from, dies with her hand in his, and she returns to London and is just starting again exactly as lover No. 3 arrives from America at the house. The scene closes; you may choose your alternative; but if Mr. James does not intend her to go off with the constant and rich swain, he has certainly cast a very unnecessary slur on the reputation of his "lady."

The picture of American manners would be imperfect without sketches of the irrepressible infants, the *enfants terribles* which fill there so large a place in society. They do, say, and eat everything they please, and accordingly have a literature of their own, depicting their idiosyncracies. "Helen's Babies" may be held to represent their milder side, which is sufficiently advanced. "The Dirty of a Naughty Boy" is painted in darker colours, and is alarming indeed. The pranks are not those of healthy schoolboys, such as we are accustomed to, but spiteful, impish tricks, such as hardly enter into childhood's ideas elsewhere. The boy takes the photographs out of the books of his sisters, who have each of them, he says, one "bo" or more; they are adorned with elegant annotations, such as, "What a guy;" "Don't he think well of himself?" He carries these to the swains thus described, and gets up a quarrel between them and the ladies. Another time his kite has stuck in a tall tree. He thinks the boughs may break if he climbs up, so he persuades another boy to go in his stead, who falls and breaks his leg, whereon the hero rejoices greatly at his own perspicacity.

There are a few words used in most of the novels which jar greatly on the English reader—"genteel" and "stylish,"—for instance "Genteel" has seen better days, and has a pedigree; it comes of the family of the "gentil" and "gentilhomme," and is used by Addison and Johnson; but "stylish" is of the shop, shoppy, and belongs to the dialect of milliners' apprentices and waiting-maids alone, and with reason, in England.

In every story may be found some example of that purely American conviction that knowledge is heaven-born; that everybody can do everything; that without training, practice, or experience, every man and woman is fit for any post. In "A Foregone Conclusion" the Consul at Venice is a young artist, absolutely ignorant of trade, who wanted to go to Italy, and was accordingly thrust into the office because his friends were in power. He is removed as suddenly, and with no more reason, in favour of another man who knows as little as himself. The Ambassador to Spain in "Democracy" hopes to be reappointed, having a remarkable knowledge of its history, and having spent four years there—"this being the nearest approach to a patent of nobility and a Government pension that an American citizen can obtain." He is put aside because the new President had a friend "with a claim to the post-office of his State. The appointment had been given elsewhere, so the claimant was bought off with the Spanish Embassy." The Ambassador to Russia was an ex-war Minister, who had cheated his own Government by sending shoes with paper soles to the army in the Civil War, and when he could not get them passed, selling them to the South. It was convenient

to get rid of him, so he was promoted to St. Petersburg. The President in "Democracy" is fresh from his Indiana farm, having begun life as a stone-cutter, and been thrust into greatness, while utterly unknown, in order to prevent the success of someone else. One Minister is a man mighty in the salting of pork. Politics, the ruling of nations, the settling the affairs of half a continent, are a pastime to be taken up after a man is fifty, or as the work of odd moments of a life spent in the making of money. A "politician" is indeed a term of reproach in the States.

On a smaller scale, the little books inculcate the same undoubted possession of an incomparable ability, to which that of the Admirable Crichton would be a joke. In one of these stories the young lady tries the circle of the sciences (and of some smaller occupations), and finally determines to be an artist, when she works for three or four months at drawing casts, in company with several young gentlemen, in an empty house, with no professor to look after them; at the end of which free-and-easy fashion of study she is supposed to have mastered such a small affair as art. There is no reason why, having practised, say, the law, for half a dozen years, a man should not suddenly set up as an architect; or, if he has failed as a painter, go in for the army, or become a civil engineer. This is hardly the way in which first-class work is accomplished in any country, and may account for the extraordinarily few men of distinction who have been produced among that active-minded, keen-witted race, which, except in the matter of inventions for saving labour, has hitherto enriched the world with fewer thoughts than many a small Italian or Greek city, with a territory about the size of a pocket-handkerchief.

Mr. Holmes, in the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," complains of the excessive dulness of American social life, the commonplaceness, the narrowness of the ordinary existence. It is probably for this reason that we have so many descriptions of life in the Far West, and that novels take their heroines to Europe in order to find some incident as a peg on which to hang the story. For some time after the Civil War, nine-tenths, at least, of the characters went to join the army, the men as volunteers, the women to look after their lovers. Amateur Florence Nightingales, as they modestly term themselves, not seeing that the adjective contradicts the substantive. Mr. Howells has mercifully sent only one hero to the wars, and only lost one subject's arm, for which reticence his European readers, at least, must be exceedingly grateful.

There is a curious absence of descriptions of a "home," which, where so many families live in hotels, is evidently rare. The background of the dwellings of the actors, always important in English stories, the pictures and furniture collected by many generations of

a family, the gardens, flowers, and trees, are hardly so much as mentioned—they form no part of life; indeed, Mr. Lowell remarks on “the waste and aimlessness of our American luxury, which is an abject enslavement to tawdry upholstery.” If furniture does not express the character of the inhabitants, if it has no history or association attached to it, it becomes utterly shoppy and dismal.

We will end with one more novel, a political one, which has passed through a very large number of editions, and has been translated into the chief European languages. It is unclaimed, as is not surprising, for it is a formidable indictment against a nation’s public men.

Mrs. Lee, a young and rich widow, is living at New York, where the monotony of the money-making talk wearies her. She tries philanthropy and society as distractions in vain. She declares at last that, “all the paupers and criminals in New York may rise in their majesty and manage every railway on the continent—Why should she care?” She determines to go to Washington, and see for herself “the great clash of interests of forty millions of people controlled by men of ordinary mould.” Power and ambition interest her. She settles there with her sister, and soon becomes acquainted with the most important of the leading official actors. A certain senator, Silas P. Ratcliffe, believed to be a portrait of a leading politician, who is looking forward to the Presidency, fascinates her, to a certain degree, by his coarse strength and indomitable will, and she allows him to come and go about her pretty much as he pleases. She is vainly warned as to the character of his antecedents, but believing she can stop just when she pleases, she does not draw back. When driven to the wall, Ratcliffe tells her of a piece of rascality which he thinks it best that she should hear from himself.

“It was during the worst days of the war, and there was an almost certainty that my State would be carried by the peace party, by fraud, as we thought, although, fraud or not, we were bound to save it. Had Illinois been lost, then we should certainly have lost the Presidential election, and with it probably the Union. I was then Governor, and on me the responsibility rested. We ordered the returning officers in a certain number of counties, where we had entire control, to make no returns until they heard from us, and when we learned the precise number required to give us the majority, we telegraphed to the officers to make the votes such and such, so as to give the State to us. I am not proud of the transaction; but I would do that, and worse, if I thought it would save the country from disunion.”

This is believed to be an exact record of fact. Another piece of business of the same kind comes out where 100,000 dollars have been paid him (Ratcliffe) as chairman of a committee to get a Bill

for a steamship company (with a subsidy) passed through the Senate.

At a reception at the White House, the President (affectionately termed "the Hoosier quarryman") and his wife stand at the door shaking hands "like the working of a pump-handle." The chief lady of the land is a somewhat stout, coarse-featured woman, whom Mrs. Lee declares she would not engage for a cook. She put on a coldly patronizing air to her visitors, when Mrs. Lee and her sister called on her, said there was much in Washington that struck her "as awful wicked;" and, looking hard at her guest spoke of the present style of dress, and said she meant "to do what she could to put a stop to it, and that "Jacob" had promised her to get a law passed against it." The President is an honest, stupid man, whose chief principle is that no one must be disturbed in his place for political reasons; "he came determined to be the father of his country, to gain a proud immortality and a re-election." Before a month is passed, he is turning out his opponents right and left under the influence of Ratcliffe. "The harvest of foreign missions, consulates, custom-house revenue offices, postmasterships, Indian agencies, and army and navy contracts" was going on as merrily as usual.

The absence of any public occupation worthy of a clever man is shown in "A Gentleman of Leisure." The hero having been brought up in England, soon finds himself extremely weary of the amusements of the "gilded youth" of New York, of driving a fast horse in a spider carriage, with some chosen fair one who is generally changed next day (riding appears to be unheard of); of walking "faultlessly attired" up Broad Street with some other damsel, whose dress is minutely described; or frequenting a club where the chief aim is to copy English fashion, and where the English peerage is the best-thumbed book in the house, and indeed is replaced every other year. He makes a rather unsatisfactory attempt to fill up his leisure by love-making, and then he finds out that the House of Representatives being impossible for a gentleman to seek to enter, he shall "try for the Senate." When it is considered what are the number of Senators, and what is that of the American population, this seems but a meagre supply of adequate political positions for the best men of a country.

The books from which these specimens are culled are among the best American stories of the last few years; bright, sharp-cut, clever, eminently readable, and short (no small merit). They have all the virtues and faults of photographs, especially the minute and accurate details of a number of things noways interesting in themselves, and not assisting in the general picture, except as increasing its realism. One cannot, however, but believe that the effect of the whole is in-

jured by thus distributing the finish on all matters alike. The admirable word-painting with which Mr. Howells sets Venice and Quebec before our eyes is quite out of proportion to his definition of character. As in a photograph, every stitch and plait of the gown, every leaf and each stone of the wall is given; but in these books, with few exceptions, not much of the being inside appears, only the superficial skin of life. This is hardly the way in which great pictures are composed, either in colours or words; external detail should only be insisted on in points serving to bring out and enforce the main object. Probably Mr. James and Mr. Howells would declare that they do not strive after high art, and that truthful representation, even of such supremely uninteresting human beings as American young ladies, if carried out conscientiously, is as much art as that of the drinking boozers of Teniers or the Dutch vrows of Micris. Whether the very artificial modern product of such "genteel" young ladyism can be rendered as interesting as the animalism of rough Dutch life may be doubted. The French cook gives a receipt for the exquisite dressing of a cucumber with elaborate care, but ends, "after all, the best thing you can do with the thing is to throw it out of the window." It seems a strange misuse of such talent as the American novelists possess, to devote their time to depicting models so shallow; the good so goody, as in "Roderick Hudson" and "Washington Square;" the bad so very poor and low, as in "The Portrait of a Lady." The trivial and the mean are not fit subjects for art. That every tale should have a direct moral is of course absurd; there is none, some one has said, in "Hamlet," none in "King Lear," none in the "Lieder ohne Worte," or Heller's "Dans les Bois," or for that matter in the woods themselves in spring-time; but by them you are carried into a region of "great thoughts, pure thoughts, thoughts lasting to the end." The terrible, the beautiful, the fanciful, the comical (for a good laugh is an admirable thing), are all in the dominion of art; dark touches are required to bring out the light; therefore, wickedness and lowness are necessary to show forth the good and the high, but they must be treated not as the principal interest in themselves, not as the fit centres and objects of the piece.

The almost entire absence of an ideal of any kind, in men and women alike, of any poetic feeling of character, is strange in so young a literature. Society and its representatives in America seem to have jumped at a bound into the somewhat blasé, artificial, conventional stage of that in the old world, but without the charm and grace which being to the manner born gives it in Europe. Perhaps, however, the mere fact of having existed but few years does not always constitute youth, and the Americans have certainly missed "the quickening nourishment we once derived from superstitions and

mythologies of a darker age" with which Carlyle credits races. This unconscious enrichment of the imagination of a people, a nation with no past must do without.

NOTE.—What Mr. James is capable of in another style is seen in a short story "The Siege of London," the unpleasant subject of which is so treated as to produce an effect of real tragedy on a small scale; and in "Roderick Hudson," one of his earliest productions, where he shows the absorption in self of a not great artist—the identification in the man's mind of the art with himself, for whom he demands every species of devotion; and the penalty which follows, not arbitrarily, but as a necessary consequence, a penalty of misery and incapacity for the very thing for which he has sacrificed everything and everybody.

F. P. VERNEY.



## A NATIONAL SCHOOL OF FORESTRY.

I NEED probably make no apology for calling attention to the subject of our Woods and Forests; or at any rate, if any is due, it certainly is not from any want of importance in the subject, but because I am not so well qualified as I could wish to discuss it effectively. The losses which have recently pressed with so much weight upon landowners, will not be altogether without some compensating advantages if they induce us to devote more attention to subjects connected with the land, to consider whether our system of agriculture may not be improved, to establish agricultural schools, to facilitate the transfer of land, and, last not least, to examine into our system of management of woodlands and forests.

So much, indeed, has forestry been neglected, that in Scotland the word suggests deer rather than trees, while in England it is associated with one of our greatest provident institutions.

In endeavouring to call the attention of my countrymen to the present condition and possible improvement of our woodlands, I am not referring only, or even mainly, to Crown forests, which form but a small part of the subject. There are altogether in round numbers 2,800,000 acres of woods and plantations in this country, so that the subject is one of vast importance. Even, however, as regards Crown forests, the subject is one of considerable interest. In the year 1854 a committee of the House of Commons sat to inquire into the management of the Crown forests, and the state of things they found was most deplorable. They reported that in the New Forest, out of 2,635 loads felled, consisting of 3,115 trees, only 936 loads were accepted by the Surveyor of the Navy; so large was the proportion of faulty to sound trees. Again, with regard to Delamere Forest, they reported that "the committee feel themselves bound to report that

its condition is most unsatisfactory." In the Forest of Dean "a very large proportion indeed of the timber . . . was unfit for the service of the Navy; it was rotten and deficient." This latter forest now appears to be much better managed, although the New Forest is, economically speaking, in a very sad condition. This is to a great extent due no doubt to previous mismanagement and neglect. It would be satisfactory to have every ten, or at any rate every twenty years, some independent report on the present state of our national forests. This, however, is but a small part of the question, and it is much more important to consider whether the general management of woodlands in this country might not be improved; whether we might not profit by the experience and valuable information of the great foreign forest schools.

It is estimated, as I have already mentioned, that there are altogether in this country some 2,800,000 acres of woodlands, but our own production is very far short of our requirements, and the annual imports of wood are no less than 300,000,000 cubic feet, worth from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000 sterling. Now Mr. Howitz, in his interesting report, for which we are indebted to Dr. Lyons, estimates the amount of land which might be profitably planted in Ireland at 5,000,000 acres, and Mr. Boppe, in his memoir recently prepared for the India Office, calculates that, notwithstanding the great extent of land which has been of late years planted in Scotland, there "still remains 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 acres capable of furnishing valuable forests." Lastly, the extent of forest land in India and the Colonies has been estimated at no less than 340 millions of acres.

A remarkable illustration of what may be done by judicious and systematic planting is afforded by the French "*Landes*." This region, which thirty years ago was one of the poorest and most miserable in France, is now one of the most prosperous. The increased value is estimated at no less than 1,000,000,000 francs. Where there were thirty years ago only a few thousand poor and unhealthy shepherds whose flocks pastured on the scanty herbage, there are now saw-mills, charcoal kilns, and turpentine works, interspersed with thriving villages and fertile agricultural lands.

Our own experience in India is another striking case. The institution of the forest department in India was first placed on a scientific footing in 1863, when Dr. Brandis was appointed Inspector-General of Forests; but it was not until 1867 that his plans for the training of foresters for India were matured and adopted. And what has been the result? In 1870, ten years ago, the forest revenue of India was £357,000, with the net income of £52,000. In 1880 the gross revenue had reached £545,000, while the net income had increased from £52,000 to £215,000.

In the science of forestry we are, I fear, far behind many foreign countries, especially France and Germany; and it is surely very desirable that our landed proprietors should benefit by the experience which other nations have accumulated. In Scotland it is possible that the management of forests is better understood than in England; but it is very questionable whether, even if Scotch foresters were available in sufficient numbers, an English landowner would be wise to place his woods under any one whose whole knowledge had been acquired by the practical management of Scotch forests, because the conditions of the two countries are so different. Moreover, it is probable that even Scotch foresters have much to learn.

M. Boppe, one of the highest French authorities on forestry, has recently visited our English and Scotch forests, and his report, though short, is most suggestive. On the whole, he concludes that even in Scotland, though in that country forestry may be more advanced than in England, "rien n'a été fait pour donner à la propriété boisée sa véritable situation économique." His expressions deserve all the more attention, because, from the kindness and hospitality he everywhere experienced, from the pleasant character of his visit, and his natural courtesy, he evidently wished to make the best of everything. Still it is easy to read between the lines, and while his report is full of praise of the soil and the climate, the ability and hospitality, the industry and skill of the people, it is clear that in his judgment the system of forestry is archaic, expensive, and obsolete.

I am aware that Scotch foresters would dispute many of M. Boppe's criticisms; but the very differences between these high authorities are additional reasons for further study.

Moreover, as regards the main recommendation contained in M. Boppe's report—namely, that one or more forest schools should be erected—our highest authorities entirely concur. The *Journal of Forestry* has ably and repeatedly called attention to the subject. The *Journal of Horticulture*\* observes "that it is little less than deplorable to witness the miles of woods that are practically valueless from a commercial point of view, whereas under skilled supervision they might yield a substantial revenue to their owners, and in addition be an advantage to the trading and agricultural community." Colonel Pearson, who speaks with much authority on the subject, because he has for some years represented the India Office at the great French Forest School at Nancy, in an able paper, read before the Society of Arts, has strongly advocated the same view. He observes that in his opinion our forests and woodlands are very far from being in a satisfactory condition. There is no provision for the renewal of the timber. When the existing trees are cut down

\* May 3, 1863.

there are none to replace them, and when once a forest disappears, it can only be reinstated at large expense and great loss of time.

Mr. Brown, in his standard work on Forestry, observes: "If our forests had been judiciously managed, we should not find so great a part of the woodlands of Great Britain in the unprofitable state in which they are. . . . The subject under consideration may be summed up thus: Foresters, generally speaking, are not possessed of sufficient education to give them capacity for carrying out improvements in arboriculture; and until we have a better educated class of men reared to the profession, a large portion of our woods must remain a comparatively unprofitable part of the resources of landed property." Mr. Cruickshank, in his "Practical Planter," sums up the matter very tersely when he says—

"Nothing is more common than to see trees, which are proper only for moist soils, placed in the most parched situations, and those which Nature has adapted for dry ground alone, planted in swamps and morasses. Those species that would flourish on a light soil, are often absurdly stationed in the most tenacious clays, where they can make little progress; while those that would have attained a large size in stiff land, are planted in gravel or sandy loam, as if for the express purpose of making them dwarfish, unsightly, and entirely worthless."

Mr. Boulger observes that as regards the New Forest, 49,000 acres will before very long be nothing but a worthless barren heath, unless a change of system is introduced. Mr. Grigor, in his work on Arboriculture, mentions many cases in which heavy losses have been incurred through ignorance of the management and formation of woods. He tells us that, in the last twenty years, many tons of seed of the larch and Scotch fir have been imported from the Continent and sown in Scotland, though such seed produces plants which are too delicate for the severer climate of the North. When we consider what a ton of seed is, we see what a loss of time and labour is here indicated. He mentions cases of large plantations, belonging to different owners, in which the American spruce, a dwarf tree, was planted by mistake for the common or Norway spruce; another in which the *Pinus montana*, another dwarf species, was carefully planted at regular distances, as the trees which were ultimately to form the forest after the nurses had been removed. He tells us that he has seen acres and acres absolutely ruined by mismanagement, by bad methods of planting, of pruning, and of thinning.

M. Boppe, in the report to which I have already referred, admits that in Scotland arboriculture, as opposed to forestry, has been brought to great perfection; and he adduces the case of a wood of splendid oaks with an undergrowth of rhododendron, constituting at present quite a fairy-like domain; but his experienced eye could not but look forward to the time when the oaks would all be felled, and there would be nothing to take their place. In fact, one fundamental

difference between the management of woods and forests in England and France seems to be that we plant, then thin, and then finally cut down the trees. The French foresters, on the contrary, make it an essential part of their system that the forest should renew itself. In our country they observe there does not exist "aucun lien entre la forêt du passé et celle à refaire pour l'avenir."

M. Boppe mentions with much pathos such a forest in ruins which he visited. The trees had all been cut down for railway-sleepers; the ground was covered with the blackened remains of roots torn up and burned, reminding him of an "immense ossuary," and the proprietor was replanting at a great expense, and with much loss of time, both of which might, in his opinion, to a great extent have been saved under a better system.

Again, M. Boppe calls attention to the presence of sheep, as in his judgment inflicting a great injury on the Scotch forests, because they effectually prevent the trees from renewing themselves. Not that he would exclude them altogether. He observes that a forest requires 120 years to come to maturity, and that sheep ought to be excluded during the first twenty, when the trees are still small, and also during the last thirty, when they ought to be renewing themselves. This, however, leaves seventy years out of the 120, or more than half the period during which sheep do no injury, and may safely be admitted. Moreover, he points out, that in a forest so treated, the young trees kill off the heather and gorse, and the herbage is thereby so much improved that he believes sheep can be more profitably kept in a forest so treated, than if they are allowed to be continually present.

Another point of the greatest importance is the association of suitable species. No foreign forester would think of planting oak by itself. But in our country, sometimes side by side and on identical soil, you may sometimes see oak alone, sometimes larch alone, sometimes oak and Scotch pines, sometimes oak and beech, oak and larch, or oak and chestnuts. It is clear that most of them are economical errors.

Now where, let me ask, can a country gentleman who owns woodlands obtain practical advice as to their management, or procure trained assistance? Where can he send his son so that he may learn something of forest management? We have no forest school in this country, nor any class of persons specially trained and instructed in the formation and management of woods. Private enterprise cannot supply the want, because it is necessary that a forest school should have forests connected with it. In this respect, therefore, the concurrence of Government is essential.

It appears to be a very strong argument in favour of the establishment of a forest school in this country that at present the young

men who are going out to manage our Indian forests have to be sent for instruction to the great French forest school at Nancy. No doubt that is a most excellent institution, and we are indebted to the French Government for the courtesy with which they have received our English students; but the system of education given there naturally contains some branches—as, for instance, the study of French law—which are not adapted to English students, while there are many other considerations, such as climate, which render a continental school less suitable for English requirements. I may add that no young Englishmen, as a matter of fact, go there excepting those intended for the Indian service.

All the great countries of Europe have established forest schools. Austria, Italy, Switzerland, France, Germany, Hungary, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, even Roumania, have done so. Great Britain is the only exception, and it is surely very remarkable that it should be so, when we consider that this Empire is probably the most richly endowed with woods and forests of all the countries of the world. Our colonies contain immense tracts of forest land, much of it of very great value, and estimated on high authority at not less than 340 millions of acres.

The great influence exercised by forests on climate seems now to be generally admitted. It is mainly by the destruction of trees that Asia Minor, Palestine, Northern Africa, and so many other countries, once rich and populous, have been reduced almost to the condition of cinders. In this country, indeed, we need apprehend no such danger, but as regards India the case is different.

Sir Richard Temple, speaking of Indian famines, has recently expressed the opinion that “one of the causes, probably the main cause, of the drought was the destruction of forests in past times.” He added that “when he went to India he was supposed to have had a liberal education, but he had never heard a word about forestry, and he feared that many of those that came after him were not much better off in this respect.”

For our colonies, then, the establishment of a good forest school here would be of very great importance. A judicious management of their woods would add considerably to their income. French foresters have recently been sent to the Cape of Good Hope and Cyprus, it having been found impossible to obtain any countrymen of our own with the necessary knowledge.

The arguments in favour of establishing a forest school in this country seem, then, to be very strong.

Perhaps, however, I shall be asked why the establishment of such a forest school, if it be so urgently needed, should not be left altogether to private enterprise. The reason, however, is obvious. A properly equipped forest school must have attached to it a large

extent of forest, in various stages, and having a variety of climates and soils. This, it is obvious, no private institution can supply. I do not, however, say that a forest school must necessarily be a Government institution. On the contrary, I should be glad if such colleges as Cirencester and Downton could be made available for the purpose. Possibly some arrangements might be devised by which under careful regulations the professors and students attached to them might periodically visit our national forests, just as the French and German students are taken to their great national forests. There is one substantial difficulty, which only, however, brings out the more strongly the necessity for some such step. We have, M. Boppe declares, no single piece of woodland in the country which would serve as a model. Of all our national woodlands those known as Lord Gage's woods are perhaps most suitable; and if the authority in charge of them could be appointed Professor of Forestry at Cirencester or Downton, perhaps that might be the best course to adopt. This, however, I only throw out as a suggestion.

Surely also it would be very desirable that professors of forestry should be appointed at our great universities. Considering that most of the landed proprietors of England are educated at Oxford or Cambridge, it is, to say the least of it, unfortunate that their attention should never even be directed to a subject in which they are so vitally interested. I do not mean that they should receive necessarily any thorough system of instruction in forestry; but the devotion of a very short time would suffice to give them an idea of the nature and the importance of the problem, of the manner in which it affects their interests, and the sources from which they might subsequently derive more definite information.

There is another incidental advantage which may just be alluded to, although I will not dwell on it—namely, the new career it would afford to young men. More than one of us, I daresay, have asked ourselves, "What shall I do with my son?"

I have just mentioned in illustration that lately the Cape of Good Hope Government determined to appoint a Forest Commissioner with an income of £800 a year. They could not, however, find any qualified Englishman, and were obliged to appoint a French gentleman, even though he could not speak English.

Until some such course is adopted it will, I fear, continue to be true that, as the House of Commons Committee of 1854 reported, timber is "everywhere worse managed than any other species of property." On the other hand, the high authorities whom I have quoted have expressed a very strong opinion that we might make our woodlands much more profitable, and they show one step which is a necessary preliminary.

Last year, when I called attention to this question in the House

of Commons, Mr. Courtney, on behalf of the Government, promised that they would give it their serious consideration. If they cannot themselves take up the question, I would urge them to appoint a committee or commission to inquire into the whole subject. Averse as I am on general principles to Government interference with private enterprise, the objection does not seem to apply here. I repeat that I do not at present ask for a Government school ; it would be preferable, I believe, if it be found possible, to utilize the national forests in connection with Cirencester, Downton, or some other similar institution ; but I would earnestly press on the Government and the country the great need of some such step, the result of which, I feel satisfied, would be that our existing forests and woodlands would be made more remunerative ; large tracts would be profitably planted ; we should create additional employment for the people ; considerably increase the incomes of our landowners ; and make a substantial addition to the wealth and resources of the nation.

JOHN LUBBOCK.



## MECHANICAL MODES OF WORSHIP.

**A**MONG the various tendencies to which the human mind seems prone in all ends of the earth, there is one which above all others crops up universally, repeating itself under various names, but all practically amounting to the same thing—namely, allowing acts of religion, once instinct with life, to degenerate into a formal heartless routine—a business of which a certain amount has to be got through in the most rapid and perfunctory way possible.

While recently looking over the ecclesiastical regulations for sundry mediæval houses of charity, I was struck by the stipulations regarding acts of merit, daily worship and prayers for the souls of the founder and other benefactors—which prayers began, continued and ended solely in the repetition of a given number of Aves and Paternosters, to be recited at each of the canonical hours, amounting in the aggregate to an unconscionable number, and constituting a truly wearisome exercise of vain repetition. I could not but think, as I read this tale of lip service, how little it differed practically from the oft-reiterated “six-syllabled charm,” the utterance of which, at least three hundred thousand times in the course of his life, is the highest aspiration of every devout Buddhist in Northern Asia.

The words of this mystic charm as uttered in Thibet, are *Om Mani Padme Houm*, which may be roughly interpreted as an ascription of praise to “The most glorious Jewel, the Lotus. Amen.” That is to say, *Om* is the Buddhist equivalent of the Hebrew *JAH*, the most solemn title of the Almighty; *Mani*, the Jewel, and *Padme*, the Lotus, are also two of Buddha’s titles of honour, and *Houm* is an asseveration equivalent to Amen, So be it. The words are engraved a thousand times in a thousand places in Thibet—on the walls of

the temples and monasteries, on the face of the rocks, on the great stone terraces built solely for their accommodation. They are rudely carved on thousands of rough slabs of stone, and are in heaps piled beside the paths which lead over high mountain passes. They are embossed in metal, they are written on interminable strips of parchment.

But at some remote period, the Buddhists of China and of Japan seem to have discovered that even this short act of worship was of unnecessary length, so they substituted the mere reiteration of the Sanscrit name of the Buddha for whose coming they now look, *Amitabha Buddha*. But somehow the original form of the invocation has been lost by priests and people, to whom Sanscrit is an unknown dead language. So the unvarying refrain of all Buddhist worship in Japan is "*Namu Amida Butsu*," which is rendered "Save us, O Buddha!" while in China, where Buddha is transformed into Fu or Fo, the millions of Fo-ists repeat the name *O-mi-to-fu* in endless chorus. As they go about their daily work the words are for ever on their lips. Many of the priests shut themselves up in their temples for long periods of weeks or months, with no other occupation than that of ceaselessly reiterating these saving words, day and night. Sometimes I have met parties of quaint shaven nuns bound for some pilgrimage; they would talk to my companions on secular matters, but between each sentence came a low murmur, *O-mi-to-fu ! O-mi-to-fu !* and then as they passed on their way, we could see their lips still moving as they murmured the oft-told name.

The devout and the aged carry strings of beads—true rosaries, on which to keep count of their reiterations—a very remarkable feature for the faiths of the East and West to have alike adopted, for precisely the same purpose. This widespread tendency to the telling of beads is certainly one of the strangest developments of devotion. We are apt to consider such vain repetitions as peculiar to the Church of Rome, whereas not only do some four hundred and fifty million Buddhists find solace therein, but also a vast multitude of Hindoos and Mahommedans.

Concerning the origin of the use of the Rosary in Christendom, Dr. Rock tells us that in early days, the truly devout were in the habit of reciting the whole Psalter daily. But as a hundred and fifty psalms were certainly rather a lengthy recitation, it became customary to substitute short prayers, which might be uttered rapidly amid the stir and business of life, without requiring undivided attention. Hence, a hundred and fifty short Aves, varied by ten intervening Paternosters, and five Doxologies, thus dividing the whole into fifteen decades, came to be accounted as meritorious as the repetition of the Psalter.

But as the omission of any of the number would have been esteemed sinful, and the calculation was apt to be inexact, some

mechanical aid was desirable, and various expedients were devised. Thus Palladius records of the Abbot Paul, who made a point of repeating the Paternoster three hundred times daily, that he kept count of his progress by the aid of a number of small pebbles, which he dropped into his lap one by one, till the tale was told. Then the simpler method of counting on a string of beads worn round the neck was suggested, and soon found favour with the devout.

The division of the Rosary into the fifteen decades of small beads for the Ave Maria, with a large intervening bead for the Paternoster, is generally ascribed to St. Dominic (born in Old Castile, A.D. 1170), but there is little doubt that this use of beads was common in Spain before his time, and that it had been borrowed by the Spanish Catholics from the Mahomedan dervishes who accompanied the Moors on their invasion of Spain in A.D. 711, and who, in common with their Syrian brethren, had adopted it from nations further east.

The ordinary Mahomedan rosary, or *tasbeeh*, numbers ninety-nine beads, often made of sacred earth brought from Mecca, but frequently only of date-stones. Instead of a large bead to mark each tenth, a silken tassel does this duty, and assists the pious Islamite in his repetition of the ninety-nine names of God.

The Mahomedan rosary figures in a very curious ceremony practised on the night immediately following a burial, commonly called "The Night of Desolation," while the soul is believed still to abide with the body, ere winging its flight to the place of spirits. About fifty devout men assemble to perform an act of merit on behalf of the dead. After reciting certain chapters of the Khoran, they repeat "Allah el Allah!" three thousand times, while one of the party keeps count on a rosary of a thousand beads, each as large as a pigeon's egg. Between each thousand the exhausted worshippers pause to rest and drink coffee. Afterwards, several short prayers are uttered, each being repeated a hundred times. The whole merit of this very severe bodily exercise is formally assigned to the deceased, and on behalf of wealthy men it is sometimes repeated for three nights running—a fact rather suggestive of the pecuniary cost of such services!

How far Christianity has improved on this original may be somewhat a nice question to determine, for in such means of acquiring merit for the dead neither Christians nor Buddhists are lacking, and oft-told rosaries number Christian prayers for the deceased by ten thousand times ten thousand.

That Brahmins and Buddhists should thus keep a numerical tally of their devotions is strange enough, and the adoption of this spiritual treadmill by Mahomedans is still more remarkable (though whoever has heard the frenzied shouts of "Allah el Allah! Allah el Allah!" can never doubt their faith in the efficacy of much speaking!). But that a practice so little in accordance with the spirit of Christianity could

have been a spontaneous growth in the Christian Church appears quite impossible, so it is only natural to assume that it was imported from some heathen land.

It is believed that this celestial abacus—this method of reckoning with heaven—originated with the Hindoos, who certainly are known to have kept count of their oft-told prayers by means of bead-strings from very early ages; but whether the invention was due to Hindoo Buddhists or Hindoo Brahmins is not known. Probably, however, the former may claim this merit, as they were so long the dominant religionists of India, and, indeed, three centuries before the Christian era they had overspread all Asia, so that traces of their influence and teaching are discernible even where successive waves of differing faiths have overswept the land.

I do not know whether it is obligatory on all Brahmins to use rosaries, or whether this is confined to certain sects, but to this day a vast number carry chaplets of one hundred small and eight large beads, made of sacred wood, and a truly devout man recites the Gâyatri one hundred and eight times at the rising of the sun ere he proceeds to wash and dress his idols. This mystic sentence is a short extract from the Rig Veda—a meditation on the divine glory of the Sun-God—and a prayer that the Divine Giver of Light and Life may enlighten his understanding.

The rosary commonly used by the worshippers of Vishnu numbers 108 beads, made of the wood of the sacred tulasi shrub—i.e., basil. These represent the 108 most sacred titles of Krishna. In the course of the elaborate daily morning ritual, certain formulas of worship are repeated 108 times, count being kept by the aid of the rosary, which, together with the counting hand, is concealed under a cloth or in a bag (which is called Go-mukhi). Why this concealment is necessary, does not appear, unless there is some idea of not letting the left hand know what the right is doing. But it is equally incumbent on the worshippers of Siva, who, while reciting his 1008 names and sacred attributes, keep count of their task on rosaries of thirty-two or sixty-four rough berries of the Rudraksha tree\* which are said to have originally been formed from the tears shed by Siva in passionate anger.

The hideous Saiva Yogis occasionally use grim rosaries made of human teeth gathered from funeral pyres—a more agreeable variety allowed by the Vishnu-vites being the use of lotus seeds. The various sects have slight differences in this respect. One at least (that of Vallabha) bestows the rosary of 108 tulasi beads on each child, as a token of church membership, when it attains the age of from three to four years, and is capable of repeating the eight-syllabled charm, *Sri-Krishnah saranam mama*, which is, being interpreted: "Great Krishna is the refuge of my soul." Another Vishnu-vite sect invests

\* *Elæocarpus Ganitrus*.

each member with two rosaries, one in honour of Krishna, and the other for the worship of Radha.

The worshippers of the elephant-headed god Ganesa wear rosaries of Kamala or Lotus seeds, while those of Surya, the Sun, prefer small balls of crystal (reminding us that on Japanese Shinto altars the Sun-goddess is symbolized by a large crystal ball).

The Japanese Buddhists of the sect of Nicheren also carry rosaries numbering 108 beads, but these represent 108 holy persons, four large beads standing for the great saints, while two still larger represent the Sun and Moon, or the dual principle in Nature, while two short pendant strings of five beads apiece recall the ten Buddhist commandments.

Each sect seems to affect a different number of beads and a different arrangement. I have now lying before me rosaries purchased in various parts of China and Japan and all are different. One has 216 wooden beads in sets of twelve, separated by sixteen crystal balls, of diverse colours, and two very large crystals. There are two pendants with six beads on each, and one connecting bead. Another of these Japanese rosaries consists of 112 beads divided into two equal parts by two large beads. From one end hang four pendant strings of five beads, at the other end are two sets of five and one of ten small beads.

Here is a very handsome rosary that belonged to a Canton mandarin. It numbers 108 beads divided by four large balls of green jade into four divisions of twenty-seven beads. From one end hang four sets of five, from the other two sets of five coral beads. A medallion and a drop of jade complete this rosary.

These oriental aids to devotion are sometimes of exceeding value, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones being thus utilized by wealthy men. Thus Toderini speaks of "*Le Tescpih, qui est un chapelet, composé de 99 petites boules d'agate, de jaspé, d'ambre, de corail, au d'autre matière précieuse. J'en ai vu un superbe au Seigneur Terpos, il était de belles et grosses perles parfaites et égales, estimées trente mille piastres.*"

I cannot lay claim to have seen any so valuable as this, but some of those carried by Japanese ladies of high rank are exceedingly handsome. I remember one in particular, which evidently represented the family diamonds, so rich was it both in material and workmanship. Its owner was on pilgrimage at one of the picturesque Japanese festivals, at a saintly shrine. She seemed gratified at my evident admiration, and handed it to me for closer inspection.

At the ecclesiastical fair connected with that festival, as at most others, I saw many booths exclusively for the sale of rosaries of all qualities, to suit all purses and made of various kinds of wood and stone. Those most in request are made of dark polished wood, but

sandal-wood is sometimes used, the principal beads being of polished agate or crystal. These Buddhists do not tell or count their beads, but rub them between their hands at the time they are reciting their prayers, and then they twist the rosary so as to take the form of a Chinese character which signifies success, and this they reverently kiss. The silken cord on which the beads are strung is sometimes tied so as to assume the same fortunate shape.

With regard to the number of beads on the rosaries in use among various branches of the Christian Church, we have just noticed that the ordinary number is 150 beads *plus* fifteen. But I have one of only forty-five beads divided into six sets of seven, and one of three beads, connected by silver medallions of the Crucifixion and of the Blessed Virgin, with inscriptions in German. The Coptic Christians still further curtail their devotions, the Coptic rosary numbering only forty-one beads.

From this widely diffused method of keeping count of lip service, we almost insensibly turn to another simple and ingenious device, likewise invented by the disciples of Buddha for facilitating the labour of acquiring merit either by recitation of the sacred books, or of ceaseless ascriptions of praise—a method whereby the winds of heaven and the streams of earth are enlisted in multiplying a never-ceasing, voiceless *benedicite*—I allude of course to the various developments of the Prayer Wheel, peculiar to countries where Buddhism prevails—*i.e.*, Japan, China, and Thibet. Whether they exist in Burmah I cannot say, but in Ceylon I have vainly sought for any trace of them, either in ancient cities or modern monasteries.

I first met with them on the borders of Thibet, when travelling the narrow paths which wind along the face of majestic, precipitous Himalayan crags, we met native travellers from still further north—traders driving flocks of laden pack-goats, women with quaint head-dresses of lumps of amber and large coarse turquoises fastened on bands of dirty cloth, and here and there a man holding in his hand a small bronze or brass cylinder which he twirled mechanically all the time he was journeying. It was some time before I succeeded in getting hold of one of these for a closer examination, as the owners are nervously afraid to trust their treasures in the hands of one who, albeit in ignorance, might irreverently turn them the wrong way, and so undo much of the merit acquired by perpetual twirling in the opposite direction.

For, as we eventually discovered, not only is the sacred six-syllabled charm embossed on the metal cylinder, but the same mystic words are written over and over again on very lengthy strips of cloth or papyrus, which are wound round the spindle on which the cylinder rotates, and one end of which forms the handle. It is therefore necessary to turn this little barrel of prayers in such a direction that

the characters forming the holy phrase may pass in proper order before the person turning, and as all oriental books are read from the right side of each page to the left, the barrel is turned in the same direction.

For the same reason the Thibetan walks in this direction round the great terraces and other buildings, on which the holy words are inscribed, in order that his eyes may rest on the words in due course, which can only be the case when he keeps his left hand towards the object round which he is walking. Happily this produces a doubly satisfactory result, for in eastern lands, as in our own west, it has ever been accounted lucky and meritorious, to walk round sacred objects, or places in this sunwise course—an act of homage to the sun which I have seen rendered in many lands. Just as our British ancestors continued thus to circumambulate their churches long after they had nominally abandoned all paganism, so throughout the world we find survivals of the old homage.

In India where earnest men, zealously working out their own salvation, thus make meritorious circuits round sacred places and cities (as for instance, the “five-mile circuit” round Benares), they are most rigidly particular as to the direction in which they go, so as always to have their left hand next to the object of honour. But the Japanese, who in matters of religion seem peculiarly careless and easy-going, are by no means so particular; and though the followers of Buddha in all countries accumulate merit by making numerous circuits round relic-shrines and temples, I have observed both in Japan and Ceylon that they seem to go against the sun almost as often as with it. There are certain temples, as for instance at Osaka, round which it is accounted meritorious to walk a hundred times. Each person while performing this action carries in his hand a bunch of one hundred short bits of string, which he tells off one by one, while working out the full number of meritorious turns.—(Here we have another form of the rosary!—I believe these circuits ought all to be made sunwise; but I have seen many persons go *widdershins* without incurring any rebuke from the priests.

The only occasion when I noted that all pilgrims moved with one accord in sunwise order was in making the three-mile circuit round the crater on the summit of Fuji-yama, the holy mountain, a circuit which follows immediately after the litanies to the rising sun, so that the connection in that case is obvious.

But as regards the barrel of praise, or, as it is commonly called, “prayer-wheel,” I am inclined to believe that its course is decided by the direction of the inscription.

At our farthest camping-ground in the Himalayas we pitched our tents near a Lama temple, of which the principal feature was a colossal prayer-wheel, or rather barrel, twelve feet high, by about

eight in diameter—a gorgeously coloured piece of furniture, resplendent in scarlet and gold, draped and wreathed with fragrant blossoms, whose scent, however, was overcome by the foul odour of dirt in the hangings within the fusty temple. In embossed letters on the exterior, and written many thousand times on strips inside the barrel, is the oft-reiterated charm ascribing praise to “The most-glorious Jewel, the Lotus.” This is the “Co-operative Devotion Store” for the neighbourhood, and men from distant villages, not provided with such time-saving wheels of devotion, take advantage of a visit to Rarung to work off a few thousand acts of praise on their own behalf and that of their relations. It is rather hard work, as a stiff handle works the great iron crank which causes the cylinder to revolve on its axis. Each revolution is accompanied by the mechanical striking of a most musical bell, which marks how rapidly the store of celestial credit is accumulating.

Should various worshippers arrive simultaneously, then the priest works the crank, that all present may share alike in the merit of the rotations. Such wheels—generally great egg-shaped barrels called *tchu-chor*—are erected as acts of merit in all parts of Thibet, in order that the wayfaring man and the poor, who cannot afford such luxuries as the little pocket-wheels of devotion, may nevertheless have full opportunity of “making their souls,” as our Irish friends say. A considerate rich man will erect such a barrel at his own door, that every one entering or going forth may give it a twirl as he passes. And in the Lama monasteries there are rows of such cylinders, small or great, so conveniently poised that the most casual passer-by could scarcely abstain from running his hand along them, and so set them all spinning diligently, weaving a garment of praise for the behoof of him who set them to work.

Only think what a benefit it would be to the annoying little boys in London who *will* rattle sticks along all the area rails as they run down the street, if only the said rails responded by jotting down in their favour a score of acts of merit!

In the case of the great terraces on which devout persons have laid innumerable stone slabs, each inscribed with the charmed words, merit must be acquired by walking round them in sunwise circuit. Some of these *muttis*, as they are called, are half a mile in length—one near the town of Leh is a mile long. They are generally about ten feet in width and the same in height. They are erected at intervals of from two to eight miles along the principal thoroughfares in Thibet, and the road is invariably led on each side of them, so that the traveller may pass them on one side in going, and on the other in returning on his journey.

It is not only on these terraces that the mystic words are engraven. Near the town of Ladakh there are in every direction great cairns



of slates and slabs all bearing the same inscription; and in every village and by every roadside it meets the wayfarer, sometimes roughly hewn on the rock, sometimes elaborately carved, sometimes coloured in characters varying from a couple of inches to half a yard in height.

But far more ingenious, and, I may say, poetic, is the device which has enlisted the breeze and the stream in the same service. In the latter case the cylinders are placed upright in a shed, or rude temple, built over running water. A spindle, passing through each terminates in a horizontal wheel, with cogs turned diagonally to the water, which, rushing onwards, causes the wheel to rotate, and so turn the cylinders.

The winds of Heaven are also enlisted, some cylinders being made to rotate by the action of wings like the fans of a windmill. On these also the sacred words are inscribed. Another variety may be seen at Darjeeling, where there is an important Lama temple and a large prayer-wheel, and where the priests are provided with neat little wheels for private devotion. Here ceaseless ascriptions of praise are offered for the benefit of the dead, and it is especially on their behalf that the breezes are taught to work. The names of the dead and the words of praise are inscribed on flags of great length, and only about four feet in width. These streamers are affixed to lofty poles, and as they flutter in the breeze they are accounted to be offering praise in the name of the dead. Similarly inscribed flags flutter from many a cairn on the lonely mountain passes. Such, too, is the poetic meaning of the little tinkling wind-bells suspended beneath each story of the many-roofed pagodas of China and Japan.

This very curious development of mechanical devotion has at least the merit of being time-honoured, since it is known to have been introduced into North-Western India about the beginning of the Christian era by the Indo-Scythic princes, and is also mentioned in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, who visited Ladak about the year A.D. 400, and there saw this particular form of "The Wheel of the Law" in full operation.

The Wheel, in its simplest form, had long been recognized as a sacred emblem, and appears as *the object of adoration* (sometimes surrounded by ministering angels, sometimes by kneeling figures bringing offerings of garlands), on sculptures in the Sanchi Tope in Bhopal, Central India, and the Bilsah Tope, both the work of Buddhists in the first century of our era. Of later date, in the Amravati Tope, the wheel is shown supported by kneeling elephants on the summit of a pillar. Sometimes only a wheel is shown, overshadowed by the mystic umbrella, symbolic of all honour and power.

From time immemorial a revolving wheel of light had been accepted as a symbol of the Sun-god—a symbol so widely recognized

that we find traces of its survival both in Europe and Asia in the present century. So late as the year 1823 at the Midsummer Eve Festival, the villagers of Trier and of Konz on the Moselle celebrated the feast of "The fair and shining Wheel" (as the sun is called in the Edda) by carrying a great wheel wrapped in straw to the top of a hill, where it was set on fire, and made to roll down, flaming all the way. In some parts of Scotland, large circular cakes, made very smooth and flat on the edge, like the tire of a wheel, are thus rolled down grassy hills on May Morning—the spring festival of the great Wheel of light.

The same symbol is evidently recognized by the hill tribes of Eastern India, who at their great spring festival assemble by thousands to take part in a very remarkable dance, in which about four hundred women at a time form themselves into a huge living wheel; about thirty women linked together forming the spokes, which radiate from the centre, or axle of the wheel, where the great men of the tribe sit on a raised stage. The huge living wheel rotates on its own axis, slowly turning sunwise—i.e., from left to right, to the music of a measured chant, while the men dance wildly in a great outer circle, fresh relays continually taking the place of the weary.

A still plainer proof, however, of the recognition of the symbol by the Santhals was their declaring, at the beginning of their rebellion in 1855, that their god had appeared to them *as a flame of fire, in form like the wheel of a bullock-cart.*

These words are exactly descriptive of the halo surrounding the head of the Sun goddess in a Japanese picture by a native artist which I had the good fortune to acquire. Instead of the usual simple halo, rays diverge from her head with such regularity as irresistibly to suggest the spokes of a wheel.

In India, where the Sun-God is worshipped under so many names, in different incarnations, sometimes as Krishna, sometimes as Vishnu or Jagannath, the wheel is the emblem which generally crowns the summit of the pyramidal spire of Vishnu's temples; and a similar mystic meaning is said to attach to the numerous great wheels of the Jagannath cars which at midsummer are dragged forth to perform a solemn circuit, symbolizing the course of the heavenly bodies.

The wheel being thus an honorific symbol, we can understand how, according to Buddhist lore, it was foretold at the time of Gautama's birth, that he would become *either a Buddha or a King of the Wheel* (Chakkravarta Rajah). He seems to have attained both honours, and by "turning the Wheel of the Law"—that is, by preaching—he is said to deliver all creatures from the circle (or wheel) of oft repeated births—in other words, transmigration. Hence, as we have seen, the very ancient sculptures make use of a simple wheel as his emblem.

The idea of applying the principle of revolution to simplify religious duties seems to have originated in the feeling that since only the learned could acquire merit by continually reciting portions of Buddha's works, the ignorant and hard-working were rather unfairly weighted in life's heavenward race. Thus it came to be accounted sufficient that a man should turn over each of the numerous rolled manuscripts containing the precious precepts, and considering the multitude of these voluminous writings, the substitution of this simple process must have been very consolatory.

Max Müller has told us how the original documents of the Buddhist canon were first found in the monasteries of Nepal, and soon afterwards further documents were discovered in Thibet and Mongolia, the Thibetan canon consisting of two collections, together comprising 333 volumes folio. Another collection of the Wisdom of Buddha was brought from Ceylon, covering 14,000 palm leaves, and written partly in Singalese and partly in Burmese characters. Nice light reading!

From turning over these manuscripts by hand, to the simple process of arranging them in a huge cylindrical bookcase, and turning that bodily, was a very simple and ingenious transition; and *thus the first circulating library came into existence!*

Somehow, although we hear a good deal about the rotatory prayer wheels of Thibet, the existence of these Japanese wheels of the law seems to be scarcely recognized; and yet they are to my mind, one of the most noteworthy features of Buddhism in Japan, *where alone I have met with them*. Having been greatly interested by the Barrels of Praise in the Himalayas, one of my first questions on reaching Japan was, whether anything of the sort was to be found in its Buddhist temples. I was assured by several gentlemen well versed in most matters having reference to native manners and customs that nothing of the sort existed. I was shown temples and tombs innumerable, bewilderingly beautiful in detail, but only partially kept up, many of the minor ecclesiastical buildings of the Buddhist shrines being suffered to fall into disrepair, since the Government of Japan has declared in favour of the Shinto religion (which includes worship of the Mikado's ancestors), and has confiscated so large a proportion of the Buddhist revenues.

Determined to examine for myself, so far as might be possible, I quietly went about, peeping into these neglected chapels and out-houses, where the richly gilt and coloured carvings are buried in dust and cobwebs. My quest was very soon rewarded. One of the earliest and most characteristic sights to be visited by every new arrival in the town of Tokio is the great popular temple at Asakusa, to me a most fascinating spot, and one to which I returned again

and again with ever new interest. Among the many attractions, all within the temple grounds, stands a very handsome five-storied pagoda, painted deep red,\* and with picturesque projecting roofs. That naturally drew me thither.

Very near this tall quaint building stands a small neglected temple, with nothing externally attractive to invite the inspection of the foreigner; and as the door is generally locked, no one, so far as I could learn, had ever had the curiosity to enter, and the windows are so closely barred that little can be discerned by peering through them. That little, however, proved to me that this small temple had been built solely to contain one large object, so strongly suggestive of the Thibetan prayer-wheel that I felt convinced I had found the object of my search. After considerable delay, a very courteous young priest procured the key, opened the great door, and revealed a most beautiful specimen of the scripture-wheel, about ten feet in diameter and twelve in height, of the richest scarlet and gold and black lacquer. The actual cylinder is encompassed with tall slender pillars, supporting a beautiful wide canopy of lacquer; while the base rests on a stone pedestal of carved lotus leaves—the invariable symbol round the throne of Buddha—the Jewel on the Lotus. This cylinder is, I think, hexagonal, and the handsome panels form six doors for the different compartments of this ecclesiastical bookcase, wherein rolled scrolls are arranged in upright order. These treasures are kept securely locked, which, however, nowise lessens the merit acquired by the devout, who (by the aid of spikes projecting from the base, as from a capstan) cause the heavy machine to revolve, sunwise, on its own axis.

Afterwards I spent several days in this small temple, to secure a careful drawing of an object at once so curious and so beautiful. While I was at work various Japanese came in, chiefly to see what I was doing; several gave the wheel a turn, apparently as an excuse for having come in, but evidently without one grain of religious feeling connected with it. Even the priests seemed anxious that I should understand it was only a curious relic of an obsolete superstition. In fact, of all whom I saw approach the wheel, here or elsewhere in Japan, I only noticed one who appeared to be in earnest, and he was so, in very truth—working out a solemn task with resolute purpose—a weary man and heavy laden, for he carried a heavy burden fastened on his shoulders, and was too much absorbed to remember to lay it down.

Having found one scripture-wheel, I was naturally on the lookout for others, and so explored many temples not often visited by foreigners. One of these, near the Saido Bashi, attracted me by the beauty of its shady pleasant grounds. The whole place was neglected and dilapidated, only one poor old priest being left in charge of a

temple whose congregation had all vanished. Here in a small out-lying chapel I found a second large scripture-wheel.

A third, and very handsome wheel, resembling in general form the first I had seen, occupies a small temple in the beautiful grounds of the temple of Ikegami, which stands on a wooded hill a few miles from the city of Tokio, very easy of access. It was here that the Japanese lady showed me her beautiful rosary, when she came to worship at the tomb of the sainted Nichiren. But neither she nor any of the other pilgrims seemed to give a thought to the fine scripture-wheel, which evidently had been an object of such reverence to her ancestors. Though very handsome in its simplicity, this wheel is not gorgeously lacquered, but of plain uncoloured wood, and its sacred books are in the form of stitched pamphlets, arranged in a multitude of small drawers.

I found another very handsome "Circulating Library" in the grounds of Fuji Sawa temple near the holy Isle of Enoshima. This is a popular temple, which, like that of Asakusa, is crowded with worshippers. But the great wheel (which as usual, occupies a chapel apart) was utterly neglected, except by such Japanese as came to watch me drawing. For several days I occupied a charming tea-house overlooking these temple grounds, but I never saw any one approach the wheel.

Again, in reading the translation of an old native account of the magnificent ceremonies formerly enacted at the great festivals at beautiful Nikko (where the loveliest Imperial tombs and temples are cradled in the most exquisite scenery), I came on a startling statement concerning how many thousand times the assembled priests had recited the whole Buddhist canon in the course of the festival. This statement seemed to be accepted as a poetic fiction, but in the light of the helpful wheel it seemed to me all plain. I eagerly looked out for the aid to the task of vain repetitions, and sure enough, *there was the wheel!* a most gorgeous piece of lacquer work in richest colours, resting on a stone pedestal of lotus leaves, and containing the sacred books in the form of upright scrolls.

In this same court there is a very handsome large bronze lantern in an outer case of bronze, in general form resembling a scripture-wheel; it stands beneath stately Cryptomeria trees, and is protected by a light ornamental roof supported by pillars. This also revolves on its own axis, and many of the pilgrims give it a sunwise turn, though without any affectation of reverence.

Passing on to Osaka, I noticed large scripture-wheels at several temples, amongst others, at the beautiful Eastern and Western Hongangi temples, and also beside the five-storied pagoda of Tenoji, the roofs of which are supported by innumerable carved dragons' heads.

On the gateway of the last named temple, and also at the temple

of the Moon, on the summit of a mountain near Kobe, I saw several small metal wheels let into the portal as if inviting all comers to give them a twirl. At Ishiyamadera on Lake Biwa, I saw similar little wheels inserted into the wooden pillars of the temple. These wheels are from one to two feet in diameter, and commonly have only three spokes, so that they are suggestive of a Maux penny with the three legs. On each spoke there are several loose rings of metal which jingle as the wheel revolves, and so call the attention of the celestial powers to the worshippers, whose merit depends on the number of the wheel's revolutions. Each wheel bears an inscription in the Sanscrit character. No less than sixteen of these wheels adorn the gateway of the cemetery at Hakodate, and those who enter give them all a turn.

At the temple of Midera on Lake Biwa, I found a very large octagonal wheel, with fifty-one small drawers, in each of the eight sides. This was the only barrel I saw of this particular form. At beautiful Kyôto, the ancient capital of the empire, I found another slight variation. Both at the great Hongangi and the Choin temples I found minor temples containing splendid wheels of most gorgeously coloured lacquer, resting, not on the usual stone lotus-blossom throne, but on a broad base, decorated with images of sundry saints. These barrels are also divided into a multitude of small drawers, but instead of being ticketed with names of the Buddhist canon, they are inscribed as "water," "fortune," "fire," and such like.

Of course this list might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, but my object was attained when the existence of the wheel in Japan was fully proven. Singularly enough, in, I think, every case, the images of a Chinese saint, seated, and two attendants standing, occupy a post of honour near the wheel. These represent Fu Daishi (*i.e.*, the priest Fu) and his two sons, Fu Sho and Fu Ken (Fu of the right and of the left). He is said to have been the inventor of the revolving library, but as he lived about A.D. 500; and Fa Hien records having seen praise wheels at Ladak in A.D. 400, that honour is liable to dispute.

But the invariable presence of the Chinese saint makes it a matter of wonder, that in China itself the prayer or scripture barrels have apparently died out (if anything ever does die out in China!). Certainly I explored an incalculable number of temples in many Chinese cities without seeing a sign of anything of the sort till I reached Pekin, and there, by the merest chance, discovered two revolving barrels in the great Lama temple (which is inhabited by 1,300 Buddhist monks of a very unpleasant type—both dirty and arrogant, and intensely jealous of admitting foreigners). However, as their "Living Buddha" was a grateful patient of my companion, we did contrive to obtain admission, and were allowed to ascend to

a gallery on a level with the head of a gigantic image of Buddha. Finding that this gallery extended to right and left, I ventured to explore, and found on either side a circular building, containing a huge barrel, containing neither prayers nor scriptures, but a multitude of niches, each containing an image. So here was an easy method of worshipping all the gods of China—or, more probably, of doing homage to all the Buddhist saints—simultaneously, by simply giving them all a twirl.

A few days later, I discovered among the ruins of the Emperor's Summer Palace a small group of what must have been beautiful temples. Vast mounds of broken fragments of brilliantly coloured tiles tell of the departed glory, and here and there a fine pagoda of porcelain has survived the general destruction. One such seemed the centre of what was doubtless the Imperial private chapel. On either side of it were circular buildings, containing the ruins of cylinders, which evidently had been miniatures of those in the grand Lama temple; but, of course, not an image has escaped the hands of successive relic-hunters.

I am inclined to believe that a similarly concentrated act of homage to all saints, was accomplished<sup>1</sup> by striking certain gigantic bronze temple-bells, whereon are embossed the images of Buddha's five hundred disciples. I saw a particularly fine specimen of such a bell at an old temple in Ningpo. Each of the five hundred figures is in a different attitude, and the whole is a triumph of casting. I saw other bells thus adorned, with long passages from the sacred books.

Before concluding these notes on mechanical worship, I must mention a Jewish custom which appears somewhat akin to those we have been considering. Bernard Picart, writing about Jews, in 1733, says:—"At the doors of their houses, chambers, and all places of public resort, they fix up against the wall, at the right hand of the entrance, a hollow reed, or other pipe, containing a parchment, on which are inscribed the words from Deuteronomy vi. 4-9, concluding with, 'Thou shalt write them (*i.e.*, the words which I command thee) upon the posts of thy house and on thy gates.' And also Deut. xi. 18-20, concluding with the same words. And at the bottom, through a small opening, is visible the Hebrew word, *Shaddai*, which is one of the names of God, and whenever the Jews come in or go out they touch this place very devoutly, then kiss the fingers which touched it. This is called the *mezuzah*, or door-post."

On inquiry, I learn that this practice continues unchanged at the present day, though a narrow upright tin box is a convenient modern substitute for the hollow reed. It is placed high on the right door-post, in a slanting position, and the inscription consists of twenty-two lines, which must be accurately written, without any correction. The person entering the house or room touches the

sacred name with his right hand, and then, kissing his hand, says :—  
“The Almighty preserve me, deliver me, help me from all evil and distress.” The mezuzah, the phylactery, and the fringes on the shawls worn by Jews in the Synagogue are declared by Jewish tradition to be a three-fold cord which preserve men from sin.

And now, for lack of a better British illustration of the subject, let me tell you how a worthy old Scotch minister applied the “turning the Wheel of the Law” to his own preaching. He had a large collection of old manuscript sermons, which he stored in a cask. Every time he had occasion to preach, he avoided the responsibility of exercising *human* judgment in his selection, by giving the cask a twirl, and whichever sermon first slipped out was deemed the Heaven-selected discourse most appropriate to the occasion !

C. F. GORDON CUMMING.



## REDISTRIBUTION: ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

IT is barely two years since space was accorded to me in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for some observations favourable to the Extension of the Franchise in the Counties, and other then so-called "Tory-Democratic" opinions, which in the judgment of many had lost to the Conservatives a seat in Liverpool.

Political education is, however, making rapid strides, and opinions which at that date some might regard as heresy for a Constitutional Tory to uphold, are to-day accepted as a part of the platform of the party.

This advance is, nevertheless, not a change of principle on the part of Conservatives, but simply a clearer appreciation of the policy embodied by our late great leader (Earl Beaconsfield) in his Franchise measure of 1867. Until the introduction of that Bill political parties had for years been wrangling over the amount of rental a householder should be required to pay as a qualification for the suffrage. The aim of one party was to fix such figures as would include the largest body of Radical dissenters, and yet exclude what they termed the residuum. The object of the Conservatives was to endeavour to neutralize this Liberal element by admitting the superior artisan classes to the franchise. Hence a contest was waged, extending over fourteen years. Under such circumstances the only solution of the problem was to place the suffrage upon a principle, and the principle adopted was that of a residential household qualification, thus removing the question out of the reach of manipulation to suit party purposes.

A similar state of affairs exists to-day with the Redistribution controversy. It is proposed to arrange the division of the electoral roll of the future in an arbitrary, haphazard fashion, without rule or

principle. Thus each political party is naturally tempted to seek party advantages out of the settlement of a question which ought to be determined solely with regard to national interests.

To attempt an adjustment of the matter on these lines must inevitably end in confusion and disaster. The worst trait in the human character—selfishness—will have free scope: every man for himself. Each place or member affected will find plausible reasons why they should be let alone. Log-rolling will be the order of the day—"Save me, and I will help to save you." The Prime Minister evidently realizes the chaos that must ensue in the House of Commons when he has to meet this fight for existence. Hence his anxiety to be armed for the fray, and he chooses no doubt a most potent weapon—the prior enactment of the Franchise Bill. With this in hand he hopes to be able to quell the turmoil, and ensure the acceptance of his measure of Redistribution. It is obvious that the picture here portrayed of the scramble that must follow the introduction of a Redistribution Bill, based only on expediency, and to be settled by compromise, is not overdrawn, if for one moment regard is had to the vast personal and local interests involved.

No Redistribution scheme can be just or equitable, and therefore have any degree of permanency, that allows any member to represent less than 5,000 electors. Examine the statistics of the boroughs in England, Wales, and Scotland, even by this minimum standard, and it will be found that the seats of no less than 197 members will be affected, of whom 132 sit on the Liberal benches. This calculation omits the counties of the United Kingdom, and the boroughs in Ireland from consideration, because under the Franchise Bill their electorate will be enlarged. Making every allowance, however, for such increase, 300 seats is a reasonable estimate of the total number that must be dealt with in any complete plan of distribution.

If justice, untinged with party designs, is to prevail, all interests must be placed on the same footing. Once establish this point, and people will accept the inevitable with a fair grace. No weapon for coercion will be required, no one-man power need be invoked; justice will win its own way. When Parliament has laid down the principle, its work will be simple; a judicial body, such as a Royal Commission, can carry out the details.

It is the bounden duty of every good citizen to endeavour to bring the Franchise and Redistribution questions to an immediate settlement. Judging from present appearances, they promise to continue to embitter the relations between political parties, affording food for agitation to the revolutionary anarchists of the kingdom, stopping necessary domestic legislation, and distracting the attention of the nation from the serious position into which our foreign policy is drifting. There is only one

means by which this end can be accomplished, and that is, to establish some principle upon which Redistribution shall be determined, and not leave so grave an issue to the chapter of accidents.

It is now admitted that men, whether they live in town or country, are, irrespective of their worldly positions, as indicated by their rental, entitled to equal franchise privileges. The logical corollary is so to arrange that the votes of all electors shall carry the same influence and weight. To effect this it is necessary to accept as a principle equal electoral districts as regards numbers of electors, and each man to have the right to vote for the same number of members. The necessity of parting with old names and old associations in connection with the House of Commons is to be regretted. It is, however, only anticipating by a few years a change which in the end is inevitable.

Equal electoral districts are compatible with the retention of the sound principle of distinct representation being accorded to urban and rural districts. No difficulty need be experienced in grouping into electoral bodies populous centres, separately from their agricultural surroundings.

The objection that first occurs to the mind in considering such a scheme is the preponderating influence that it would accord to the metropolis over the legislation of the country. If the proposition required the election of the members for the London district by one constituency, or even by such overgrown bodies as the present metropolitan boroughs, there would be overwhelming force in the objection. A series of moderate-sized constituencies would, however, be formed, each returning one or two members, as might be determined. The danger of a large body of members being elected, representing only one class or line of policy, would thus be averted. London embraces a population more diverse in opinions, interests, and occupations, than can be found in any county. Hence, if divided, every shade of opinion would doubtless find its representative. At present the mere power of numbers in the metropolitan boroughs overwhelms all individuality, and destroys the personal interest of those whom every well-wisher of the country desires to see take an active share in our elections.

In the large provincial towns this effect would be even more marked. As a rule the industrial population, and those in a better position in life, reside in different districts. Therefore, if the towns are divided into parliamentary wards, every interest and class would have a fair chance of being represented.

There is much to be said in favour of single-member constituencies. They form a simple means of securing to the minority of the country its just share of representation, and ensuring that diversity of opinion and occupation, which is so essential in a deliberative assembly. A minor advantage that would arise from such an arrangement is,

that each member would stand or fall on his own merits. Where two members sit for the same place, it frequently happens that one is popular and the other has failed to earn his constituents' confidence. The consequence is, that a member is often exposed to a contest through no fault of his own.

The inquiry that naturally suggests itself is, what general changes would be required in our present constituencies to give effect to a scheme of equal electoral districts, separating the urban from the rural population?

The census returns of 1881 show that rather over 12 millions of the population resided in parliamentary boroughs, returning 295 members; and over 13 millions in the divisions of the counties, returning 187 members. These figures must not, however, be accepted as correctly representing the locale of the people. Since the parliamentary boroughs were constituted, vast changes have occurred in the industrial progress of the country and the location of its people. No official data exist showing the urban and rural population separately: the best guide is to examine the Local Government Board tables of sanitary districts. These furnish particulars not only of the population but the acreage of each district. A careful comparison, as regards England and Wales, of the area of these districts with the inhabitants, will afford a fair index as to the urban or rural character of each locality. If thus investigated it will be found that urban communities now embrace over 15 millions of our population, whilst the rural districts number less than 11 millions.

Applying the principle of equal electoral districts to the population of the United Kingdom, it will be found that, after deducting the nine University members from the nominal roll of the House of Commons, each member should represent 54,000 inhabitants. Therefore,

England and Wales	would have	480 members	instead of	482
Scotland	.	.	.	70    „    „    58
Ireland	.	.	.	95    „    „    103

The members for England and Wales would be allotted as follows:—280, or thereabouts, to urban constituencies, instead of 295 as at present; and the counties would obtain about 200 in lieu of 187, which is the share of representation they at present possess.

Those of your readers with Conservative instincts who may peruse these pages, need not feel alarm at the apparently revolutionary changes involved by such a distribution of seats. They look to the counties for the Conservative force of the kingdom. Under the propositions here set out, not only would the number of members for rural districts be increased, but these constituencies would be homogeneous and cease to be dominated, as under existing arrangements, they in too many instances are, by the electors in large manufacturing centres. On the other hand, there is every pro-

bability that the Conservative element in the House of Commons would be increased by representatives from districts of large towns.

It must also be noted that if the Franchise Bill is enacted without Redistribution, that the urban residents to be added to the county registers would equal about one-half the number of voters at present on the rolls.

A plan of distribution of seats on the lines I have indicated would place at the disposal of each voter his fair and just influence in the affairs of the country. We must trust, and with confidence may believe, that English common sense will continue to actuate the people in the direction of our Imperial destinies.

Paltry pocket boroughs, with their corruptive and parochial minds will disappear, to be merged in the purer atmosphere of large constituencies, numbers forming the best antidote to corruption and local jealousies.

ARTHUR B. FORWOOD.

TABLE

*Showing the approximate number of Borough and County Members of Parliament each County would obtain under a system of Electoral Districts, compared to the number they have under existing arrangements.*

COUNTY.	Number of members at present.*		Number of members with electoral districts.		COUNTY.	Number of members at present.		Number of members with electoral districts.	
	Borough.	County.	Borough.	County.		Borough.	County.	Borough.	County.
Bedford . . .	2	2	1	2	Somerset . . .	5	6	2	7
Bucks . . .	5	3	2	2	Salop . . .	6	4	1	3
Berks . . .	5	3	1	3	Stafford . . .	11	6	12	5
Cheshire . . .	6	6	7	6	Suffolk . . .	5	4	2	6
Cumberland . . .	4	4	2	3	Westmoreland . . .	1	2	...	1
Cambridge . . .	2	3	1	2	Wilts . . .	11	4	1	4
Cornwall . . .	7	4	1	5	Worcester . . .	7	4	4	3
Durham . . .	9	4	9	8	Warwick . . .	9	4	11	3
Dorset . . .	7	3	1	3	York . . .	28	10	32	21
Devon . . .	11	6	4	7	Rutland . . .	...	...	...	1
Derby . . .	2	6	3	5	Kent . . .	33	14	78	20
Essex . . .	4	6	5	6	Surrey . . .				
Gloucester . . .	7	4	7	3	Middlesex . . .	33	14	78	20
Huntingdon . . .	1	2	...	1	Anglesea . . .				
Hants . . .	12	4	4	7	Brecknock . . .	1	1	...	1
Hereford . . .	3	3	1	2	Cardigan . . .	1	1	...	2
Hertford . . .	1	3	...	3	Cardmarthen . . .	1	2	1	2
Lancaster . . .	24	8	51	9	Carnarvon . . .	1	1	1	1
Lincoln . . .	5	6	3	6	Denbigh . . .	1	2	...	2
Leicester . . .	2	4	3	3	Flint . . .	1	1	...	2
Monmouth . . .	1	2	2	2	Glamorgan . . .	4	2	5	5
Northumberland . . .	6	4	4	4	Merioneth . . .	...	1	...	1
Norfolk . . .	4	4	3	5	Montgomery . . .	1	1	...	1
Notts . . .	6	4	4	3	Pembroke . . .	2	1	}	2
Northampton . . .	6	4	2	2	Radnor . . .	1	1		
Oxon . . .	3	3	1	2					
Sussex . . .	10	4	5	4					

\* Places where the writs are suspended are excluded.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE UNITED STATES :

### THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS.

THE people of the United States are now engaged in the preliminary measures to what a few years ago was magniloquently described as "the sublimest spectacle on earth, a free people peaceably deciding by the ballot what citizen shall stand at the head of the State." But to a discriminating observer in 1884 the spectacle is not likely to appear very sublime. The political beliefs of the two great parties are not very clearly defined. It may well be doubted whether a foreigner could make out, with much confidence, the difference between the statements of principles, or, to use the American term, the "party platforms" adopted at the two Chicago Conventions. Both are designedly so vague as to give all needed latitude for interpretation. This, perhaps, was a matter of positive necessity; for it would not be easy to make a single statement, either of principle or of policy, that would be adopted with any approach to unanimity by the one party or the other. The Republicans are generally supposed to be in favour of a protective tariff, and the Democrats in favour of free trade; but several of the most conspicuous and uncompromising advocates of free trade are Republicans, and one of the prominent candidates for the democratic nomination was an ardent Protectionist. The Democrats, with a large majority in the House of Representatives, attempted during the last session to modify the tariff laws; but the party was divided on the subject, and the movement was defeated by democratic votes. On the question of reform of the civil service, there is the same absence of unanimity. Those whom it is customary to call the "politicians" in both parties have generally opposed reform. This class has never favoured any change of method until change has been imperatively demanded by popular opinion. In this matter both parties have simply furnished a new justification of De Tocqueville's lament that "the world over Governments are as bad as the people will allow them to be." The leader of the reformatory movement in Congress was a prominent Democrat. By his wise and persistent advocacy the measure received a support without which, for a time at least, it would not have succeeded. But his party, so far from

approving of his course, has refused to re-nominate him to the Senate, and consequently he has been almost contemptuously thrown back into private life. In his place, and by the same constituents, was chosen a man in every way his inferior, except that in all probability he more truly represented his party on the particular question of civil service reform. The truth probably is, that the mass of Democrats do not desire reform to go so far as to prevent them from sweeping the Republicans out of office in case the Democrats should come into power. As human nature goes this lack of zeal is not surprising, even if it is blameworthy. But even if it is not commendable, it is at least matched by the views of a vast number of Republicans. It was a Republican who, in the Convention four years ago, called out, "What are we here for, if not for the offices?" This was probably a fair statement with audacious plainness of a very widely prevalent notion. The more one studies the situation, the more certainly is one forced to the conviction that neither party, as such, is to be relied upon to bring about reform of any kind. The one may be more inclined to favour it than the other; but the moment there is unmistakable evidence that public sentiment demands a given policy, that policy will be adopted, and the party which opposes it will be swept out or kept out of power. It is the general recognition of this potency of public opinion that makes the Conventions so indefinite in their statements of principles. In view of so much difference of opinion in both of the parties, flexibility of language is natural, perhaps inevitable. In view of the constant flux of public opinion, indefiniteness is both prudent and expedient.

This confusion is made worse confounded by the fact that there are many ardent reformers of one kind and another who despair of reform within either of the great parties, and who therefore are determined to seek reform by some other agency. Some hope for improvement by going over to the other party, and some by establishing a new party of their own. It is the old story. In Germany there are several parties organized for the furtherance of more or less divergent interests. In England there was a time when a vast number of good people were dissatisfied with the course pursued by either of the great representative bodies of the Christian faith. The result of this discontent was the formation of a considerable number of religious sects. The amusing list furnished by Max O'Rell shows that with John Bull and his Island the sects have multiplied, whether or not they have replenished the earth. Perhaps in the United States the age of political sects has begun. At any rate, several sects have sprung into existence, and have placed candidates for the presidency in nomination. None of them, of course, hopes to elect its man, but all of the candidates in the field will secure a considerable number of votes, and consequently all are of more or less importance in the canvass. Whatever votes they receive will be drawn either from Mr. Blaine or from Mr. Cleveland. In estimating the chances of the candidates, therefore, two of the political sects at least must not be overlooked.

The first of the sects to put a candidate in the field was the "Prohibition Party." This organization is made up of excellent people, whose principal strength lies in the energy of their moral nature, and

who have for a considerable time been contemplating in sadness the enormous evils that afflict mankind from intemperance. Indeed, they have held those evils so near to the eye, that their vision has perhaps been a little obscured in regard to the other evils with which society is oppressed. They believe that a very prominent business of Government should be to reform the evils that prevail. They see that a vast number, perhaps a majority, of all the crimes committed, are committed by people in a state of partial intoxication. They reckon up the cost of all the intoxicating liquors used, and they place great stress on the inference, that if the use of such liquors could be prevented the world would be by so much the richer. Every consideration therefore urges that the use of intoxicants as a beverage should be universally abandoned. Poor human nature, however, is weak, and will drink whenever drink can be procured. It must therefore be made impossible to procure drink. Drink must not be manufactured, it must not be sold. The Government must prohibit its manufacture and its sale. But the political parties, as now organized, cannot be relied upon to bring about this desirable result. Indeed, some of the political favourites sometimes drink themselves. If intemperance is to be eradicated, therefore, it must be by means of a new party. It is not certain that a new party can elect its candidates; but it can at least make its doctrines and its demands felt. In the end it can compel at least one of the great political parties to recognize the importance of temperance, and even perhaps adopt prohibition as a part of its policy.

The Prohibition Party is not absolutely new, and yet it is now for the first time taking part in national politics. Heretofore it has limited the sphere of its activities to the politics of individual States. In some of the States with a large rural population, prohibitory laws have been enacted, and in some measure have been enforced. Within the last ten years, more narrowly within the last five years, there has everywhere been great activity in the agitation of the temperance question. In almost every city and village societies have been organized for the purpose of agitating the subject, and promoting what is called the temperance movement. The consequence has been that in one form or another the temperance question has come to be a very important element in the politics of very many of the States. In Ohio the number of Germans is very great, and the Germans have never favoured prohibition either in theory or in practice. The agitation of the subject, even the raising of the question of "local option," has made the vote of the Germans quite uncertain. In Michigan the policy of exacting a heavy tax or license for dealing in intoxicating drinks, has been adopted. But while very many temperate people think the effect of the law is beneficial, there are also many who think it is harmful. In the opinions of not a few, the granting of license is a compromising with sin. Others object to it from policy. Then there is a third class, made up of persons who believe that wherever you see an evil, your business is to knock it on the head. A combination of these classes, in the State of Michigan for example, forms an element that no manager of political affairs can afford to despise. In some of the other States the prohibition element is still stronger. In Iowa, for example, the prohibitionists at the last session of the Legislature were able to pass a stringent prohibitory law. It is too soon to



know what the result will be. Before the law went into effect, the trade was said to be very active. Large supplies were privately taken in store as a precaution against the inconveniences of future thirst. There are signs that the supplies are beginning to fail, and that ingenious expedients for outwitting the law are coming into active exercise. There is even a possibility that the law will be declared unconstitutional—that some of its provisions will be deemed by the Supreme Court of the State a violation of that article of the Bill of Rights which provides that no private property shall be taken for public uses without compensation. But whatever may be the fate of the law, it is certain that the number of prohibitionists in the State is very large.

In ordinary times the temperance question would probably work itself out in local agitation. But it has now been thrust into the arena of national politics. The prohibitionists have nominated a candidate for President, and that candidate is fairly in the field. If there were any question of clearly defined policy and great national moment to be decided by the choice of Mr. Blaine or Mr. Cleveland, the Prohibition candidate would probably not receive a very large number of votes. But there is not; and the inducement to vote for Mr. St. John, the Prohibition candidate, is much increased by the fact that so many objections are raised against the traditional attitude of the old parties. The Democrats have always opposed prohibition, not only as a matter of individual taste, but as a matter of party policy. The Republicans, on the contrary, have always found a considerable number of prohibitionists in their ranks. When the prohibition sentiment therefore grew into the magnitude of a party and declared its independence, it weakened the Republicans by almost the full amount of its own strength. It may be predicted with the utmost confidence that more than two-thirds, perhaps nine-tenths, of all the votes cast for Mr. St. John will be drawn from the Republican lists.

The number of ballots that will thus be driven from Mr. Blaine it is not easy to estimate. It need not be surprising, if in two of the States that have always been Republican the number is sufficient to give the Democratic electors a majority. Such a result would go far towards securing the election of Mr. Cleveland.\*

The second political sect to which allusion was made, is a curious combination of malcontents. It is made up of those who believe that whatever is, is wrong. Its guide, philosopher, and friend is Mr. Benjamin F. Butler, sometime governor of New Orleans, and still later governor of Massachusetts. This Mr. Butler has long been famous for doing very shocking things. For more than twenty-five years he has been the *bête noire* of whatever passes for civilization in Massachusetts. He began his notoriety as a lawyer by putting an attachment on the main wheel of a great Lowell factory to satisfy a workman's claim for a

\* Perhaps it may not be out of place to remind English readers that the President of the United States is chosen by electors voted for by the people at large. In each State every voter votes for as many electors as the number of Members of Congress to which that State is entitled. In New York, for example, every voter votes for thirty-five electors. The consequence of this method is that in each State either all the electors on one of the tickets or all the electors on another of the tickets are elected. The electors, who at the time of the foundation of the Government, it was supposed, would make a deliberate choice of the person in their judgment best fitted to be President, as a matter of fact exercise no discretion whatever. They simply record in a formal manner the decision that has already been reached by the vote of the people at the polls.

few dollars. Of course the claim, whether due or not, had to be paid, or the factory had to be stopped. After the taking of New Orleans in the War of the Rebellion, Butler was appointed military governor of the city. As the Union soldiers walked the streets, the proud dames of that aristocratic capital gathered their skirts about them and in other ways manifested their contempt for the victorious troopers. Butler was determined that proper respect should be paid to the Union army. He issued a military order that any woman that insulted a Union soldier should be treated, *horribile dictu*, "as a woman of the town." The order was effectual; but the shock that thrilled the country showed an unmistakable sense of outrage. Butler's answer was ready. The Union army is an army of gentlemen. How does a gentleman treat a woman of the town? He simply takes no notice of her.

It can hardly be said that either Socialism or Communism, in the European sense of the term, has gained a footing in the United States. But evidences are not lacking of those discontents which seem to be seething in all parts of the civilized world. In different parts of the country these discontents have been crystallized into one form or another of social or political organization. There is an Anti-Monopoly party, a Labour party, and a National Greenback party, besides others too numerous to mention. These are all in their incipient stages, and yet under skilful leadership it is possible they may be combined into a union of some strength. It is this combination that Butler is now attempting to bring about. For this purpose he has broken away from his old party connections. Before the war he was a Democrat. During the war, and for some years after, he was a Republican. For the last ten years he has been a Democrat. Since the Chicago Conventions he has been neither the one nor the other. He did not find an encouraging hospitality in either party; he has therefore issued a declaration of independence and has accepted the nomination for President at the hands of a few of the organizations just alluded to.

Instead of issuing a formal letter of acceptance Butler has adopted the English method of addressing a letter to his constituents. That the author shows both ability and tact no one who reads the letter will deny. His friends say that it is the work of a statesman; his enemies, that it is simply the adroit performance of one who is nothing, and always has been nothing, but a demagogue.

But the reader can judge of its character and merits from a few quotations far better than from any description. He begins by stating that he is to give an account of his stewardship in public life. When he became delegate to the Democratic Convention he was charged with four great political interests, which in his language were as follows:—

- "1. Hostility to all monopolies in commerce, industries and lands.
- "2. The preservation of the national legal tender currency of the country constitutionally issued by Congress.
- "3. The needs of all men and women who labour in the production of wealth, to be protected against the encroachments of those who absorb and consume without producing.
- "4. The necessity for reform and correction of abuses in government, so that its pressure on the people would be made as light as possible; its admi-

nistration effective, to guard the rights of American citizens at home and abroad; to make public servants, individual or incorporate, subservient to the use and will of the people only, so as to restore the prosperity of the country, with equal rights, equal burdens, equal powers, and equal privileges of all people."

The interests here indicated he says that he tried in every proper way to induce the National Democratic Convention to accept. He was a member of the committee appointed to frame a platform. In that committee he introduced resolution after resolution, with a view of getting a recognition of his ideas by the party as a whole. His efforts were unsuccessful. The modern Democratic Gallios cared for none of these things. Instead of adopting a platform of principles the Convention adopted a platform of expedients. He then explains why a platform of principles was needed:—

"The country has had no experience for nearly a quarter of a century of what the Democracy would do if they had the power, so that the people are obliged to require the most explicit pledges from them of intended actions, before we can put the government in their hands. But the farmer and the labouring man do know that a Democratic House of Representatives has just appropriated more money raised by taxation than any other House of Representatives has ever appropriated in time of peace. We also know that the Democratic majority would have made a free-trade tariff, containing all the odious features of the present war tariff, so far as regards its monstrous inequalities, by a horizontal reduction of the tariff to break down very many rising and struggling industries, and destruction of the homes of our working men and the home markets of the American producers.

"Who does not know that the very fear of the action of the Democracy in Congress has so paralyzed American enterprise and business, that mills are everywhere closing, mines shut up, furnaces blown out, and every kind of employment so curtailed that the mechanic and working man are not earning enough to support life in comfort; so that the farmer even, deprived of a home market, and crushed down by discriminating rates of transportation, finds his corn, wheat and wool lower than it has been within the present generation. Can the people therefore trust the machine Democracy with power, upon a shifting, evasive and deceptive platform?"

From the Republican party, on the contrary, there was no need for a platform, for the following reasons:—

"The country has had experience of Republican party rule twenty-five years, and knows its results. We therefore have no need to look at its platform, for 'by their fruits ye shall know them.'

"The Republican party in its inception was emphatically the party of the people. It had in it substantially neither monopolist nor capitalist. It was as poor as was the Convention of delegates who framed the Declaration of Independence. Taking out five men, the rest could hardly pay their board bills.

"The Republican party was formed upon a grand and noble idea, to do for one class of working men what the Democratic party, even under Jefferson and Jackson, had failed to do. Their democracy dealt only with the white man. The democracy of the Republican party dealt with the black man, and aimed to give him freedom and equal rights. For that purpose, and that alone, was that party formed. It was the radical party, and so radical a party of the people, that the aristocratic part of the Whig party, the old adversaries of the Democracy of the days of Jackson, merged themselves in the Demo-

cracy without a drop of Democratic blood, as they hoped, in their veins, or a thought for the people, except as the lower classes in their party, and such of them as a quarter of a century has spared, are found with the Democracy of to-day largely guiding its councils in the manner we have seen."

He then goes on to show how the Republican party became monopolists :—

"The necessity for money to carry on the war drew all the bankers and capitalists into the Republican party. The immense fortunes, almost necessarily growing out of the vast expenditures of the war, fell into the hands of men who attached themselves to the party that fed them, as the iron is attracted by the magnet, and monopolized industries and enterprises.

"The necessity to bind together the eastern and western shores of the Republic by methods of quick transportation, giving reason for immense subsidies, granted to make three systems of railroads across the continent with all their branches and feeders, created wealth in corporations and individuals, to a degree before unheard of, in this or any other country, and brought all those interests substantially into the Republican party. And if any stayed in the Democratic party, they were in confederation with the same class, to so arrange politics that whichever party came in power, capital, in all its varied and powerful forms, would be sure of control, and the people be ground up as 'between the upper and nether mill-stone.' Thus it may be readily seen, and he who runs may read, that the Republican party is the party of monopoly, of corporate interests in every form of industry, and every department of business and finance. The Anti-Monopolists can expect nothing from the Republican party for reasons before stated, and because it holds both Houses by the rich men who are the owners of monopolies, or their paid attorneys."

Nor has labour any hope that the Republican party will provide for its necessities or protect its rights :—

"The Republican party has granted subsidies to railroads and steamships, erected many and expensive public buildings, spent many millions in opening the mouth of the Mississippi and levelling its banks, and many millions in improving rivers and harbours. These grants amount to a sum equal to half the national debt. Without criticizing the propriety of these grants, although some of them are open to criticism, yet these are all aids to the capitalist and landowner. Point me to one grant or act in aid of the working man. I do not forget the eight-hour law for Government labourers and mechanics, but there never has been honesty and power enough in Republican administration to enforce that law. When in Congress I introduced a Bill, and advocated it as well as I could, that Congress grant aid to families of labouring men in cities to settle on the public lands in the west and make homes for themselves, and as communities be able to protect themselves against the Indians and thus dispense with the cost of the army. It slept in the proper committees of a Democratic House and Republican Senate the sleep of all proposals in favour of labour that knows no waking. This bill would have begun another much-needed reform, the reduction to a skeleton of the regular army, which is expensively useless in time of peace. Let Congress expend half of the vast sum—thirty millions—now appropriated to the army for its varied expenditures in organizing and disciplining the militia to be trained under the authority of the States, instead of the paltry \$200,000 heretofore given, and we shall have a military force as a reliance in every emergency, like the trained and organized militia of Massachusetts and the National Guard of New York, the first armed bodies at the capital when in danger in 1861. The Republican party has in its ranks many good, true, and conscientious

men, who followed its fortunes and carried its elections because it protected the labour of the South in its rights and claimed to protect the labourer of the North in his wages. I call the attention of such men to the fact that that party has failed to do either. Labouring men are out of employment and starving after a quarter of a century of Republican rule. Nay, more. It is well known in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and how far in other parts of the North I leave the good and just-minded of those localities to speak, capital has coerced the votes of the labouring men to its own purposes by threats, intimidation, and in some cases worse means. The negro of the South, also, cannot go to the ballot-box for fear of the shotgun, and if he does the ballot-box stuffer puts in two votes to neutralize his one. To the substantiation of these facts I call upon the labouring men of both sections to bear witness. Is it not so? You know as I know, you feel as I feel upon this matter. I submit to the producer, whether the farmer, the mechanic, or the labourer, whether he has any hope as against the inroads of capital upon the rights of labour or the grasp of monopolies which absorb all the profits of production, until we have in this country, even in its youth, almost infancy, as regards the length of life of nations, richer men than in any other country in the world and as poor men as any other country in the world, however enslaved that country may be, for a man cannot be poorer than starvation."

To correct these evils, and the many others he enumerates, the following, in his judgment, is the course to pursue:—

"What, then, is the duty of the classes of men just enumerated in the coming national election? They by numbers as well as intelligence—for everybody knows more than anybody—ought to be the governing classes under the theory of our Constitution. They stand in the same social, business, and other relations to the class of men in the old parties who believe they are of right the governing class, and who, in fact, by control of party and other machinery are the governing class, as did our fathers in the time of the Revolution to the clergy, the officials, and offshoots of British aristocracy who claimed to be, and believed they were, the governing classes.

"You have the power to make this Government your Government, as did your fathers. This can only be done by acting together! Be not deceived, stand by each other! Let the people unite for the good of the people! To prevent such union has been the policy of the leaders, monopolists of all shades of opinion, enemies of the people, who, while they join together in fact in control of the Government, claim to belong to different parties. You know that it makes no difference to you whether one set of them or the other is in power—no burden on the people is lightened, no monopoly is crushed.

"Whichever party carries on the Government, labouring men and women are permitted to enjoy only the benefits of the primeval curse: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' You enjoy none of God's blessings! Why not? You earn and produce them all—all that He vouchsafes to man, save the air we breathe. They are yours in the sight of high Heaven! Stand together, and a just share of them is yours. In other lands the just rights of the people are only to be got out of the hands of their enemies and rulers by the bayonet and the bullet. But in America as yet, thank God and your brave fathers, the ballot, the freeman's shield and sword, is left to you, and you can if you stand together protect yourselves against all oppressive, unjust, and purchased legislation, which burdens the people and undermines the free institutions of your country."

These extracts are perhaps enough to show that the appeal is not likely to be altogether unheeded. Wherever a separate organization is established, a considerable number of votes will be cast for Butler,

and these votes will be drawn in a majority of cases from the Democratic party. This fact has given rise to a surmise that there is an understanding between Blaine and Butler with a view to drawing off Democratic votes, and thus aiding the election of Blaine. As the conjecture goes, Butler is to have his reward when Blaine comes into power. But the conjecture probably has no foundation in fact. It would seem, however, that nearly all the votes cast for Butler would be grist carried to Blaine's mill. But that is not certain; Butler recommends with characteristic shrewdness a combination in each of the States with the weaker of the two parties. This policy has been adopted in several of the States, and may perhaps be adopted in still others. The process is this: The State committees respectively, say, of the Democratic party and of the National Greenback party, agree to recommend to their Conventions the nomination of only one half the number of electors to which the State is entitled. This recommendation is adopted; each Convention accordingly nominates half the electors, with the understanding that the members of each party shall vote for the whole twelve thus nominated. These electors, therefore, go into the canvass with the united support of the Democratic and of the National Greenback party. If the combination ticket happens to be successful, probably half its votes in the electoral college will be cast for Cleveland and half for Butler. But whether this division is made or not, none of the votes will be cast for Blaine. It is more than possible that in some of the Middle and Western States a combination of this kind, on the basis of a species of minority representation, may take the victory from very confident opponents.

Another element of great importance in the political situation is the attitude of the Independent Republicans. This party, if it can be called such, had its origin in a determination to do everything that is possible to rid the Republican party of certain evils that have grown up within it. It favoured the reform of the civil service, and an extension of that reform to the Governments of States and cities. It was active in its opposition to the so-called "Stalwart" methods that seemed always inclined to predominate in the Government. What may be called the American form of "Jingoism" has been its especial abhorrence. While preferring the Republican party to the Democratic, it sees that the party of its choice, by long tenure of power, has grown into methods that are fatal to pure and efficient administration. Their aim is to correct those methods by doing all it can to secure the nomination of good men, and by holding up to indignation the acts of such men as have betrayed public trusts committed to their care. It avows its readiness to repudiate an objectionable candidate.

Long before the National Republican Convention met in June it was evident that Mr. Blaine would be a very prominent candidate. His gifts are of a popular kind. He entered Congress nearly twenty-five years ago, and even before that time he acquired considerable distinction as an editorial writer and as a public speaker on political affairs. In the course of his career in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, he extended his influence, until he came to be regarded by many as the foremost man in the Republican party. This distinction was acquired, not on account of the merits of any important legislation of which he was the author or supporter, but rather on

account of his attitude toward certain questions of great popular interest.

As soon as the South regained its standing in the Union, the question at once arose as to what should be the attitude of the North towards the Southern States. Ought they to be left to manage their own affairs without national interference, or, on the other hand, ought the Federal Government to pursue an active policy in the work of directing reconstruction, and preventing local abuses? That the question was one of the gravest importance goes without saying; for the general Government had not only reduced the South to subjection, but it had set free four millions of slaves, and given them the ballot. Were these former slaves to be protected in the use of the ballot, or were they to be left to the tender mercies of their former masters? This momentous question divided the North into two parties. One of the cardinal doctrines of the Democrats has always been that local affairs should be left to local powers. Logically, therefore, the Democrats were in favour of letting the South alone, of encouraging its domestic institutions to adjust themselves to the new conditions without Federal interference. This policy was strengthened by the fact that the Democrats had never favoured emancipation, and had strenuously opposed the placing of the ballot in the hands of the negro—in a word, had never assumed any responsibility for giving the negroes political power. The Republicans, on the other hand, in spite of the most violent opposition of their political opponents, had freed the negroes, and had put the ballot into their hands. Upon them, of course, rested the responsibility of the success or failure of the experiment. While therefore the party was by no means a unit in regard to the policy that ought to be pursued, it was still true that the Republicans as a whole favoured what may as well be called a national protectorate over the negro. In many parts of the South the negroes constituted a majority of the people. If left to themselves and protected in their new political rights, they would actually dominate over their former masters. This as a majority they had a political right to do. But the consequences were what everybody should have anticipated. Affairs were managed, as might have been expected, by men nine-tenths of whom could not read a word, and all of whom, just emancipated from slavery, were as ignorant of political affairs as they were of literature. They speedily fell into the control of the most skilful and most corrupt managers of their party. Some of their leaders attempted to direct them wisely; but a very considerable number used them simply for purposes of personal profit. Large numbers of adventurers from the North—"carpet-baggers," the Southerners called them—went into the South and found the negroes an easy means of accomplishing their ends. This condition of affairs was even more galling to the South than the former had been. The result was the development of a systematic and persistent determination to prevent the rule of the "carpet-bagger" and the negro. All possible agencies, not the least of which were the revolver and the shotgun, were employed to carry out this policy.

But in the meantime what was the Federal Government doing? As a matter of fact, it did very little. Its policy was divided. It could not station soldiers in the South so as to protect every ballot-box.

Whenever it accused and brought anybody to trial, it found that a jury would invariably fail to convict. In short, the determination on the part of the most unscrupulous, as well as of the most intelligent classes in the South, was so intense, so well organized, that the Federal Government was practically helpless. Everywhere in the South the Democratic party was the party of the whites; the Republican party the party of the blacks. As time passed on the Democrats became more and more predominant. Members of Congress elected from the South were not only Democrats almost without exception, but, what was far more irritating to the North, were soldiers who had gained their popularity by distinguished service in the Rebellion. The consequence was, that in all the discussions of Southern questions in Congress, the South was led by ex-brigadier- and major-generals. If the North could be said to have any one exponent of its policy more pronounced than any other, that exponent was Mr. Blaine. In the performance of his part there was a fertility of resource, a dash and brilliancy of execution, that secured for him a popularity with a large class of people that no other member of Congress enjoyed. It is upon a service of this kind that his reputation rests. If a collection of his speeches were to be made, it would be found to contain next to nothing of any permanent value. It would be difficult to point out how he has contributed in any way to the enlightenment of the country on any difficult question whatever. He is not esteemed for any legislation with which his name is connected; he is simply remembered as the "Plumed Knight" who in various emergencies dashed upon the presumptuous enemy and overwhelmed him.

While this kind of service furnishes a very tangible reason for popularity, it does not furnish very substantial grounds for the highest political recognition. But aside from this mere negative fact there are positive reasons why the nomination of Mr. Blaine was distasteful to the Independent Republicans. His methods from first to last have been the methods to which they are most earnestly opposed. He has never supported civil service reform with any heartiness in public, and is believed to have ridiculed it with energy in private. In his letter of acceptance he speaks respectfully of it; but if respect has taken the place of contempt in his mind, it is probable that, like Sir Robert Peel, he has been converted by the "cogency of events." His foreign policy, when under President Garfield he was Secretary of State, was of the dashing, headlong kind, which might not inaptly be termed the American Jingoism.

But other and still graver reasons for opposition are put forward by the Independents. As early as 1875 charges were made against him of using his public position as a means of private gain. Specific instances were given in which it was asserted he had received large sums in stocks and money from some of the Western Railroad Corporations as a consideration for services rendered in the House of Representatives in their behalf. These charges were met by Mr. Blaine on the floor of the House in a manner that at the time was regarded as satisfactory. Subsequently, however, an investigation was ordered, and certain letters of Mr. Blaine's were produced which pointed directly to transactions of a very questionable character. On the face of them these letters appeared to contradict the assertions



Mr. Blaine had made in the House less than two months before. The suspicions aroused by their contents seemed, moreover, to be confirmed by the way in which they were made public. They were in the possession of a witness of the name of James Mulligan. Mulligan was the confidential clerk of a railroad contractor of the name of Fisher, with whom Blaine had had intimate business relations. Blaine took the ground that the letters were private, that Mulligan had no right to their possession, and more especially that he had no right to offer them as evidence. He demanded them of Mulligan. Mulligan refused to give them up. Blaine then asked the privilege of examining them. Mulligan consented on condition of Blaine's promise to return them. Blaine returned them once, in the presence of witnesses. A second time, however, when there were no witnesses, he got them into his hand and refused to return them. Mulligan went before the committee, and under oath gave circumstantial details of the way in which Blaine had procured, and in violation of his promise refused to return, them. Blaine's testimony raised an issue of veracity. The committee demanded the letters; but Blaine, acting under the advice of counsel, refused to present them, on the ground that they were private, and that the committee had no right whatever to investigate his private affairs.

Mulligan's testimony of course was telegraphed over the country, and raised a prodigious uproar. For a few days it seemed as though political ruin for Mr. Blaine was inevitable. But on the 5th of June, 1876, five days after the giving of Mulligan's testimony, Blaine, in the midst of an audience crowding every nook of the House of Representatives, rose to make a personal explanation. Holding up the bundle of letters before the House, and denying the right of the committee to demand them, he said that he was nevertheless willing to take into his confidence 44,000,000 of his fellow-countrymen. He then proceeded to read the letters, and to make his explanations. Accompanying them was a memorandum of their contents that had been made out by Mulligan. This, too, was made a part of the record by being passed to the Clerk of the House.

The explanation was variously received. Some regarded it as a complete exoneration; others were distrustful. Many shook their heads and waited for the publication of the records, in order that they might read the letters at their leisure and compare them with the Mulligan memorandum.

But soon an event occurred which speedily put an end to all public inquiry. It was five days after the memorable scene in the House. The committee was going on with its work, and apparently approaching completion, when Mr. Blaine was stricken down one morning with sunstroke. His life was reported to be in danger, and propriety required a postponement of the investigation. Before he recovered, Congress adjourned, and before Congress reassembled he had been elected to the Senate and had passed out of the jurisdiction of the House of Representatives. The Investigating Committee never completed its work. The House ordered the printing of the testimony taken; but the record, as it stands, is only a fragment.

The election of Mr. Blaine to the Senate was naturally regarded as at least a proof that the people of his own State had not lost confi-

dence in his integrity. The canvass for President which resulted in the election of Mr. Hayes absorbed public attention; and as time passed on, the Blaine investigation was either forgotten or absorbed in other interests.

But there were some that did not forget. The record was studied, and significant passages were collated. The result was that when in May last it began to be evident that strenuous efforts were to be made to nominate Mr. Blaine for the presidency, certain peculiarities of that record were given to the public. The contradictions revealed were such as to make it certain that, unless they were successfully met and explained, large numbers of Independent Republicans would refuse to support Mr. Blaine in case of his nomination. It may fairly be said that those charges have not yet been met. The supporters of Mr. Blaine are carrying on the campaign in other fields. They point to the fact that the country needs a Protection tariff and that Mr. Blaine is a Protectionist. They assert that the negro still needs protection in the South, and that the Republican party is the only party that can protect him. They urge that experience in governmental affairs is needed by a President, and that Mr. Blaine has had experience. When asked about the "Mulligan letters" they assert in general terms that that is an old story, that Blaine was completely exonerated years ago, and that a renewal of the charge is only a vile slander of a few "dudes and Pharisees." But questions continue to be asked, although no other answers are received.

Coming now to the Democratic party, we find here also a more or less serious revolt. As soon as Mr. Blaine was nominated, nearly all the leading Republican newspapers in New England and New York announced that they should not support the Republican ticket. The withdrawal of so large a force from the Republican ranks was a fact that could not be overlooked in the Democratic canvass. It soon became evident that the July Convention would nominate a candidate that would be acceptable to the Independents, and that the applicant for popular favour would be either Mr. Cleveland of New York or Mr. Bayard of Delaware. In many ways Bayard's claims to recognition were superior to those of his friendly rival. He is a member of the Senate, has long been in the service of the public, and during the whole of his career has been identified with every movement to raise the standards of political morality. But while he is one of the ablest and most respected members of his party, he is not quite what the people call "available." In the first place, he was from a very small State, and from a State not "doubtful." The importance of this fact, perhaps a foreigner will not at once recognize. But it is a consideration which an American "politician" would consider it unpardonable to overlook. It means simply that in any event the vote of the State is sure to be cast for the Democratic candidate, and that even if it were not, the State is so small that its vote is of insignificant importance. But of more serious import than this negative objection was the positive one of Mr. Bayard's course during the war. He lived in a border State, and he committed the error of advising a peaceful separation of the North and the South. The speech in which he gave this untimely advice has been so frequently quoted against him, and with such effect, as to leave no doubt that it would be used

with 'disastrous results in the course of a presidential canvass. For these reasons, and others of less importance, the probabilities of Mr. Bayard's nomination were never very great.

The other prominent name before the Convention was that of Mr. Cleveland of New York. His public career has been short, and he has not had to do with national affairs. But in exceptionally trying times he has been at the head of the largest and the most important of the States. It is doubtful whether this experience has not been a better school for the presidency than a long term in the Senate or House of Representatives would have been. The duties of the presidency are essentially executive. Unlike the First Minister in England, he has neither control nor direct influence over the legislative branch of the Government. His vast responsibilities do not lie in the framing of laws, but in the faithful application of laws already framed to the service of the public. It may even be said that the more his mind is distracted with the contemplation of needed legislation, the less amount of attention will he be able to give to affairs of a purely executive nature. There is a sense, therefore, in which a long legislative career may in a measure unfit a man for the duties of an executor. One may go still further. In the present condition of our civil service a very considerable part of the time of every legislator is absorbed in looking after the political appointments among his constituents. Of late there has undoubtedly been some improvement under the civil service rules recently adopted. But these rules as yet apply to only about fourteen out of a hundred of the executive offices. There are still some 86,000 offices to be filled by appointment. By a custom that has come to have all the force of positive law, these offices are given to persons selected *pro rata* approximately at least from all the Congressional districts of the country. From the territory represented by any given member of Congress, therefore, there are some 250 Federal officers to be chosen. While the power of appointment is lawfully with the President, the privilege of designating the persons to be appointed belongs to the members of the Congress. There is no law providing for the permanent tenure of office, and, consequently, frequent changes take place. The opportunities for bestowing favours and for giving offence are infinite in number. It is no exaggeration to say that a member's prospect of remaining in Congress depends quite as much upon his skill in distributing the offices within his district, as upon the wisdom of his legislative measures. The condition of the service in the United States at the present moment is much like that of England before the Reform of 1853. The consequence is, that a legislative experience is not likely to be one in which the best thought and energy of the representative are devoted to the interests of the country. The most thoughtful persons are everywhere recognizing the fact that what is needed more than anything else, in the way of political change in the United States, is comprehensive reform in the civil service. And the man who is likely to do most to bring about such a reform is one whose experience has been gained in successful executive administration, rather than in the manipulation of minor offices for the purposes of personal advantage. It is for this reason very largely that the Independent Republicans everywhere favoured the nomination of Cleveland.

Mr. Cleveland's career has been peculiarly American. It is only five or six years since he attracted any attention outside of the city in which he was quietly, but with eminent success, devoted to the practice of the legal profession. At a time when, for peculiar reasons of a local character, the best elements of society were arrayed against the worst, he was nominated by the people, irrespective of party, and was elected as mayor. His administration in a very trying emergency was so marked for ability and for energy, as well as for just discrimination, that it attracted very general attention throughout the State. The Republicans in New York at the time were torn with discords. The question everywhere raised was, whether the political interests of the people were to be given over to the control of the political machine. It became evident that Republicans in vast numbers were on the point of revolt. Judge Folger, the present National Secretary of the Treasury, resigned the office of chief justice, which he then held, to become the Republican candidate for the Governorship. His character was above reproach, and his career had been in the highest degree honourable. He was one of the most popular men in the party; but he was the candidate of the opponents of reform. The Democrats saw that a candidate of their own party that would satisfy the disaffected Republicans, would receive very large support from the Republican ranks. They nominated Mr. Cleveland, and the result at the end of a very spirited canvass was a majority of 152,000, the largest majority ever received by a candidate of any party in any State.

In the Democratic Convention at Chicago one of the speakers, in enumerating the qualities of Mr. Cleveland, declared that among other evidences of fitness he was entitled to support "for the enemies he had made." The stroke was a very telling one, and one that was much needed. The circumstances which called Cleveland into office as Governor made it impossible for him to do his duty without giving offence. The politics of the State, and especially of the city, have long been very corrupt. Tammany Society, an organization in the metropolis for the purpose of controlling political affairs, has for many years made good government in that city impossible. It was as the chief of Tammany that Tweed, a few years ago, was able to secure legislation that enabled him and his friends to rob the city of some millions. From the moment of Cleveland's election it was evident that he must either disappoint the Independent Republicans and the other friends of reform who had voted for him, or he must put all the forces of his administration in direct opposition to the interests of Tammany. He gave no signs of hesitation. With the help of the Legislature he dealt out blow after blow, till it is doubtful whether the Society can ever regain its former power. It was not singular, therefore, that when Cleveland's name began to be prominently urged for the presidency the most earnest opposition should come from his own State. John Kelly, with the other officers of Tammany, took a railway train of delegates from New York to Chicago for the sole purpose of securing his defeat.

After the nomination the leaders of Tammany were obliged to justify their opposition. This they attempted to do by reference to some of the Governor's official acts. Suddenly this Society, so long accustomed to feed at the public crib, became the champion of the

labouring man. It singled out three of Governor Cleveland's vetoes, and held them up as evidence of sympathy with the monopolists. The first of these offences was a veto of the so-called Five-cent-fare Bill. In 1882 there was a loud demand for the reduction, at all hours of the day, of fares on the elevated railroads of New York City, from ten to five cents. The Governor heard arguments for and against the measure, and gave it very careful consideration. He concluded that under the charter of the company, unless the net receipts of the roads exceed ten per cent. on the capital actually expended, the fares could not be reduced by the Legislature without infringing upon the constitutional inviolability of contract. The reasoning in his message convinced some of the most earnest advocates of the measure that his position was correct. It was not shown that the net income of the roads amounted to ten per cent. Moreover, it was evident that the labouring classes would not be affected by the change, inasmuch as during two hours in the morning, and the same length of time in the evening, the railroads had already voluntarily reduced their fares to five cents. But in spite of all the circumstances, the veto was enough to serve as a party cry. Another grievance was found in the veto of the Mechanics Lien Bill. An examination of the facts shows that the Bill in the form in which it was passed would have wrought injury rather than benefit to the very class it was designed to protect. Moreover, it was on account of this very fact that the Governor refused his approval. But it was a Bill designed to relieve or protect mechanics, and the Governor vetoed it. According to the logic of Tammany that was a proof that Cleveland is a monopolist. If any confirmation of so obvious a fact were needed, it would be found by the same methods of reasoning in his veto of the Bill limiting the hours of car-drivers and conductors. This Bill simply enacted that twelve hours should be a day's work for this class of men, without providing against a reduction of wages or a making of contracts for overtime. The Governor pointed out the ways in which the apparent intent of the law would be frustrated, and concluded by saying, "I cannot think this Bill is in the interests of the working men." As a matter of fact, it had never been asked for by the car-drivers, but was simply the work of a demagogue who hoped thereby to secure their favour. How generally the wage-receiving class will be deceived by this system of pretence and misrepresentation, cannot yet with any confidence be predicted.

An account of the opposition to Cleveland in the Democratic ranks would not be complete without mention of the Irish. This picturesque element of American civilization has allied itself from time immemorial with the Democratic party. But in this presidential canvass it shows signs of weakening its traditional allegiance. For this there is an obvious reason. It is not that they love Democracy less, but that they have recently come to love Blaine more. In a word, they believe that in some mysterious way Blaine, if he were President, would help the Irish cause. How this can be done, they do not take the trouble to point out. They simply trust to the general daring of the man, and rely upon his ingenuity to find opportunity, as they say, "to twist the British lion's tail." This caudal operation, if performed with energy, would distract the attention of that formidable beast, and

perhaps give Ireland a chance. And even a chance in the present condition of affairs is worth the taking.

From what has been said it will perhaps appear evident that the energies of the canvass are likely to be consumed in the discussion of a vast number of small issues. But this impression, if it is entertained, is likely to be only partially correct. In spite of all the minor considerations that influence individual men, the question of overwhelming importance is whether the Republican party, which has now been twenty-four years in uninterrupted control of Federal power, shall continue still longer in the exercise of authority, or whether it shall give place to its traditional opponents. That the question is one of momentous importance cannot be overlooked. The decision involves far more than is involved in a corresponding decision in England. The English civil service has for some years been firmly established on a permanent footing. When the Government passes from one party to another a few scores of administrative offices are transferred from the vanquished to the victors. But the great mass of administrative business goes on without feeling any shock whatever. While heads of departments are removed, the thousands who care for the details of business, and so keep the administration in order, go on with their work undisturbed. Few personal interests are therefore involved. But in the United States the situation is very different. Every person in office is likely to be removed; at least, every person believes his position to be in peril. The reform of the service has been well begun; but it has not yet gone far enough to afford general protection. Many of the Democrats regard it simply as a scheme for keeping Republicans in office after the Democrats shall have come into power. Some of the Democratic orators ridiculed the reform in their Convention, and not a few members greeted the ridicule with applause. It may be regarded as certain that if the Democrats elect the President, the Republicans now in office will very generally be turned out. Mr. Cleveland is an earnest advocate of reform in the civil service; but it may well be doubted whether he will be able to resist the pressure of his party. The question of predominant interest, then, is whether the Republicans shall go out of office, and the Democrats come in. It is over this issue that the great battles of the campaign will be fought; and the influence of all other questions on the final result is to be measured by the power they have of depleting or reinforcing the armies of combatants engaged in this struggle.

Aside from all questions of the personal merits of candidates, what are the general issues at stake? What are the great lines of argument? A few words will be enough for an answer. The Republicans point to what the country has done under Republican rule. They dwell with lingering satisfaction upon the suppression of the stupendous rebellion, the freeing of four millions of slaves, the paying of two thousand millions of national debt, the building of more miles of railroad than have been constructed within the same time in all Europe, an increase in national wealth from sixteen thousand to more than fifty thousand millions of dollars; and a multiplication of the population from thirty-one to fifty-six millions. This is the record to which the Republicans, in the language of the campaign orator, "point with

pride." The Democrats, on the contrary, according to the same confident authority, have opposed every important idea and every forward movement. They have contributed to no success till success without their aid has been assured. They have had opportunities for putting themselves at the head of the cause of free trade and the reform of the civil service; but they have thrown these opportunities away. As a party its course in Congress has furnished an uninterrupted record of incapacity.

The counter-charges of the Democrats are not less sweeping. They declare that while it cannot be denied that during the past twenty-five years the country has extended its power, that growth is not due to the policy of the Government, but rather to material causes, which no Government could obstruct. Meanwhile the increase of corruption in national affairs has by far outrun the growth of the country.\* It has extended into nearly every department of the service. Scarcely a month passes which does not reveal some new evidence of speculation or fraud. The "Star Route" contractors alone, in the opinion of the Attorney-General, defrauded the Government of not less than (\$1,000,000) four millions of dollars; on the Pacific railroads, built by Government subsidy, the contractors often received as the price of construction three times the actual cost of the work, and while ever since their completion the roads have been managed in utter defiance of the law, no effective prosecutions have been attempted. The natural consequences have ensued. These methods, begotten in fraud, are in turn the parents of fraud. The corrupt handling of millions of money attracts hordes of speculators of every form and description. The worst men have gravitated to the party in power, like refuse iron-filings to a magnet. And as the changes are rung on these accusations, the party raises the cry that the only remedy is to "turn the rascals out."

In the absence of clearly defined principles, except on the part of the Prohibitionists, and possibly also on the part of the Anti-Monopolists, it is impossible for the campaign to be fought on any high political ground. It would be difficult to name any important line of national policy that either party will advocate without reserve. The tendency, therefore, is to descend to a low plane of political discussion, and to revel in the domain of personalities. Accusations involving the private life of both of the most prominent candidates have been made, and a prosecution for libel as a result has already been begun. The worst charges have promptly been shown to be false; but unhappily there appears to be still remaining enough of truth in the accusations to make a burden which many a lover of personal purity and integrity will refuse to carry.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

### I.—APOLOGETIC THEOLOGY.

THE Editors of "The Problem of Life"\* inform us that the work was arranged for publication in its present form by the author shortly before his death. It consists of sixty-two "Essay Discourses," which were delivered "to a few earnest inquirers and thinkers" in Auckland. When we consider the high character which is involved in many of the questions discussed in them, we should have expected that the numbers in a colonial city who would have been capable of appreciating discourses of this kind would have been extremely limited. Be this as it may, the hearers of them have shown their zeal in a very practical manner, by raising the sum necessary for effecting their publication. The book itself is hard reading. This may be in some degree owing to the form in which it is written. But it also seems to us to be needlessly prolix and to involve frequent repetition of the same idea in a slightly altered form. The great points of the argument are obscured by being hidden under a mass of minute details, and there is a strong tendency in the author's mind to transcendentalism. Whatever may be the cause, we have found it far from easy to master its contents, and we think that few readers will succeed in doing so without a second perusal. Still, notwithstanding these defects, we consider that there is a great deal in the book which demands the most careful consideration of Christians in the present state of thought. The work itself may be briefly described as an attempt to set forth Christianity as it was taught by Christ and His apostles, free from the mass of abstract dogma which has been heaped on it by theologians during the eighteen centuries of the past. As it consists of no less than 457 very closely printed pages, we need hardly say that within our limits it is impossible to give even a very brief summary of the numerous questions which are discussed in it. With many of its positions we are unable to agree; some of them we find it extremely difficult to formulate in definite thought; and it is far from clear what are the means which the author would adopt to generate in mankind that Christ-like character which he truly says that it is the end and purpose of Christianity to create. Yet, notwithstanding these and other defects, we recommend those of our readers who are dissatisfied with the popular systems of Christianity to give a careful consideration to numerous positions in this work. We fully concur with the author

\* "The Problem of Life, considered in a Series of Essay Discourses." By S. Edgar, B.A. London of Auckland, New Zealand. London: Isbister. 1884.



in thinking that the Christianity of the future will centre around the person, work, and teaching of Jesus Christ; in a word, that Christianity is a life, and not a body of abstract dogmatic truths. But in dealing with some of these questions, we cannot but think that he takes several positions which are supported by little or no evidence, and not a few of a character which is highly transcendental. Our space will only allow us to refer to two or three points of importance which are discussed in this work. We consider that the chapters in which the question of the immortality of man and the spontaneity of the will are discussed, are extremely able; that the author's theory of demoniacal possession is worthy of careful consideration; that the ultimate truths, on which our moral nature is based, are put on a firm foundation; and that the sceptical objections against intuitionist morality are effectually disposed of. But the various positions which bear on the essence of Christianity and its future prospects are far too numerous to be even alluded to in a brief notice like the present. We must, therefore, conclude with the expression of a wish that the author in his treatment of his subject had given greater attention to perspicuity and compression of thought. Had he done so, it would have greatly increased the number of his readers.

The author of "*The Gospel of Divine Humanity*"\* seems to propose to himself an object analogous to that of the book which we have above noticed. The subjects of which he treats are "*The Divine Humanity*," "*The Word of God*," "*The Creation*," "*The Fall*," "*Liberty and Necessity*," "*Faith*," "*Prayer*," "*Miracle*," "*The Trinity*," "*The Atonement*," "*Sacraments*," "*The Second Advent*," "*The Last Judgment*," and "*Christian Ethics*." We cordially agree with two positions which he has laid down in his preface—viz., "*The one thing needful to deprive intellectual scepticism and unbelief of their necessity, and thus of their existence, is the presentation of Christianity in its integrity as an evangel for any man in every possible condition of life and progress—a system of truth, perfect in reasonableness, and worthy of all acceptance as a spiritual and moral power for the regeneration of the individual, of society, and the world.*" Also: "*There is no esoteric Christianity; for there is no Christian doctrine which cannot be found plainly revealed in the New Testament Scriptures to a mind open to its reception.*" These passages led us to anticipate that the author intended to set forth what constituted Christianity in its essential features, in a manner level to the comprehension of the great mass of readers of ordinary intelligence. Great therefore was our disappointment when, on perusing the work, we found in it numerous positions of so highly transcendental a character that we were unable to realize them in definite thought. We therefore consider it due to ourselves to justify what we say by a few brief quotations, asking the reader to observe that the work contains a large number of similar passages, and that we only adduce them as samples. Thus we read, at p. xi. of the preface: "*The idea of humanity in its unitary aspect as the body of God, the only-begotten Son of God, of which Christ is the representation, is not new, but is more, or*

\* "*The Gospel of Divine Humanity; a Reconsideration of Christian Doctrine in the Light of a Central Principle.*" London: Elliot Stock. 1884.

less implied in all Christian philosophy." "Men and women, as individuals, are sons and daughters of the Father; humanity in its higher unitary universal aspect is the only-begotten Son of God; and any member who has attained to the perception and realization of its true standing as one, in, from, and for, the whole, is that Son" (p. 2). "Christ not merely by revelation, but by law of being, is very God, Father and Son in one Personality; but none the less, yea, the more, He is the Brother of every man and woman in the universe" (p. 7). "We are, therefore, ever in God from necessity of existence, begotten and subsisting in eternity; though, in natural birth, brought under conditions of limitation and defect, that we may grow through illusion to truth, through individuality to universality," &c. (p. 9). Humanity, as the Son of God, is heir of all things visible and invisible. Every member of the one body in the actual realization of his unity "in the whole, has the life of the whole, is indeed the whole in a special aspect of relation and use" (p. 14). "Hence the necessity of creation, the realizing or limiting in multiplicity of forms and states the one infinite consciousness; God losing of Himself to find Himself; a streaming forth of the blood-life from the Universal Heart, that His fulness may be with individual consciousness, all and in all, changeless through every variety of form and experience" (p. 55). The following passage is quoted as the heading of the chapter on "The Fall," from unpublished manuscripts of James Hinton: "True being is the union of individuality and universality. (Is this divine Being to have an altruistic consciousness? Then is not this the destiny of man, and does it not throw light upon the history?) Adam is universality suppressed for individuality, to be restored in union. Thus, the intermediate must be self—the negation, and this must involve the manifoldness, as God is one in multiplicity. ('Man is become as one of us.') So what we want is this universal consciousness restored, one with the self-consciousness—i.e., altruistic. We cannot act in the self-state as if we were universal; the tree of life is guarded against ourselves for ourselves. We must act according to the phenomenal conditions of self-life. But then we should act as understanding it to be so, not regarding phenomena as reality, but seeing them as phenomena" (p. 63). "Universal humanity is the body of God, in each member of which the universal consciousness experiences all stages of descent and progress, and is omnipotent and omniscient in the part—partially considered—as in the whole, for all is whole to Him" (p. 78). We think that it will be long before transcendentalisms such as the above (and they are liberally scattered throughout the work) will ever become "a spiritual and moral power for the regeneration of the individual, and of society and the world."

We cannot better describe the difference between this volume and the one which we have next to notice,\* than by saying that we now pass from the regions of the stars into the domains of common sense. The book is a vindication of the historical truth of the four Evangelists against the objections which have been urged against it by the various forms of modern unbelief. Dr. Paterson justly founds his argument on facts, and on nothing but facts; either facts of which

\* "The Fourfold Life: its Antecedents and Consequences." By H. Sinclair Paterson, M.D. London: John Shaw & Co.

the evidence is stronger than the ordinary facts of history, or else facts which are capable of being verified in the realities of the present. He truly considers that the person and work of Jesus Christ, as depicted in the Evangelists, constitute the centre and essence of Christianity, which, if historically true, prove Christianity to be divine revelation, despite of all the difficulties with which existing systems of theology are encumbered; but if this cannot be given, all the other numerous collateral defences of it will fail in affording evidence of its superhuman origin. On this important truth the author has kept his eye steadily fixed throughout his work. The Christ of the Gospels, and His unique action on the history of the past and on the facts of the present, must be accounted for. The author shows that nothing will account for this unique action but the historical truth of the narratives of the four Evangelists, and that this will afford a philosophical solution of them; whereas the solution of these facts which has been propounded by the various schools of modern unbelief alike offend against sound philosophy and common sense. Dr. Paterson with justice urges that it is simply incredible that a single writer, not to say four, could have composed their narratives with such minute accuracy with respect to historical facts, at the conclusion of the first, or during the first half of the second century. "The Gospels," says he, "intermeddle with minute facts in government, in politics, in language, before the destruction of Jerusalem." He might have added, with national customs, geographical facts, and modes of thought; in a word, with everything connected with the life of the times. "And yet they never make a single mistake." Two incidental oversights of the author place the difficulty in question in a striking light. In one passage he refers to the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan as written by Pliny the naturalist. It was not written by Pliny the naturalist, but by his nephew. We think also, but are not absolutely certain, that the province of Bithynia was an imperial province. If so, the title of its Governor would not have been Proconsul, but *Legatus Cæsaris*. At p. 174 he speaks of Judea as having been sometimes governed by Consuls. Judea itself, when under direct Roman Government, was uniformly governed by an officer whose title was Procurator; and the province of Syria, on which it was dependent, and of which it formed a part, was not a senatorial but an imperial province. Consequently, its Governor was neither Consul nor Proconsul, but *Legatus Cæsaris*. So difficult is it, when incidentally referring to distant events, invariably to make use of terms which are strictly historically accurate. Yet this is the very thing which the Evangelists have done. St. Luke gives us a remarkable instance of such accuracy when he gives the title of Proconsul to Sergius Paulus, the island of Cyprus only a few years before having been an imperial province. A writer of the first half of the second century, or even at the conclusion of the first, would here in all probability have committed a blunder. In conclusion, we cordially recommend this work to those who have neither the time nor the opportunity of studying larger ones bearing on the same subject.

The next volume\* consists of nine Essays, seven of which are reprints

\* "Modern Theories on Philosophy and Religion." By John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons.

of articles in Reviews, chiefly in the *Edinburgh*. The two remaining ones—viz, those on Mr. Arnold's views respecting "Religion without Metaphysics," and the recent well-known volume on "Natural Religion," the author tells us are in considerable part freshly written, and have not appeared before. The Essays themselves deal with a number of most important questions of current Anti-theistic thought; to use the words of the author, "They put plainly, I think, the points at issue between Christianity and Naturalism; and in such a contention, to see where the stress really lies, may help to settle it. It is in this hope, at least, I have collected the Essays, and ventured thus briefly to trace the line of thought which connects them and gives them any value." After having carefully read the work, we think the general treatment of these subjects able, and that it will present many points of great interest to a numerous class of readers. For ourselves, however, we cannot but consider that the author would have done better if he had woven these Essays into a connected whole, and adopted a more philosophical arrangement of the subject-matter. In its present form the course of thought is deficient in logical connection, and is greatly interrupted by a very large number of biographical allusions to the persons with whose opinions he is dealing, or whose works he is reviewing. This may be all very well in the case of articles intended for publication in Reviews, and will probably add to the interest with which many readers will read in this volume; but it seems to us greatly to interrupt the argument, and to distract our attention from the great points at issue. The omission of one subject we greatly lament. The author tells us in his preface that he had intended to close these papers by a somewhat elaborate analysis of Dr. Newman's "Grammar of Assent," with the view of showing how untenable is the principle of religious certitude laid down in that work, as an escape from the assaults of the modern spirit of doubt. We have long been of the same opinion as Dr. Tulloch; and we consider that the logical principles at the foundation of that work are those which should conduct those who accept them either to the Church of Rome or into unbelief. We deeply regret that this book, which has done a great deal of mischief in its day, has not been grappled with by so able a hand as Dr. Tulloch. If the omissions to which we have referred had been made, there would have been ample space, with the aid of a few additional pages, for a thorough discussion of its principles in the present volume, and for the exposure of their unsoundness and dangerous character.

Mr. Tait's "Mind in Matter"\* is divided into four parts, in which the author undertakes to treat of the Inorganic World, the Organic World, the Rational Organic World, and Universal Relations. The first three are in our judgment by far the best, though we feel bound to say that there are numerous positions in them which we are unable to accept. Part IV. enters into the discussion of points which are wholly foreign to the subject of the work as indicated in the title-page. It treats of the following subjects: Mind and Matter, Natural Inspiration, Supernatural Inspiration, the Old Testament, the New Testament. With respect to the treatment of the last two of these, we feel bound to say that

\* "Mind in Matter; a Short Argument on Theism." By Rev. James Tait. London: Griggs & Co.

we have rarely read a book which seems to us more unsatisfactory. We can scarcely find a single difficulty that has been urged by modern criticism which meets with a satisfactory solution; nor can we give greater praise to the mode adopted in dealing with the history. One new idea we have certainly met with. "The calamities of the Jews in Egypt," says the author, "are a striking instance of historic justice. It was in reality an Israelite who prepared the way for their oppression. In the interest of Pharaoh, Joseph reduced the Egyptians to the position of Crown serfs. His own race were very properly the first to feel the blunder. The Israelites were not domestic slaves, but public property. . . . To-day Egypt is the only civilized country in the world whose rulers command the unrequited labour of the whole people. In Egypt Joseph is a living fact" (pp. 153, 154). We always thought that Joseph's policy was an extremely questionable one; but that the calamities of the Israelites in Egypt are a striking example of historic justice—that is to say, were a just tit-for-tat—is to us a new idea.

"The Gospel and the Age"\* is a collection of sermons preached at intervals extending over a period of more than twenty years, the first having been delivered in 1860 and the last in 1882. They were all delivered extemporaneously, and have been put together by the author from a set of imperfect reports during a time of enforced leisure consequent on his late illness. "A sermon," says the author, "thus patched and mended has neither the freshness and point of an extempore, nor the smoothness nor the sustained weight of a written composition. . . . It runs the risk of uniting the defects of both styles with the merits of neither" (Preface, p. vi.). We think that there is a great deal of truth in this opinion. The volume consists of fifteen sermons, of which the latter half are decidedly the best; and it is among these that the evidential ones are chiefly to be found. These also seem to us to present an enlargement of view compared with the earlier ones. One evidential discourse which we ourselves heard, and which was delivered a short time before the Bishop's illness, we eagerly sought for, but it is not in the present volume. At the time of its delivery we considered it the most powerful thing of the kind we had ever heard. We can only account for its absence because the report of it was so imperfect that the Bishop has been unable to reconstruct it. We sincerely wish that he had rewritten it, as it was scarcely possible to have put forth a more powerful defence of Theism and Christianity in a discourse of little more than an hour's duration.

Bishop Barry's sermons† are not directly, but yet in a high degree indirectly, evidential. The author makes no direct attempt to combat any of the positions which are taken by modern unbelief; but he does better, and presents a Christianity to his hearers which is adequate to meet all the requirements of the various forms of modern thought. As might be expected, he cordially accepts all really established scientific truths, which he justly views as throwing additional light on the character of the Creator, and he deeply sympathizes with the efforts of

\* "The Gospel and the Age; Sermons on Special Occasions." By H. C. Magee, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough. London: Isbister.

† "Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey." By Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Sydney. Cassell & Co. 1884.

the students of science, to extend its boundaries, and with every effort which workers in other fields are making for the humanizing and enlightenment of mankind. The author justly considers that the essence of Christianity consists in the person, work, and teaching of Jesus Christ our Lord, as they are depicted in the Gospels, and throughout these sermons he proceeds to apply this Christianity to "Business," to "Politics," to "Science," to "Art," in a word, to the whole course of modern life, and to explain its bearing on it. We think the sermons which directly treat on these five subjects to be extremely able, as well as highly necessary in the present aspects of religious thought. After these follow five sermons no less important, unfolding different aspects of Christianity, as exhibited in our Lord's divine Person. The remaining sermons all carry out the same leading ideas, and are excellent in their kind. The entire volume also has the merit of being thoroughly intelligible. The whole subject is viewed on its positive and practical side; and we think that the positive exhibition of Christianity which it contains will be far more persuasive to doubters and unbelievers, and certainly more edifying to believers, than many of the treatises which are from time to time put forth as evidential. In conclusion, we strongly recommend the perusal of this work to our readers.

We think that the title of "Modern Egypt" \* is a misnomer; we fail to see in it any real witness to Christ. It contains a certain amount of Egyptology, not a very large one, illustrated by pictures; and all that can be said of it is, that it bears witness to the accuracy of certain historical statements of the Old Testament; but this goes but a short way to prove the supernatural character of various facts recorded there, or that it is a record of supernatural revelations, which is the real point at issue between believers and unbelievers at the present day. We much question the wisdom of the committee in publishing a work entitled "Modern Egypt: its Witness to Christ," when the reader will find little or no witness to Christ from one end of the book to the other; certainly none of any value. Faith which can be strengthened by this kind of evidence, by a work of this kind, must be easily satisfied.

Dr. Cox attempts to treat a very wide and important subject† in a very small space, the pages being few and small and the print large. The work, however, may be of some use to those who have no time for reading those in which the subject is more thoroughly and ably discussed.

C. A. Row.

\* "Modern Egypt: its Witness to Christ." Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

† "Miracles: An Argument and a Challenge." By Samuel Cox, D.D. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

## II.—ORIENTAL HISTORY.

THE most important work that has been accomplished during the last six months in the field of Oriental research has been what may be termed the disinterment of ancient Egyptian history by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Sān. Sān lies in the midst of pestiferous marshes in the eastern extremity of the Delta, covered with water during one part of the year, and swept by sand-storms during the other part. But it occupies the site of the ancient city of Tanis or Zoan, the capital of the Shepherd-kings and the favoured residence of Ramses II., the oppressor of the Israelites "in the field of Zoan." Mariette had already partially explored the great temple there, the foundations of which went back to the days of the sixth dynasty, but which had been adorned, enlarged, and restored by the Pharaohs of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, by the Hyksos chieftains, by the Ramses, the Shishaks, and the Ptolemies. What Mariette found indicated the treasures which still lie buried beneath the soil. Here, if anywhere, is hidden the key to the history of those mysterious Shepherd princes in whom some scholars have seen Hittite conquerors, and whom the latest theory would bring from the distant mountains of Elam. Here too, if anywhere, we shall discover the monumental record of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their hasty flight towards the eastern wilderness.

It was, therefore, a wise determination on the part of the Egypt Exploration Committee to direct their campaign of 1884 against the ruins of Sān, and an equally wise determination to entrust it to the well-tried command of Mr. Petrie. His work at Gizeh, of which an account has already been given in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, showed that he possessed all the qualifications of a successful excavator and careful explorer, while his mathematical knowledge and scientific training secured him against the illusions into which an enthusiastic discoverer may sometimes fall. The results he has obtained from what has necessarily been little more than a preliminary investigation of the site, have fully justified the choice of the Committee. During the past spring it has been impossible to do more than clear out a considerable part of the area of the great temple, trace the line of wall built round it by Pisebkhanu of the twenty-first dynasty, excavate a small Ptolemaic chapel, and open tombs in three cemeteries outside the ancient city, the discovery of which is due to Mr. Petrie. Two of these cemeteries belong to the Greek and Roman epochs, and the third is not older than the age of the twenty-sixth dynasty; but some of the mummy-cases found in them are richly inlaid with mosaics, like the mummy-cases of the late Roman period disinterred in the Fayûm. One of the tombs contained a huge granite sarcophagus, fourteen and a half feet in length and eight feet in height, and therefore larger than the famous sarcophagi of the Serapeum in which the mummies of the Apis-bulls were enshrined.

While digging on the site of the temple area, Mr. Petrie came across

the remains of several private dwelling-houses, built, like all similar structures in both ancient and modern Egypt, of bricks baked in the sun. The houses were all of the Roman age, and in three of them were found baskets of papyri inscribed with Greek and demotic characters. Unfortunately, the papyri are not only in tatters, but have also been carbonized by a conflagration in which the houses of their owners perished, so that not more than about two hundred fragments are legible. In one of the houses a bas-relief in the Assyrian style was discovered; in another a female bust of white marble and good workmanship; in a third, a large sheet of colourless glass, on which the Zodiac and the four seasons have been painted in gilding and colour. Outside the walls Mr. Petrie has brought to light other remarkable specimens of ancient glass, in the shape of bottles ornamented in relief, which must have been blown in a mould like modern glass vessels.

Within the area of the great temple the most interesting discovery is that of fragments belonging to what must once have been the most gigantic statue the world has ever seen. This colossus represented Ramses II. in a standing posture, and was carved out of the red granite of Assuan. From the foot to the crown it must have measured ninety-eight feet, or thirty-two feet more than the huge figures hewn out of the cliff at the entrance to the temple of Abu-Simbel. Mr. Petrie calculates that its weight was at least 1,200 tons—by no means a despicable mass of stone for the engineers of Sesostris to float down the Nile through the whole length of Egypt, and finally erect in its destined place in the great temple of Tanis, which hardly reached to the waist of the enormous image. It was, however, worthily supported by the gigantic granite sphinxes which formed an avenue of approach to the temple, and were as old as the age of the twelfth dynasty, that is, some 2,000 years before the time of Ramses-Sesostris himself.

Passing from history as it is being created by the spade of the excavator to history as it is digested for us in printed books, the first that merits our attention is a new work on Egyptian history by Dr. Alfred Wiedemann.\* So many histories of Egypt have appeared of late, that it might have been supposed there would be no room for a new one. Dr. Wiedemann's object, however, is different from that of his predecessors. Instead of entering into competition with the brilliant work of Brugsch or the serviceable volume of Sir Erasmus Wilson, he has devoted himself to collecting and recording the sources of our present knowledge of ancient Egyptian history, and registering all the royal names which have hitherto been furnished to us by monuments of every kind. Even scarabs in private collections have not been neglected. The earlier part of his first volume is occupied with an exhaustive list of classical writers who in any way touched upon Egypt and Egyptian history, together with brief estimates of the value to be assigned to them. His judgment of Herodotos, it may be observed, is not more favourable than it was in his earlier critical work on the history of Egypt during the Saitic and Persian periods.

I may here, perhaps, be allowed to notice a reprint of the chapters on the "Ancient Empires of the East" in my own edition of "Herodotos," which is accompanied by an introduction on the worth of the information handed down to us by Greek and Latin authors as regards things

\* "*Ägyptische Geschichte.*" 2 vols. Perthes: Gotha. 1884.



Oriental.\* It has been brought out for the special use of those who wish to know what is the exact state of our knowledge at the present time about the great nations of the ancient East, and who have no desire to have this bound up in the same volume with a Greek text. Lenormant's "Manual of Ancient History" has been long since outstripped by the rapid progress of Oriental research, and the premature death of its talented author prevented him from completing a new and revised edition of it, while even Maspero's charming "*Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*" is—at all events as regards the purely Asiatic portion of it—already obsolete. It was therefore time that stock should once more be taken of that reconstruction of the history of the past which the monuments of the Egyptians, of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and of the Hittite tribes, have been effecting for us.

So rapid, however, is the advance of science, that even since the publication of this new edition of my work a discovery of high importance to the historian has been announced by Mr. Pinches.† This is nothing less than the originals of the Babylonian history—the so-called Canon of Ptolemy—contained in the *Almagest*, and of the dynastic tables used by the Chaldean historian Berossos. The first proves the remarkable exactitude of the Canon, and makes us more than ever deplore the loss of the work of Berossos from which it was extracted. It further shows that Schrader was right in holding that the Pul of the Old Testament, the Pôros of the Canon, was the Tiglath-Pileser II. of the Assyrian inscriptions, Tiglath-Pileser being the name the usurper assumed after one of the most famous monarchs of the dynasty he had displaced. But it further shows that the name of Shalmaneser, the besieger of Samaria and the successor of Tiglath-Pileser, was also an assumed one. His original name was Ululai or Ilulæos, and under this name he continued to be known in Babylonia.

The second tablet discovered by Mr. Pinches contains a list of the dynasties which ruled over Babylonia from B.C. 2350 to the conquest of Cyrus. The length of each king's reign is given as well as that of the several dynasties. Unfortunately, a portion of the tablet has been destroyed, and Mr. Pinches, through overlooking certain synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian history, has dated the earlier kings a century too late. As few of the royal names known to us from the bricks of ancient Babylonian temples occur in the list, while one of them—that of the founder of the temple of the Moon-god at Mugheyer or Ur—is shown to have lived B.C. 2930, we need no longer feel much hesitation in accepting the statement of Nabonidos that Sargon I. of Accad, and his son, Naram-Sin, reigned 3,200 years before his time, or 3750 B.C. Naram-Sin carried his arms as far as the Sinaitic Peninsula, and his father claims to have set up his image on the shores of the Mediterranean and to have penetrated into the island of Cyprus. Among the treasures found by General di Cesnola at Kurion was a cylinder bearing the name of Naram-Sin. Sargon was the founder of the great library at Accad, which was famous in later days for its works on astronomy and astrology. He marked the rise of the Semitic power in northern Babylonia; the old Accadian

\* "The Ancient Empires of the East." London and New York: Macmillan and Scribner. 1884.

† In the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," 1884, pp. 193-204.

epoch, when the cuneiform system of writing was invented and the great cities of Babylonia built, lying far behind him. An insight into this epoch, and into the growth of the primitive hieroglyphics into cuneiform characters, has been afforded us by the recent French excavations at Tell-Ho. The statues found at the latter spot, wrought in hard diorite which had been brought—so the inscriptions upon them inform us—from the Sinaitic Peninsula, remind us most forcibly, both in style and in posture, of the famous diorite statue of the Egyptian king Khephrén, the builder of the second pyramid of Gizch, which is now in the museum of Bûlak. Mr. Petrie has pointed out that the scale marked on a plan in the lap of one of the statues from Tell-Ho agrees with that used in Egypt in the age of the pyramid-builders. It seems difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that as far back as the era of the fourth dynasty—approximately fixed by Dr. Wiedemann in his new book at B.C. 1875—an Egyptian school of sculptuary existed among the quarries of Sinai, which transported its works to Memphis on the one side and to Babylonia on the other. What a light this throws on the antiquity of human culture in the lands to which we of the nineteenth century are offering the civilization of the last three hundred years!

A. H. SAYCE

## III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—Mr. Bell has done a real service in introducing us to a man of true genius, whose works have sunk into a mysteriously swift and complete oblivion.\* Judging from the extracts furnished by Mr. Bell, Charles Whitehead's poem, "The Solitary," and his novel, "Richard Savage," were both very remarkable works. The poem is quoted with high praise by Christopher North in the "Noctes," and was warmly admired by D. G. Rossetti. One of his sonnets, which struck Rossetti much, appears in the letters of the latter, with quite a number of curious little improvements unconsciously contributed to it in passing through Rossetti's own mind. Whitehead was a friend of Dickens and Jerrold, and for thirty years wrote for some of the best English periodicals, and yet, though he is scarcely twenty years dead, his name is absolutely forgotten. Mr. Bell has not been able to recover many particulars of his career, but it seems to have been sadly marred by intemperance, and to have ended in a death of neglect and want in an Australian hospital. Mr. Bell writes in an excellent style, and his critical remarks are full of thoughtful good sense.—The story of the successful is much less interesting than that of the unhappy; but surely the life of the late Master of the Mint might have made a much more interesting narrative than that which has just been furnished by Dr. Angus Smith.† It was prepared by Dr. Smith as the Graham Lecture to be read before the Glasgow Philosophical Society; and the writer himself owns that it is neither artistic nor complete, but merely contains materials that ought to be preserved for future use, and could be preserved nowhere better than in the transactions of a learned society. A good portrait accompanies the volume.—The literary interest of misfortune, to which we have just alluded, cannot be better exemplified than in the history of the last of the Stuarts; but the life of the Countess of Albany contains many other sources of interest besides that, and none of these lose anything in the skilful hands of Vernon Lee.‡ The sketches of the Young Pretender, of Alfieri, of the general society of the time, are exceedingly well done, full of forcible and picturesque presentation and of psychological insight.—Signor Dupré says he preferred publishing his autobiography§ during his lifetime, because he would have to say things that were not agreeable of some people, and he desired to be still alive to correct them if they were wrong or wanting in chivalrousness.

\* "A Forgotten Genius: Charles Whitehead." A Critical Monograph. By H. D. Mackenzie Bell. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

† "The Life and Works of Thomas Graham, D.C.L., F.R.S." Illustrated by sixty-four Unpublished Letters. Edited by J. J. Coleman, F.I.C. Glasgow: J. Smith and Sons.

‡ "The Countess of Albany." By Vernon Lee. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

§ "Thoughts on Art and Autobiographical Memoirs of Giovanni Dupré." Translated from the Italian by G. M. Peruzzi. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons.

Any way, this rule is a useful safeguard against thoughtless or malicious giving of offence, and the book is remarkably free from anything of the kind. On the other hand, it contains many interesting incidents and suggestive remarks.

MISCELLANEOUS.—No movement of this century is more remarkable or more pregnant with great social results than the movement, simultaneously going on in all countries during the last twenty years, to admit women to the same education, the same careers, the same political and legal position as men. A record of this interesting movement has now been provided by Mr. Theodore Stanton, in a series of separate essays, written for the most part by women who have been themselves leaders in it, on the history of its development, or of its particular branches in the different countries of Europe.\* Mrs. Fawcett, for example, writes on the Woman's Suffrage Movement in England; Mrs. Grey, on the Woman's Educational Movement; Mrs. Hoggan, on Women in Medicine; Miss Boucherett, on the Industrial Movement; and various foreign ladies on the work in Germany, Sweden, Russia, Spain, &c. Mr. Stanton himself contributes, besides the preface, the article on France. The work will be found replete with interesting and, in many cases, novel details about a movement of growing importance.—Mr. John Ashton has hit on a very good idea in collecting for us the numerous caricatures on Napoleon I. that appeared in this country during the great war, and supplying along with them the historical and other explanations necessary for understanding them.† Gill-ray and Rowlandson generally signed their caricatures, and where caricatures are not signed, Mr. Ashton has accepted the authorship assigned them by the British Museum authorities. His explanatory remarks are also free from any pretension to higher criticism, but they are sufficient for their purpose; and on the whole he has produced an entertaining and in many respects instructive book, which shows us in a striking way the current popular conceptions of our great enemy, and enables us to perceive clearly the decided advance we have made in the art of caricature.—In "The Battlefields of Germany,"‡ Colonel Malleon describes the principal military events that occurred on German soil from the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War to the battle of Blenheim, and he proposes to follow up the subject, if the present volume is well received by the public, by two further volumes, one on the battles of the period between Blenheim and the French Revolution, and the other on those between the Revolution and our own time. The book is written with care. The author has not only read much, but, to ensure accuracy and vividness, he has visited almost all the battlefields he describes; but his descriptions are, after all, not very vivid, and though he brings us, as he says, "into inspiring company," we are, as a matter of fact, but little inspired by it. It comes within his purpose to unfold the causes of the battles and the events that led to them, and the work would be improved if these

\* "The Woman Question in Europe." A Series of Original Essays. Edited by Theodore Stanton, M.A. With an Introduction by Frances Power Cobbe. London: Sampson Low & Co.

† "English Caricatures and Satire on Napoleon I." By John Ashton. London: Chatto & Windus.

‡ "The Battlefields of Germany." By Colonel G. B. Malleon, C.S.I. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

were more effectively explained. At the same time the book is one of honest workmanship and solid value.—The admirers of Thoreau will be glad to welcome a second volume of selections from his journal. Thoreau seems to have contemplated writing what he calls "A Book of the Seasons, each page of which should be written in its own season and out of doors, or in its own locality, wherever it may be," and the probability is that the fragmentary passages that have been found in his journal were suggestions and materials for such a work. Those bearing on spring have already appeared under the title, "Early Spring in Massachusetts," and now we have a companion volume on summer, marked by the well-known characteristics of the writer. It may be added that the work is accompanied by a map of Concord and its vicinity.

\* "Summer." From the Journal of Henry D. Thoreau. Edited by H. G. O. Blake. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

## THE BRITISH NAVY

THE condition of the navy has at length become a question of recognized public importance, competing in interest even with the startling usurpation lately attempted by the House of Lords. The popular interest in the navy, naturally enough, turns primarily upon our acknowledged deficiency as regards the numbers of our iron-clads ; but there are other parts of the subject which, to say the least, are fully as important as the length of our list of ships. Notwithstanding the very good service which has been rendered by the press, and primarily by the courageous action of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, it seems doubtful whether the true character of the naval problem has yet been at all thoroughly considered. The unblushing boldness with which the multiplication of unarmoured ships for war purposes is advocated, seems to indicate that the causes which brought about the employment of armour in the navy are being lost sight of, and, if we are not very careful, we may be forced into an expenditure of several millions sterling, and then find our last state but little better than our present.

Down even to our own day, naval battles were fought in wooden ships, armed with guns firing solid, and therefore unexplosive, shot. A limited use of explosive-shell-fire from mortars had been made in the navy for some years before ; but the destructive efficiency of explosive projectiles fired from ordinary guns was dramatically demonstrated by the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, late in 1853 ; and, as Sir Thomas Brassey states in his work on the navy, "The massacre of the Turks at Sinope, occurring at a moment when the public feeling of several powerful nations was strongly directed towards war, attracted special attention, and revealed very plainly to all, that the shell-guns with which Russia and most Western States had armed

their fleets, had rendered the abandonment of wooden hulls inevitable." Here Sir Thomas Brassey puts the case as if shell-fire had proved the unfitness of the wooden hull only; and it was natural enough to put the case so, seeing that all the ships destroyed at Sinope were of wood. But Sir Thomas immediately, and very properly, goes on to tell us that the effect of the Sinope disaster was not merely to substitute iron for wood in the construction of the hulls of war ships; but to protect the ship, whether of wood or of iron, with armour-plates. Sir Thomas further shows that in this country, where, as he says, "grave doubts had been felt as to the utility of armour," not only did we forthwith resort to iron as the material of the hull of the *Warrior*, but we were at last compelled to adopt armour itself as a means of excluding explosive shells from the interiors of our ships.

This compulsory adoption of armour, as well as of an iron hull, is a matter of the greatest possible importance and significance. The present condition and the future development of our naval power can only be properly understood by those who keep it clearly and carefully in mind. In fact, I doubt if there be any other question before the public at the present moment, in dealing with which it is so necessary to keep its recent history well in view. It will therefore be worth while to look back a little at our own experience.

And, first, let us briefly notice what happened in our own experience with shell guns and unarmoured ships in actual war. We have not—it is gratifying, in most respects, to know—had many opportunities of witnessing the results of naval engagements since the general introduction of shell-fire; but the attack made by our fleets upon the forts at Sevastopol, in October 1854, furnished a sufficient illustration for our purpose. Of the *Arethusa*, Mr. Kinglake says, "Four shells took effect on board of her; and she was set fire to both on her main and her lower decks." Of the *Albion* he says, "She was soon struck by numbers of shells. Of these some struck the ship near her water-line, and some of them, bursting on the orlop deck, set fire to the ship in several places. In her masts, in her rigging, and in the part of her hull near the water-line, the ship suffered havoc, and the fires which laid hold upon her having rendered it necessary to close the magazine, her broadside was by consequence silenced. . . . Nearly half of the *Albion's* crew were mustered at 'fire quarters' to get down the three conflagrations which threatened the powder magazines." The *Bellerophon* "was set on fire by a shell; altogether she was three times on fire." The *Rodney* "was set fire to both in her orlop deck and in her foremast under the foreyard." And, again, "Both the *Rodney* and the *Spiteful* sustained a good deal of damage from shot and shell." "The *Agamemnon* was set on fire by a shell;" and so on. "The *Ville de Paris*, the French admiral's

flagship, received fifty shots in her hull ; and a shell bursting under the poop made such havoc in that part of the ship that nine officers of Hamelin's staff there standing near their chief were either killed or wounded."

The foregoing example will do as well as any other for the purpose of illustrating the effects of shell-fire, since it cannot matter whether the shell enter the ship from a land battery or from a ship's battery in so far as these effects are concerned. In the case of the English ships, nearly all the mischief worked upon them appears to have resulted from a single gun in the Wasp Battery, and five guns in the Telegraph Battery. These six guns were ridiculously small and weak, as compared with the guns now carried in all descriptions of war ships, although they were well placed at an elevation. But the important point to be observed is, that this shell-fire had, when employed against unarmoured ships, most destructive effects. It must not be thought that these effects were wholly due, or due in the main, to the fact of the sides of our ships of that day being constructed of wood. No doubt such shell as lodged in the wooden sides and exploded there occasionally set fire to the hull itself ; but it is obvious from the language of Mr. Kinglake, above quoted, that it was between decks where the worst ravages occurred, and where the most dangerous fires broke out.

It follows from this that, whether the hull proper be of wood or of iron, shell penetrating into the interiors of ships inflict havoc, and that he who exclaimed, " For God's sake keep out the shells ! " did so with good cause. It would be perfectly possible for iron or steel vessels, if unprotected with armour, to suffer from fire to nearly the same extent as the ships before Sevastopol, even from the same comparatively trifling attack, were they in all other respects like them. Indeed, there is very good reason for believing that, had the navy of that day consisted of unarmoured iron ships, they would have suffered a great deal more, and probably several of them would have gone down, for the reason that, in addition to the injuries already described, they would have suffered others, due to the fact that the holes and rents made by projectiles in the sides of iron or steel vessels are often both far larger (especially those on the off-side caused by projectiles that have passed through the ship) than those made in wooden ships, and far more difficult to repair. The *Arethusa* and *Albion* were sent to Constantinople to repair and refit, and, says Kinglake, " they were in such plight that the chance of their proving able to reach the Bosphorus was judged to be dependent upon weather." Considering the very great facilities that exist on board ship for temporarily repairing injuries to wooden planks, and the few that exist there for temporarily repairing iron plates, the probabilities are that, had their hulls consisted of iron or steel (not



armour, of course), they would never have crossed the Black Sea at all.

We have, therefore, to consider the condition of our navy in view of these facts, and also in view of the terrible increase in the power of the gun and of the shell, to say nothing at this point of the torpedo or the ram. In the first place, it will be well to take note of those circumstances which tend, in the modern unarmoured war-ship, to diminish the disastrous effects of shell fire. It may be roundly stated that the war-ships which we now construct are all built with hulls of steel, and most of them are built with decks of steel—the steel decks, however, being for the larger part covered with deck-plank of teak or of pine. The ribs, and the beams, and all the outside plating, are of steel. Further, a great many bulkheads, also of steel, are fitted in all war-vessels, most of them extending transversely from side to side of the ship, and some of them running longitudinally. All magazines, rooms for explosive shells, torpedo-rooms, &c., are situated in close compartments of thin steel. By all this—excepting the wood covering of most of the decks—fire-proof qualities are in a considerable degree provided. Iron decks overhead, and the iron bulkheads of cabins, however, condense moisture so rapidly, that it is neither comfortable nor safe, in a sanitary sense, to leave them uncovered. Formerly, they had all to be sheathed with wood, which is always more or less combustible, and ordinary cabin bulkhead stuff is exceedingly so. To mitigate this, great pains have been taken by the Admiralty Staff, under the direction of Mr. Barnaby, to find other much less combustible materials for this purpose, and compositions of different kinds have been employed, often with great success and advantage. Experiments with this object in view are still proceeding. All this must be fully understood and allowed for by those who would understand the characteristics of the war-ship, whether armoured or unarmoured, as she now exists. But when every such allowance has been made, it must candidly be acknowledged that in the furniture and stores of a war-ship, in the bedding and clothing of its crew, &c., large quantities of combustible matter still remain, and are readily consumable by shell fire, their burning involving the ship in the risk of destruction.

Let us next compare the nature of the shell-fire which our ships encountered at Sevastopol with the shell-fire which we have to encounter afloat now. The largest guns mentioned in Mr. Kinglake's statement of the armament of the Russian sea-fort batteries which were attacked were 32-pounders. In his evidence, given before the National Defence Commission in 1859, the late Captain Cowper Coles, R.N. (who was a flag-lieutenant at the bombardment of Sevastopol), also stated that the guns fired at our ships were 32-pounders,

which he believed "were a trifle larger than ours." On being asked if those were the largest, he replied, "Those at Wasp Fort, I imagine, were 68-pounders." Now let us bring into one view the particulars of these guns, and of the shell fired by them, together with those of a few modern guns, such as are now carried at sea by ships of war. I omit, from the following examples (which have chiefly been taken from Sir Thomas Brassey's lists), several improved guns which are much more powerful for their weights than many of these, because I wish to avoid all straining of statement; and for the same reason I omit likewise all such exceptional cases as the 80-ton guns of the *Inflexible*, the 100-ton guns of the Italian ships, the 107-ton guns of Herr Krupp's manufacture, and the 110-ton guns of the *Benbow*. The guns which are recorded in this table represent armaments that are quite common in the armoured ships of our own and other countries.

*Large Naval Guns of 1854.*

Description of Gun.	Length of Gun.	Weight of Gun.	Weight of Projectile.	Charge of Powder in Gun.	Bursting Charge of Powder in Shell.
32-pounder	9½ feet.	2½ tons.	32 lbs.	10 lbs. (maximum)	1 lb.
68-pounder	10	4½	68	16	5½

*Present Large Naval Guns (exclusive of those of 80, 100, and 110 tons).*

Description of Gun.	Length of Gun.	Weight of Gun.	Weight of Projectile.	Charge of Powder in Gun.	Bursting Charge of Powder in Shell.
English	15 feet.	18 tons.	400 lbs.	70 lbs.	20½ lbs.
	15½	25	600	85	37½
	19	38	802	130	39
French	16½	15½	317	61½	17
	17½	23	475	92½	24
	22	38½	770	132	37½
Austrian	18½	22½	395	70½	20½
	20	27	559	121	25½
Russian	18½	28	495	82½	19½
	20½	40	649	121	16
German	20	28	561	132	25
	22	36	715	158	22

A glance at the above figures will suffice to show that (even omitting all naval guns of 80 tons and upwards, as is there done) the guns and projectiles of to-day are out of all proportion greater than the guns of 1854 in offensive power. Neglecting for the moment the Wasp Battery (which employed but a single gun, and accomplished but little\*), the damage which our ships sustained at Sevastopol was inflicted entirely by projectiles fired with 10-pound

\* It was supposed at the time that the battery which the English named "The Wasp," worked much of the havoc upon our ships; but later information proved that this was not the case, and that it was the Telegraph Battery that accomplished it. The Russians allege that although there were eight guns mounted upon it, there was room to work but one at a time, and that it was mainly with one gun that, from the beginning to the end of the war, it kept alive the attention of our seamen. Mr. Kinglake writes:—"Perhaps, indeed, one may say of the Telegraph Battery that it alone wrought so great havoc in the ships which came under their guns," i.e., the guns of the Wasp and Telegraph Batteries.

charges, and with a single pound of powder, each, as a bursting charge. And now the question which I wish to put, and to have considered, is this: If shell, charged with but one pound of powder, each bursting between the decks of ships, wrought all the injuries and losses which we sustained at Sevastopol, what are the injuries and losses to be anticipated when between our decks we have shell bursting charged each with 20 pounds, 30 pounds, and nearly 40 pounds of powder?

This question has to be put and considered, let it be observed, not in relation to our unarmoured ships only—or I should have dealt with less powerful guns—but with reference to our armoured ships likewise; for the answer given to it should, in my judgment, have a very important influence indeed upon the construction of our armoured ships, and of all classes of them. It seems to me that the effects of large modern shell bursting in the unarmoured parts of any or all of our iron-clads—for they all, or nearly all, have large unarmoured parts—may be very much more serious than has yet been realized, and I cannot help regretting that the experiments of the Admiralty have not been more directed to the settlement of this question.

Let it not be supposed for a moment that in these remarks, or in any others which I may offer in this article, I am drawing distinctions between Admiralty ships of my own design and those which have succeeded them. That phase of the subject has but little interest for me, because I have never accustomed myself to deal with this great, this vastly-important subject from any personal point of view; and in the present case, although there may be different degrees of risk in armour-belted vessels and in others, the whole of our armour-clad ships are more or less open to the question that I am here putting and pressing. I may say this, however, in support of my argument, that I never cease to be haunted with the fear that, in the absence of satisfactory experiments, so arranged as to clear up the doubt, we may all be underrating—and very seriously and gravely underrating—the results of the bursting of explosive shells in the unprotected and more or less inflammatory portions of iron-clad ships. This is no doubt a danger which our navy shares in common with all the other iron-clad navies of the world, speaking generally. Exceptional ships, with complete armour, are to be found here and there, but in nearly all such exceptional cases—probably in quite all of them—the armour is thin, and itself pervious to such shells as we are considering.

Nor is the question of the effects of shell-fire upon the unarmoured parts of iron-clads limited to that of the mischief which may follow the setting on fire of those parts. There is the further mischief—already briefly touched upon—of the bursting through of the thin decks and sides by the blows or the explosion of shells:

Who shall say what will be the consequences of shot and shell, weighing some hundred-weights each, and fired with half-a-hundred weight or a hundred weight of powder, tearing through the sides and decks of vessels, or of some of them bursting between decks with 20 or 30 pounds of powder exploding at each discharge? We have but little information to guide us, but we have some; and that little, I admit, encourages us to hope that shell may burst on board modern iron war vessels without readily igniting their contents. In the successful attack of the two Chilian iron-clads upon the *Huascar*, one of their shells burst in the *Huascar's* port cabins, another in her ward-room, a third in the pantry, a fourth in the carpenter's cabin, and a fifth in the turret, and either the ship was not set on fire, or the fire was such as was readily extinguished. So far as taking fire is concerned, therefore, this piece of evidence is encouraging, as I have said; but it would not be safe to draw any large inferences until we know all about the fuses, powder-charges, &c. As to the other effects of shot and shell from the 12-ton guns of the Chilian ships, the effects were much less encouraging, for one shell carried away two beams and killed all the men at the relieving tackles of the helm; another smashed the stern-post, carried away bulkheads, and killed all the men at the tiller; a third penetrated the turret and killed all the men at the gun; a fourth exploded in the turret, fragments of it passing out near the turret-top and killing the second officer, while others pierced the conning tower and blew to pieces the admiral commanding. "On the main-deck," says one account, "the ward-room and stern-cabin were quite destroyed; there was hardly a trace of the bulkhead; the contents of the state-rooms were strewn about the flooring, and the upper-deck ceiling was one mass of powder and disintegrated human remains." A private account, which I received from an officer who went on board immediately after the action, convinced me that the effects of the exploding shells had been much more extensive and horrible than even the above account would appear to indicate. I cannot help repeating that it seems to me most remarkable, and most unfortunate, that we have not had the actual effects of modern shell striking and exploding within unarmoured structures fully determined by experiment long since. During the last Parliament, and therefore several years ago, I complained repeatedly of this information not being acquired, and I would again strongly recommend that it be experimentally ascertained. Of one thing I am satisfied, and that is, that if such experiments should prove that the danger of large unarmoured appendages or superstructures to armoured ships should prove to be great, means can be found for either providing them in a safer manner, or for dispensing with them altogether, and that, too, without any great sacrifice of the residential qualities of the ship.

But whatever may be the doubts about armoured ships with unarmoured parts, there can be no doubt at all of the horrible effects of modern shell-fire upon unarmoured ships, should they be brought closely and seriously under fire. So certain and so great must be the havoc which shell will make in them in that case, that I cannot force myself to doubt that the people who disclaim for the British officer and seaman the protection of armour, or would withhold it from them, must really contemplate their running away from those naval engagements which it has hitherto been both their habit and their glory to seek. For let it be borne in mind that, under many conceivable, and, indeed, under many ordinary circumstances, in which our men-of-war must expect to find themselves, the only alternative to taking to their heels, must be certain and sudden destruction, or an extremely near approach thereto. And my impression that running away is what is really contemplated is confirmed by much of what one reads from the pens of those who decry the use of armour.

Now, let it be perfectly well understood that in objecting to, and in even denouncing, unarmoured ships as untrustworthy, as fighting ships, for the protection of our commerce, and for other purposes, I am not at all condemning them *in toto*. There are uses for unarmoured ships; in our naval service there are many uses. There has been, for example, the suppression of the slave-trade, which can just as well be accomplished by unarmoured as by armoured ships. There is the protection of coast colonies, fisheries, naval surveys in remote seas and rivers, and the like, which unarmoured vessels can well perform. There is armed support and authority to be supplied occasionally to colonial governments, and to other representatives of our interests in distant parts of the world. There is the prevention of piracy, which would often be carried on in lightly armed vessels, to the detriment of our world-wide commerce, if the British flag, flying upon an armed vessel of the Queen, were not frequently and almost everywhere to be seen. It is not at all impossible that some of our fellow subjects even, whose loyalty is not overpowering, might give us a good deal of trouble afloat if we had nothing but our ironclad squadrons to move about and keep order. At times there are ports to blockade, and blockade-runners to be watched or captured. For all such services unarmoured ships alone are usually needed by us, and it would be extravagance and folly to armour all the vessels employed upon them.

Other nations have other reasons for possessing unarmoured craft. In 1863 the United States Government decided to build a number of ocean cruisers—as they are again doing now, indeed—and this is a statement of the objects with which they were to be constructed, from the pen of a high authority :

"They were to be capable of overtaking the Confederate vessels, and of driving the mercantile marine of a hostile country from the seas. As a principal object of their existence was the annihilation of an enemy's commerce, they were not to take part in an engagement unless an opportunity favourable to themselves presented itself. If they should encounter a more powerful opponent they were to take to flight. Their especial duty being to injure and annihilate" ("unarmoured vessels" being understood), "they were not to do battle with an enemy of greater strength." \*

In this destruction of other people's commerce we have but a secondary interest, and none at all in so far as the production of war vessels for the purpose is concerned, as we could charter scores of mercantile steamers every whit as capable as the American cruisers of doing the work above sketched out; but I have quoted the passage for a reason which will appear in a moment. Meanwhile, let me express the hope that I have made it sufficiently and largely apparent that this country has many uses for which unarmoured ships are in every way qualified. Such ships need not be heavily armed; nor need all of them be of any great speed. Some of them, nevertheless, may evidently with advantage be endowed with very great speed indeed, and a few of them may, with equal advantage, carry a heavy gun or two.

But the question which now arises, and deserves to be put with very great urgency is, whether this description of vessel—which, as Sir Thomas Brassey well says, finds its legitimate occupation (when confronted by any enemy worth calling one) in "taking flight"—is the right kind of vessel for us to entrust with the defence of our commercial fleets from such aggressors. I should like to ask, if we are so foolish as to provide for our defence no better, no more capable fighting ships than these, which are fit only to run away, why the enemies' should run away at all, and what they are to run away from? The presumption surely is, that those who are entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the property and the honour of the country, will provide ships from which ocean depredators such as these would be but too glad to get away, but which, by their speed, will prevent them from escaping, and by their pronounced superiority in fighting qualities will be pretty sure to give an excellent account of them should they attempt resistance. These considerations they were which induced me recently to propose in the columns of the *Times* that a few very fast ironclad cruisers should be constructed for sweeping the seas, if necessary, of armed privateers.

It is not my intention to repeat here what I have already said elsewhere, but it is well worth while to take some pains to show the perfect practicability of building 20-knot ironclad cruisers. And, in the first place, it may be said that here, if anywhere, we have an opportunity of limiting the armoured area of the ship's side, and

\* Sir Thomas Brassey's "British Navy," vol. i: p. 477.

substituting, at the ends, sub-water armoured decks, cellular constructions filled with cork, or any other devices that may be proved experimentally to serve the purpose of keeping water out of the ship, and preventing her from losing the power of steaming fast. I say "proved experimentally" to serve this purpose, because it seems to me unscientific, improper, and in a high degree dangerous, to trust to such devices without experimental proof of their efficacy. But whatever it is safe and proper to trust to in this respect in the case of any armoured fighting ship, it would be safe to trust to in the case of these cruisers, because, while the ordinary line-of-battle ironclads are liable to suffer from a concentrated and continued fire of explosive shell, a very fast ironclad for protecting commerce would seldom, if ever, while on that service, be subject to more than the very limited and occasional fire of the unarmoured enemy or privateer. At the same time, the full possession of her speed is a matter of such supreme importance to the class of ship we are now considering, that no risk of losing it from the failure of exposed cells, &c., should be run. It may be further said that it would not be at all necessary or desirable to armour these very fast cruisers with the thickest armour employed on line-of-battle ships, because the 80-ton or 100-ton guns which that is designed to resist are not carried by privateers or any mere vessels of prey. In this view I have the full concurrence of the Admiralty, because, while they are protecting the water-lines of the "Admiral" class of line-of-battle ships with armour eighteen inches thick, they are content with considerably less upon the ocean cruisers *Impérieuse* and *Warspite*. For like reasons, it would be equally unnecessary to arm those twenty-knot cruisers with extremely heavy guns, much lighter guns being in every respect efficacious against the whole race of unarmoured vessels. As against thick armour, the largest guns are the most desirable; but as against unarmoured ships, it is generally deemed more advantageous to have lighter guns, and more of them, so as to multiply the wounds inflicted.

Premising, then, that moderate armour and guns are all that are necessary for the purpose in view, it is easy to see that the question of producing extremely fast armoured cruisers is not only a practicable, but an easy one; it is at least quite as easy a one as the mercantile problem of carrying a large amount of cargo, with the necessary coal supply, in the twenty-knot transatlantic steamers. To accomplish the object we must, however, depart greatly from the present forms and proportions of most of our armoured ships of war, and reverse that resort to short ironclad ships, which I was myself fortunately successful in bringing about twenty years ago. I must be pardoned the seeming vanity of saying that the conversion effected among shipbuilders and naval officers at that time by the successful

introduction of the short fourteen-knot ironclads of my design, has been too great, and is proving too lasting—or, rather, is being allowed to operate against the resort to proper length in armoured cruisers. The attainment of fourteen and a quarter knots of speed by the *Bellerophon* (at a time when, as the First Lord of the Admiralty informed me, he could find no one but Sir Spencer Robinson and myself who believed that she could possibly exceed eleven knots), revolutionized naval ideas on this subject, and has made the short ship the only form of ironclad that even the Admiralty, apparently, are disposed to favour. In no other way can I account for the proportions of the *Impérieuse* class of cruisers, which are but a few feet longer and several feet broader than the *Bellerophon*, on about the same displacement, although the ends are unarmoured and the speed is to be much greater. I do not wish to dogmatise on the subject, but it appears to me that all the ruling reasons which led, and rightly led, to the shortening of the ironclad line-of-battle ships are wanting in the case of the very fast ironclad cruiser. Take the case of coal supply, for example: is it not obviously undesirable, in carrying say two thousand tons of coal to sea, to do so in a short length of a ship of large section, rather than in a longer length of less section? It is true that the necessity of giving the entire ship the requisite protection by armour comes in to regulate this consideration, and all similar considerations; but all my investigations and calculations go to establish the fact that, with armoured belts of moderate armour and small depth, a very high speed is most economically attained by much greater length than is at present in favour; while in so far as long unarmoured ends are concerned, excessive breadth in them is a manifest, and is also a manifold, disadvantage.

In short, it becomes my duty to express the belief that the considerations which led to the great shortening of the line-of-battle ironclad do not hold in the case of the very fast armoured cruiser, and that by adhering to very short lengths—in relation to the extremely high speeds that have become urgently necessary—we are hindering a form of progress, viz., speed, which is of the first consequence to our naval efficiency and repute. I am quite prepared to hear it said, after this, that I am recanting former opinions, and seeking to reverse the most conspicuous change in the design of ironclads which I have myself brought about. This will be the language of those who jump to conclusions; but it will not be the language of those who reflect sufficiently upon the subject. Fully armoured ships, with high armoured sides, and with armour of great thickness, whether they are to be fast or slow, must be made short, and their shortness is in every way a great advantage to them for close naval engagements, in which heavy armaments, rams, and torpedoes, have to be both brought into play and avoided to the



fullest extent possible. But the case of a swift armoured vessel for overhauling privateers and all sorts of unarmoured craft is a totally different one; a shallow and limited belt is for the most part all that is required, and in her, wholly different proportions are absolutely demanded. This is no reversal of any doctrine or view of mine, but is perfectly consistent with, and essential to, the only views of the subject which I have either advocated or carried out.

With the foregoing principles admitted, the design of an ironclad cruiser as fast as the *Oregon* or the *Umbria*, or still faster, falls entirely within the competence of the naval constructor, the armour and armament in the former taking the place of the cargo and of part of the coal supply of these Atlantic ships. But in saying this, I do not wish to have it understood that we need go to their full lengths, or even nearly to their full lengths. But if that were otherwise, it would in no way and in no degree deter me from advocating the employment of a few ironclads of supreme speed, because the question of manœuvring power, to which extreme length is adverse, falls altogether into abeyance in the case of the cruiser, whose one primary quality (the necessary offensive and defensive qualities being assumed) is that of superior fleetness. There is no good reason whatever—not even the dock difficulty, which is so great a hindrance to our naval development in many ways—against giving to these swift armoured cruisers whatever length they may require.

If the views which are stated above be correct, there is a most serious deficiency in our navy, of which, until the appearance, on October 20, of the letter to the *Times* previously adverted to, no account whatever had been taken. England, with her immense mercantile marine to protect in every quarter of the globe, and seeing fleet unarmoured ships capable under present conditions of preying freely upon that mercantile marine springing up on every side, has provided nothing whatever in the shape of fast armour-protected vessels to defend herself against the unspeakable disaster of seeing her merchant ships driven from the seas. I should not use quite so strong a phrase as this, were our line-of-battle force what by universal consent it ought to be. I cannot doubt that if a few of the existing ironclads could be spared for escort duty, the faster of them would contrive to convoy a goodly number of merchantmen, and keep unarmoured craft at bay, especially if assisted by an auxiliary escort of armed merchantmen. But our line-of-battle navy is itself so limited in numbers, that no Government would venture, in any serious war, to weaken our European force by detaching ironclads on escort duty. And even if this were otherwise, by no conceivable system of escort could anything more than a fractional part of our trade upon certain great routes, be carried on. If I be right, therefore, in believing that unarmoured vessels are of themselves

unequal to the task of overpowering the fast armed craft that in war would be let loose upon our merchantmen, then it follows that no efficient defence for those merchantmen has been even commenced or attempted. We have but one finished ironclad of fifteen knots, and the two armoured cruisers under construction are designed for but sixteen knots, and carry but a moderate supply of coal for their steam power.

It will be said—it has been said—that for the price of one such twenty-knot ironclad as I am recommending, two or three such vessels, say as the *Esmeralda*, might be produced, and that as a matter of economy, therefore, it would be better to build *Esmeraldas*. To my mind no form of extravagance and wanton waste could well be worse than that of expending public money upon articles which you know beforehand are perfectly unfit for their purpose. And where the purpose is to overpower unarmoured vessels, why send out unarmoured vessels to perform the work, seeing that the vessel you send out may in that case be just as easily overpowered or destroyed as that against which she is sent? If a single shell will destroy—and who can question it?—your unarmoured vessel, while your armoured cruiser may set the shell-fire of the unarmoured ship at defiance, where is the wisdom, where the economy, of preferring the two or three impotent to the one omnipotent ship?

I believe the public sense and the public sentiment need awakening on this question, and especially the sense and sentiment of our economists. All my life I have pleaded and worked for naval economy, and it is in the same spirit that I oppose the present tendency to lavish public money upon vessels which are not even questionable, but which are absolutely certain to fail us in the hour of need, and urge the construction of efficient ships. In the pages of this REVIEW, less almost than anywhere, would I advocate a policy of even possible extravagance; in these pages, at least, I am pledged to advise only such expenditure as would be fruitful. And it is here that I enter my protest against a large outlay upon these unarmoured constructions, which are cheap to build and easy to destroy, and therefore good for the builders who will be called on to replace them; but which cannot possibly yield to the country that power and that protection which they are designed to supply, and in which, in the hour of need, they are perfectly sure to prove wanting. I doubt if any one has taken more pains than I have taken, in this article and elsewhere, to show that unarmoured vessels are desirable for certain purposes. But allowing this, and even enforcing this, I view with something akin to disgust the complacency with which the British public look on and see millions of their money expended on these feeble and secondary constructions (as upon a hundred other minor and sometimes quite useless objects), while

their real power upon the ocean, as embodied in the omnipotent ship—for that is what the armoured ship might and ought to be made—is neglected, or attended to weakly and perfunctorily. And one's feeling upon this subject is aggravated almost beyond measure when one thinks of what the British Navy might be made, with no extravagant expenditure, were but the spirit of the country in any way comparable with its ability and its resources. I pass through the great marine engine factories of this country, and what do I see? Sometimes, at least, the largest, the most splendid constructions there in hand, are not for England, but for a foreign country; for the British Navy, not the most powerful, but the secondary, or the weaker still, are produced, and produced in large numbers. It is the same thing with the armour-plate factories: the thickest and best armour which I have seen produced in Sheffield—and the thickest and best in the world is produced there—has not been for English, but for foreign, ships. It seems to be thought prudent and economical by us to multiply, almost without number, the small and slow and unarmoured species of war-vessels; of their aggregate cost we never think; but we turn wonderfully economical the moment it is proposed to us to produce a ship of such commanding qualities as would make the British Navy both the admiration and the fear of the world.

I profess for myself to be equally unable to sympathize with, or to understand, a policy which, at a time when superior power at sea is in direct and unquestionable proportion to the use we make of steel and steam-power, and when Providence has privileged us to stand first among the nations of the world in the ability to secure by the agency of steel and steam that dominance on the ocean which our unparalleled maritime interests justify us in desiring, and even impose upon us the duty of striving for, nevertheless permits us to shrink from turning that steel and that steam-power to account by the production of irresistible ships, and allows us to fritter away our resources on anything and everything, provided only that it be weak enough to promise prompt failure should we ever have to trust to it.

Some light may be thrown upon this important subject by reference to what happened in our own navy in connection with our unarmoured ships of war. When the *Inconstant* class of fast armourless frigates was designed, those of us who were responsible for their success provided them with an armament of 12-ton guns, capable of piercing much of the thin armour that was then afloat in small foreign ironclads in different parts of the world. It was considered by us that such guns would effectually dispose of any unarmoured vessels against which they might be brought, and might also enable a gallant officer, under favourable circumstances, to dispose of some of these feeblar ironclads if necessary. Other ships of the class,

armed after I left the Admiralty, were deprived of these armour-piercing guns; a protest was made by the *Times* correspondent, and a controversy upon the subject ensued in the columns of the leading journal. I propose here to reproduce some of the statements made by distinguished naval officers and others at that time; and I know of nothing which makes them less accurate or forcible now than they were in 1874, the date referred to. A very able naval officer—probably a high official at the time—signing himself “Seaman Gunner,” held that unarmoured frigates could not engage armour-clad ships with any hope of success. “Common shells,” said he, “which, with their very large bursting charges, would cause such terrible destruction in unarmoured ships, are powerless against armour-clad ships; whereas, on the other hand, the unarmoured ships could be penetrated at all distances by common shell, within the range allowed by the size of the ports, and even one or two large common shell, exploding in the vicinity of the water-line of an unarmoured ship, might very possibly place her *hors de combat*.” This officer repeated these views in another letter, and further stated that, having frequently witnessed the effects produced by common shells, with their large bursting charges, on targets representing unarmoured ships, the result convinced him that unarmoured vessels, could not, with a hope of success, contend with armour-plated vessels.” Another “Seaman Gunner” said: “The armoured ships will be impervious at the water-line to shell carrying heavy bursting charges, while one well-directed shell, striking the unarmoured vessel between wind and water, would be sufficient to stop her fighting, for that day at all events, if not for ever.” A “Vice-Admiral” expressed the opinion that for an unarmoured ship to give battle to an armoured one would be to the former “almost certain destruction.” A “Rear-Admiral” gave a similar opinion, alleging that an iron-clad must “obtain a certain victory” over an unarmoured vessel. The late Major Sir William Palliser said that the shell-fire of an ironclad would “in a very few minutes” convert the decks of an unarmoured ship into slaughter-houses, and “leave no alternative except that of surrender or total destruction.” He also said: “The effect upon unarmoured ships of rifled shell-fire, whether from large or medium-sized guns, is so awful that a very few well-directed shells would suffice to utterly paralyze a crew, and place the ship completely at the enemy’s mercy.”

All these officers, without exception, it will be seen, took the ground that unarmoured ships were so completely powerless against an armourclad, that it was useless, and worse than useless, to arm the former with armour-piercing guns. I did not agree with them in the last particular, but it was, and is, impossible to reject their evidence as to the ready destructibility of armourless vessels. This

being so, what sensible and impartial man would deliberately prefer to build armourless ships in preference to armoured, on the plea that he can obtain two, or even three, of the useless vessels for the price of one efficient ship? I leave out of the question, for the moment, the inhumanity of sending our seamen to fight in ships that we know beforehand are unfit for fighting—ships that “one or two shells” would place *hors de combat*; ships that in a very few minutes would be converted into “slaughter-houses;” and I put the matter on that very ground of economy which the advocates of these weak and worthless vessels, with strange effrontery, profess to take up. It is bad enough to have to spend half-a-million of money or more upon the impervious ship, which would destroy a score of these unarmoured craft without ever receiving a blow serious to herself; but to be called upon to spend nearly a quarter of a million sterling upon one of these wretched defenceless productions which a single shell may ruin, and which are to be converted into slaughter-houses if they succeed in keeping afloat a few minutes, is more than reasonable men ought for a moment to submit to.

It is a lamentable necessity, and one that I feel deeply, thus to have to oppose one's views to that of the persons who advocate our launching out into a vast expenditure upon unarmoured ships; it is lamentable because there are many thoughtless persons who, seeing this antagonism, pass to the conclusion that if professional men disagree so much as to what ships ought to be built, the public may reasonably decline to extend the navy at all. The difficulty is one that often presents itself, and which cannot but be injurious to the public interest. I cannot myself see, however, the sense of refusing to build any ships, and thus abandoning altogether the national defence, because these differences of view exist. Such differences ought really to have the effect of making thoughtful persons judge for themselves between the disputants. And, fortunately, the point in dispute is one upon which every thoughtful person can perfectly well judge for himself.

This, at least, will be recognised, I am sure, by all who regard the question fairly—viz., that as between myself and those who would discard armour, I am at least on the side that it is safest for the nation to adopt. If I were proved wrong, the only evil consequence would be that we should have in distant seas, during war-time, ships needlessly powerful, which had cost more money than was necessary. Our power on the seas, as a nation, would be fully asserted, and in that case over-asserted; but surely the fact that Great Britain was needlessly strong in war, and that its commerce was protected by ships of excessive strength and speed, would not be one about which we should greatly grieve. On the other hand, if the policy of my opponents be a false one, and if the nation

should hereafter find that we cannot trust to these armourless ships to assert our authority—if it should become known to us that the enemy, having no more occasion to fear us than we have to fear him, had closed with our armourless defenders and got the better of them—then indeed should we regret that false, that foolish economy which had led us to spend our money in vain and our strength for nought. Nor let it be forgotten, either, that if I be right in my contention that the fast armoured cruiser is essential, and if my advice be neglected, it will be beyond our power to correct the error with war upon us. Armoured cruisers take at least a couple of years to build. But, on the other hand, if in war-time we should experience a deficiency in unarmoured vessels, we have the fast mercantile fleet of the country to draw upon, without delay or hindrance, and the want can be supplied almost as soon as it is known.

I do not hesitate to acknowledge, nevertheless, that it is in no hopeful spirit that I pen this article. There was a time when, as a people, we took a pride in our navy, and were animated by an ardent national spirit. Even in those days, however, we allowed the French to surpass us in the construction of ships, and some of the finest line-of-battle ships which we possessed in the great war, were captures from the French—captures due to the fact that the prowess of our officers and men more than made good our other deficiencies. It may be that that prowess would still make good many a defect, but that is a contingency upon which we can rely less than ever, and for this very important reason: in the old days we had *time* in which to make our dogged courage and persistency tell, but in future naval fights the element of time will be almost wanting. In these days the national spirit must assert itself in the preparation for war no less than in the actual fighting, and unhappily the national spirit does not assert itself, and we lie at the mercy of such changes and accidents as may arise. In these days a pretender is as much esteemed as a patriot, and if the semblance of cheapness goes together with the pretence, more solid considerations have little or no weight. It is even doubtful whether men are not scared by the thought of real efficiency in a war-ship, and are attracted by the idea of a weak vessel trying to manœuvre herself into a success which she cannot bluntly command. This, it seems to me, is why we hear so much about protective decks a single inch in thickness; cells with a little cork or canvas or oakum in them; the protection derived from the consumable store, coal; choosing your distance in encountering an enemy; fighting end on; playing a game of long bowls; and so forth. All these are phrases and fancies which an enemy with a faster and better armoured ship will dispose of like so many defences of glass. It is not in Old England, which once had the proud habit of laying

itself alongside of the foe, that we ought to hear so much of these things; nor should we hear so much of them if we had not lost much of the old tone and temper which secured our fame. As a nation we no longer esteem power, or we should not part with it on such specious pretexts as now win it from us. My advocacy of impervious ships will probably not be listened to; the pervious ship, which "one shell" will dispose of, will probably prove more to the public taste, because its first cost is less, and two of the kind can be obtained for the price of the one useful and durable vessel.

E. J. REED.

## WÜRZBURG AND VIENNA

### SCRAPS FROM A DIARY.

GOING to Vienna to collect books and documents, with the intention of studying the results of Bosnia's occupation by Austro-Hungary, I take the Rhine route, and stop two days at Würzburg to see Ludwig Noiré, and have a talk on Schopenhauer. The *Vater Rhein* is now changed beyond recognition: *quantum mutatus ab illo*. How different all is to when I visited it for the first time, years ago on foot, stopping at the stages mentioned in Victor Hugo's "Rhin," which had just appeared. All those grand pceps of Nature to be got on the old river, as it forced its majestic way through barriers of riven rocks and volcanic upheavals, have now almost wholly disappeared. The wine-grower has planted his vineyards even in the most secluded nooks, and built stone terraces where the rocks were too steep for cultivation. All along the banks, these giant stair-cases climb to the summits of peaks and ravines. The vines have stormed the position, and their aspect is uniform. The Burgs, built on heaps of lava, "the Maus" and "the Katze," those sombre retreats of the Burgraves of old, now covered with the green leaves of the vine, have lost their former wild aspect. The Lorelei manufactures white wine, and the syren no longer intoxicates sailors with the songs of her harp, but with the juice of the grape. There is nothing here now to inspire Victor Hugo's "Burgraves," or Heine's

"Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten,  
Dass ich so traurig bin;  
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten,  
Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn."

Below, engineering skill has dammed in the waters of the river, and the basaltic blocks form a black wall with white lines between the stones. Black and white! Even the old God of the Rhine has



adopted the Prussian colours. Embankments have been constructed at the wide points of the river, for the purpose of increasing its depth, and of reconquering meadows, by the slow but natural process of raising the level by mud deposits. Between Mannheim and Cologne, the current has gained ten hours, and the dangers of navigation of legendary celebrity have disappeared. All along the embankments, immense white figures inform navigators at what distance from them it is safe to pass. On each bank, too, runs a railway, and on the river itself pass steamers of every shape, form, and description—steamers with three decks, for tourists, as in the United States, little pleasure-boats, iron barges from Rotterdam, steam-tugs worked by paddle or screw, and dredgers of various proportions; all these hundreds of chimneys vomit a continuance of black smoke, which darkens the whole atmosphere. The carriage roads are in admirable order, not a rut is visible, and they are lined with fruit-trees, and with the same black and white basaltic blocks as the river. The Prussian colours again; but the aim is to point out the road for carriages on dark nights. When the way turns either to the right or the left, the trees on each side of it are painted white, so as to be distinctly visible. I have never anywhere seen a great river so thoroughly tamed, subdued, and utilized, so completely bent to man's necessities. The free Rhine of Arminius and of the Burgraves is as well disciplined as any grenadier of Brandenburg. The economist and the engineer admire, but painters and poets bewail.

Buffon, in a page published in every "*Cours de Littérature*," sings a hosanna to cultivated Nature, and appears unable to find words strong enough to express his horror of Nature in its savage state, "brute" Nature, as he calls it. At the present day, our impression is precisely the reverse of this. We seek on almost inaccessible summits, in the region of eternal snow, and in the very heart of hitherto unexplored continents, a spot where man has not yet penetrated, and where we may behold Nature in her inviolate virginity. We are stifled by civilization, wearied out with books, newspapers, reviews, and periodicals, letters to write and to read; railway travelling, the post, the telegraph, and the telephone, devour time and completely mince up one's life; any solitude for fruitful reflection is quite out of the question. Shall I find it, at least, among the fir-trees of the Carpathians, or beneath the shade of the old oaks of the Balkans? Industry is spoiling and soiling our planet. Chemical produce poisons the water, the dross from different works and factories covers the country, quarries split up the picturesque slopes of valleys, black coal smoke dulls the verdant foliage and the azure of the sky, the drainage of large cities turns our rivers into sewers, whence emerge the germs of typhus. The useful destroys the beautiful; and this is so general as at times to bring tears to the eyes. Have not the

Italians, on the lovely Isle of Sta. Heléna, near to the public gardens in Venice, erected works for the building of engines, and replaced the ruins of a fourth-century church by chimneys, whose opaque smoke, produced by the detestable bituminous coal of the Saar, would soon leave a sooty trace on the pink marble of the Doge's palace and on the mosaics of St. Mark, just as we see them on St. Paul's Cathedral in London, so ugly covered with sticky streaks. It is true that the produce of this industrial activity becomes condensed in revenue, which enriches many families, and adds considerably to the list of the bourgeois population inhabiting the capital. Here, on the banks of the Rhine, these revenues are represented by villas and castles, whose pseudo-Greek or Gothic architecture peeps out from among masses of exotic trees and plants in the most sought-after positions, near to Bonn, Godesberg, St. Goar, or Bingen. Look! there is an immense feudal castle, beside which Stolzenfels, the Empress Augusta's favourite residence, would be a mere shooting box. This immense assemblage of turrets, galleries, roofs, and terraces must have cost at least £80,000. Has it sprung from coal or from Bessemer steel? It is situated just below the noble ruin of Drachenfels. Will not the dragon watching over the Niebelungen treasure in Nifelheim's den, avenge this impertinent challenge of modern plutocracy?

All that I see on my way up the Rhine leads me to reflect on the special characteristics of Prussian administration. The works which have so marvellously "domesticated" the river as to make it a type of what Pascal calls "*un chemin qui marche*," have taken between thirty and forty years, and have been carried out continuously, systematically and scientifically. In her public works, as in her military preparations, Prussia has succeeded in uniting two qualities which are only too often lacking—a spirit of consistency, and the love of progress. The desire to be as near as possible to perfection is apparent in the most minute details. Not unfrequently consistency, and a too close following of traditions, leads to routine which rejects innovations. Great strength is attained, and the chances of success are considerably increased if, while one aim is kept always in view, the best means to attain it are selected and applied without delay.

I have remarked, when speaking of parliamentary administration, that a lack of consistency was one reason of the feebleness of democracies. This should be guarded against as soon as it becomes apparent, or inferiority will ensue. A few trifling facts will show that the Prussians are as great lovers of useful novelties and of practical improvements as the Americans. On the Rhine, at the ferries, the old ferry-boats have been replaced by little steamers, which are constantly crossing the river from one side to the other. At the

railway stations, I notice that the trucks for luggage are made of steel, and are lighter and stronger than any I have seen elsewhere. The system for warming the railway compartments is also more perfected. Heated pipes run under the seats of the carriages, and the passengers can regulate the temperature by turning a needle on a disc from *Kalt* (cold) to *Warm* or *vice-versa*. At the summit of the tower of the Town Hall of Berlin the different flagstuffs for the flags hoisted on the fête days are ranged in order. Outside the highest gallery iron rings have been fitted all round in which to fix the staffs, each of which has a number corresponding to the same number on the ring it is to fit into. In this manner both rapidity and regularity are insured. Order and foresight are safe means to an end.

I intended going to see at Stuttgart a former member of the Austrian Cabinet, Albert Schäffle, who now devotes all his time to the study of social questions, and has published some very well-known works—among others, “Capitalismus und Socialismus,” and “Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers” (“Construction and Life of the Social Body”), books which place him at the extreme left of Professorial Socialism. Unfortunately, he is at the baths in the Black Forest. But I stop at Würzburg to meet Ludwig Noiré, a philosopher and philologist, who has deigned to study political economy. The sight of the socialistic pass to which democratic tendencies are leading modern society, induces many philosophers to turn their attention to social questions. This is the case in France with Jules Simon, Paul Janet, Taine, Renouvier; in England with Herbert Spencer, William Graham, and even with that æstheticist of pre-Raphaelite art, Ruskin.

I hold that political economy should go hand in hand with philosophy, religion, and especially with morality; but as I cannot myself rise to these elevated spheres of thought, I am only too happy when a philosopher throws me out a bit of cord by which I may pull myself a little higher, above our work-a-day world. Ludwig Noiré has written a book, which is exactly what I needed in this respect, and which I hope to be able to speak of at greater length a little later. It is entitled “Das Werkzeug” (“The Tool”). It shows the truth of Franklin’s saying: *Man is a tool-making creature*. Noiré says that the origin of tools dates from the origin of Reason and Language. At the commencement, as far back as one can conceive, man was forced to act on matter to obtain food. This action on Nature for the purpose of satisfying wants is labour. As men were living together in families and in tribes, labour was carried on in common. A person making a muscular effort very naturally pronounces certain sounds in connection with the effort he is making. These sounds, repeated and heard by the entire group, were after a time understood

to signify the action of which they were the spontaneous accompaniment. Thus was language born from natural activity in view of supplying imperious needs, and the verb representing the action preceded all their words. The effort to procure the necessary and useful develops the reasoning powers, and tools soon became necessary. Wherever traces of pre-historic men are found, there is also to be found the flint implement. Thus reason, language, labour, and implements, all manifestations of an intelligence capable of progress, appeared almost simultaneously.

Noiré has developed this theory fully in another book, entitled, "*Ursprung der Sprache*" ("*Origin of Speech*"). When it was published Max Müller stated in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, that, although he considered this system too exclusive, yet it was far superior to either the onymatopœia or the interjection theory, and that it was certainly the best and the most probable one brought forward at present. I can but bow before this appreciation.

Noiré is a fanatical Kantian, and an enthusiastic admirer of Schopenhauer. He has succeeded in forming a committee for the purpose of erecting a statue in honour of the modern Heraclites. The committee, he says, *must* be international, for if as a writer Schopenhauer be German, as a philosopher he belongs to the entire world, and he asked me to join it. "I am exceedingly flattered by the proposal," said I; "but I offer two objections. In the first place, a humble economist has not the right to place his name side by side with such as are already on the list. Secondly, being an incurable disciple of Platonism, I fear that Schopenhauer did not remain in the Cartesian line of spiritualism. I feel persuaded that two notions, which, it appears, are at the present day very old-fashioned—I speak of a belief in God and in the soul's immortality—should form the basis of all social science. He who believes in nothing but matter cannot rise to a notion of what 'ought to be'—i.e., to an ideal of right and justice. This ideal can only be conceived as a divine order of things imposing itself morally on mankind. The '*Revue Philosophique*' of October, 1882, says, 'Positive science, as understood at the present day, considers not what *should* be, but only what *is*. It searches merely the formula of facts. All idea of obligation, or of imperative prohibition, is completely foreign to its code.' Such a creed is a death-stroke to all notion of duty. I believe that faith in a future life is indispensable for the accomplishment of good works. Materialism weakens the moral sense, and naturally leads to general decay."

"Yes," replied Noiré, "this is just the problem. How, side by side with the dire necessities of Nature, or with Divine omnipotence, can there be place for human personality and liberty? Nobody, neither Christian nor Naturalist, has yet been able satisfactorily to answer this. Hence has sprung, on the one hand, the predestination of the

Calvinists and Luther's *De servo arbitrio*, and, on the other, determinism and materialism. Kant is the first mortal who fearlessly studied this problem and studied it satisfactorily. He plunged into the abyss, like the diver of Schiller, and returned, having vanquished the monsters he found there, and holding in his hand the golden cup from which henceforward Humanity may drink the Divine beverage of Truth. As nothing can be of greater interest to us than the solution of this problem, so our gratitude, be it ever so considerable, can never possibly equal the service rendered by this really prodigious effort of the human mind. Kant has provided us with the only arm which can combat materialism. It is full time we should make use of it, for this detestable doctrine is everywhere undermining the foundations of human society. I venerate the memory of Schopenhauer, because he has inspired the truths revealed by Kant with more real life and penetrating vigour. Schopenhauer is not well known in either France or England. Some of his works have been translated, but no one has really understood him thoroughly, because to understand a philosopher it is necessary not only to admire but to be passionately attached to him. 'The folly of the Cross' is an admirable expression.

"Schopenhauer maintains that the will is the great source of all ; it means both personality and liberty. We are here at once planted at the antipodes of naturalistic determinism. Free intelligence creates matter. *Spiritus in nobis qui viget, ille facit*. God is the great ideal. He does not make us move, but moves Himself in us. The more we appropriate to ourselves this Ideal, the freer we become ; we are the reasonable and conscious authors of our actions, and liberty consists in this. Schopenhauer's moral law is precisely that of Christianity—a law of abnegation, of resignation and asceticism. What Christians call Charity, he designates as 'Pity.' He exhorts his followers to struggle against self-will ; not to let their eyes dwell on the passing delusions of the outside world, but to seek their soul's peace by sacrificing all pursuits and interests which should fix their attentions solely on the changing scenes of this life. Are not these also the Gospel principles? Must they be rejected because Buddha also preached them? 'The sovereign proof of the truth of my doctrines,' says Schopenhauer, 'is the number of Christian persons who have abandoned all their earthly treasure, position and riches, and have embraced voluntary poverty, devoting themselves wholly to the service of the poor and the sick and needy, undaunted in their work of charity by the most frightful wounds, the most revolting complaints. Their happiness consists in self-abnegation, in their indifference to the pleasures of this life, in their living faith in the immortality of their being, and in a future of endless bliss.'

"The chief aim of Kant's metaphysics," proceeds Noiré, "is to fix a

limit to the circle that can be embraced by man's reason. 'We resemble,' he says, 'fish in a pond, who can see, just to the edge of the water, the banks that imprison them, but are perfectly ignorant of all that is beyond.' Schopenhauer goes farther than Kant. 'True,' he says, 'we can only see the world from outside, and as a phenomenon, but there is one little loophole left open to us by which we can get a peep at substantial realities, and this loophole is each individual "Myself," revealed to us as "Will," which gives us the key to the "Transcendent."' You say, dear colleague, that you are incurably Platonic; are you not then aware Schopenhauer constantly refers to the 'divine' Plato, and to the incomparable, the prodigious, *der erstaunliche* Kant? His great merit is to have defended idealism against all the wild beasts which Dante met with in the dark forest, *nella selva oscura*, into which he had strayed—materialism and sensualism, and their worthy offspring, selfishness and bestiality. Nothing can be more false or dangerous than physics without metaphysics, and yet this truth proclaimed at the present day by great men merely provokes a laugh. The notion of duty is based on metaphysics. Nothing in Nature teaches it, and physics are silent on the subject. Nature is pitiless; brute force triumphs there. The better armed destroys and devours his less favoured brother. Where then is right and justice? Materialists adopt as their motto the words which Frenchmen falsely accuse our Chancellor of having uttered, 'Might is Right.' Schopenhauer's 'Pity,' Christian 'Charity,' the philosopher's and jurist's 'Justice,' are diametrically opposed to instinct and the voice of Nature, which urge us to sacrifice everything to the satisfaction of animal appetites. Read the eloquent conclusion of the book of Lange, 'Geschichte des Materialismus.' If materialism be not vanquished while it is yet time, all the law courts, prisons, bayonets and grape-shot in the world will not suffice to prevent the downfall of the social edifice. This pernicious doctrine must be banished from the brains of learned men, where it now reigns supreme. It has started from thence, and has gradually obtained a hold on the public mind. It is the duty of true philosophy to save the world."

"But," I replied, "Schopenhauer's philosophy will never be comprehended but by a small minority; for myself, I humbly confess I have never read but fragments translated."

"It is a pity you have never perused the original," answered Noiré, "the style is exceedingly clear and simple. He is one of our best writers. He has exposed the most abstruse problems in the best possible terms. No one has more thoroughly justified the truth of what our Jean Paul said of Plato, Bacon and Leibnitz, the most learned reflection need not exclude a brilliant setting to show it off in relief, any more than a learned brain excludes a fine forehead and a fine face. Unfortunately, M. de Hartmann, who popularized Scho-

penhauer, has too frequently rendered his ideas unintelligible by his Hegelian jargon. Schopenhauer could not endure Hegelianism. Like an Iconoclast, he smashed to shivers its idols with a heavy club. He approved of violent expressions, and indulged in very strong terms. So, for instance, he liked what he calls *die göttliche Grobheit*, 'divine coarseness.' At the same time, he praises elegance and good manners, and even, strange to say, has translated a little manual on 'The Way to Behave in Society,' 'El Oraculo Manual,' published in 1658, by the Jesuit, Baltasar Gracian. 'There was a time,' he writes, 'when Germany's three great sophists, Fichte, Schelling, and especially Hegel, that seller of senselessness, *der freche unsinnige Schmierer*, that impertinent scribbler, imagined they would appear learned by becoming obscure. This shameless humbug succeeded in winning the adulations of the multitude. He reigned at the Universities, where his style was imitated. Hegelianism became a religion, and a most intolerant one. Whosoever was not Hegelian was suspected even by the Prussian State. All these good gentlemen were in quest of the Absolute, and pretended that they had found it, and brought it home in their carpet-bags.'

"Kant maintained that human reason can only grasp the relative. 'Error,' cry in chorus Hegel, Schelling, Jacobi and Schleiermacher, and *tutti quanti*. 'The Absolute! Why, I know it intimately; it has no secrets from me,' and the different universities became the scenes of revolutions of the Absolute which stirred all Germany. If it were proposed to attempt to recall these illustrious maniacs to their right reason, the question was asked, 'Do you adequately comprehend the Absolute?' 'No.' 'Then hold your tongue; you are a bad Christian and a dangerous subject. Beware of the stronghold.' The unfortunate Bencke was so startled by this treatment that he went mad and drowned himself. Finally these great authorities quarrelled between themselves. They informed each other that they knew nothing of the Absolute. A quarrel on this subject was very often deadly. These battles resemble the discussion at Toledo between the Rabbi and the Monk in Heine's "Romancero." After they had both lengthily discussed and quarrelled, the king said to the queen: 'Which of the two do you think is right?' 'I think,' replied the queen, 'that they both smell equally unpleasantly.'

"This nebulous system of the Hegelian Absolute-seekers, reminding one of *Nephelokkygia*, 'the town in the clouds,' in Aristophanes' 'Birds,' has become a proverb with our French neighbours, who very rightly are fond of clearness. When anything seems to them unintelligible, they dub it as German metaphysics. Cousin did his best to clarify all this indigestible stuff, and serve it up in a palatable form. But in so doing he lost, not his Latin, but his German and his French. I am sure you never understood that 'pure Being'

was identical with 'no Being.' Do you recollect Grimm's story, 'The Emperor's Robe?' A tailor condemned to death promised, in order to obtain his pardon, to make the Emperor the finest robe ever seen. He stitched, and stitched, and stitched ceaselessly, and finally announced that the robe was ready, but that it was invisible to all, save to wise people. All the servants, officers, and chamberlains of the court came to examine this work of art with the ministers and high dignitaries, and one and all pronounced it magnificent. On the coronation day the Emperor is supposed to put on the costume, and rides through the town in procession. The streets and windows are crowded; no one will admit that he has less wisdom than his neighbour, and all repeat; 'How magnificent! Was ever anything seen so lovely?' At last a little child calls out, 'But the Emperor is naked, and it was then admitted that the robe had never existed, and the tailor was hanged.

"Schopenhauer is the child revealing the misery, or rather the non-existence of Hegelianism, and his writings were consequently unappreciated for upwards of thirty years. The first edition of his most important work found its way to the grocer's shop and thence to the rubbish heap. It is our duty to-day to make amends for such injustice, and to render him the honour which is his due; his pessimism need not stay you. 'The world,' he says, 'is full of evil, and all suffer here below. Man's will is by nature perverse.' Is not this doctrine the very essence of Christianity? *Ingenuit omnis creatura*. He maintains that our natural will is selfish and bad, but that, by an effort over itself, it may become purified and rise above its natural state to a state of grace, of holiness, of which the Church speaks, *δευτέρος πλῶς*. This is the deliverance, the Redemption, for which pious souls long, and it is to be attained by an indifference to and condemnation of the world and of self. *Spernere mundum, spernere se, spernere se sperni*,"\*

Before leaving Würzburg I visit the Palace, formerly the residence of the Prince-Bishops, and also several churches. The Palace, *die Residenz*, is immense, and seems the more so when one reflects that it was destined to ornament the chief town of a small bishopric. Built between the years 1720 and 1744, after the plan of the palace of Versailles, it is very nearly as large. There is not such another staircase to be found anywhere. This, and the hall which precedes

\* I learn that the Committee has now been formed for the purpose of raising a statue to the memory of Schopenhauer. The following is a list of members:—Ernest Renan; Max Müller of Oxford; Brahmano Ragot Kampal Sing; Von Benningsen, formerly President of the German Reichstag; Rudolf von Thering, the celebrated Romanist of Göttingen; Gylden, the astronomer from Stockholm; Fungar, President of the Imperial Court (Reichsgericht) of Vienna; Wilhelm Gentz of Berlin; Otto Bühtlingk of the Imperial Academy of Russia; Karl Hillebrand of Florence; Francis Bowen, Professor at Harvard College in the United States; Professor Rudolf Leuckart of Leipzig; Hans von Wolzogen of Bayreuth; Professor F. Zarncke of Leipzig; Ludwig Noiré of Mayence; and Emile de Laveleye of Liège.



it, occupy the entire width of the building and a third of its length, and the effect is really of imperial magnificence. The trains of crowds of cassocked prelates and fine ladies could sweep here with ease. The cut stone balustrades are ornamented with statues. There is a suite of 350 reception-rooms—all for show, none for use. A certain number of these were decorated at the time of the French Empire. How mean the paintings on the ceilings, the pseudo-classic walls, and the mahogany furniture with brass ornaments, appear when compared to the apartments completed at the beginning of the eighteenth century, where the “chicorée” ornamentation exhibits all its seductions. I have never seen, all over Europe, anything in this style so perfect or better preserved. The curtains are in material of the period, and the chairs, sofas, and arm-chairs are covered to match. Each room is of a dominant colour. There is a green one with metallic shades, like the wings of a Brazilian beetle. The *broché* silk on the furniture is to correspond. The effect is magical. In another, splendid Gobelin tapestry, after Lebrun, represents the triumph and the clemency of Alexander. Another, again, is all mirrors, even to the door-panels, but groups of flowers in oil painting on the glass temper the excessive brilliancy. The stoves are really marvels of inventive genius and good taste, all in white and gold Saxony china. The blacksmith’s art never produced anything finer than the immense wrought-iron gates which enclose the pleasure-grounds, with their terraces, lawns, grass-plots, fountains, and rustic retreats. This princely residence, which has been almost invariably vacant since the suppression of episcopal sovereignty, has remained perfectly intact. It has been deteriorated neither by popular insurrections nor by changes in taste. What finished models of the style of the Regency architects and furniture makers could find here to copy from!

The contemplation of all these grandeurs suggests two questions to my mind. Where did these Sovereigns of tiny States find the money to furnish themselves with splendours and luxuries which Louis XIV. might have envied? My colleague, George Schanz, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Würzburg, informs me that these bishops had scarcely any troops to maintain. “Make,” he says, “builders, joiners, upholsterers, and carpenters of all our soldiers all over the land at the present day, and Germany might soon be covered with such palaces.”

Second question: How could these bishops, disciples of Him “who had not where to lay His head,” spend the money raised by taxation of the poor, on pomps and luxury worthy of a Darius or a Heliogabalus? Had they not read the Gospel condemnation of Dives, and the commentaries of the Church’s Fathers? Was the Christian doctrine of humility and of charity, even to voluntary poverty, only

understood in monasteries and convents? Those grandees of the Church must have been completely blinded by the mistaken sophism which leads to the belief that extravagance and waste benefits the working man, the real producer. This unfortunate error is only too harmful at the present day.

During the eighteenth century the majority of the churches of Würzburg were completely spoilt by being ornamented in that Louis XV. style, suited only to the interior of palaces. As Boileau says, "ce ne sont que festons, ce ne sont qu'astragales," gothic arches disappear beneath garlands of flowers, clouds with angel's draperies in relief and interlacings of "chicorée," the whole in plaster and covered with gilding. The altars are frequently entirely gilt. It is a perfect profusion of make-believe riches. In the towns the façades of some houses here and there are finished examples of this florid architecture. Doubtless the radiance of Versailles magnificence urged Germany to decorate her monuments and dwellings "*à la Française*," even after the Sun there had set.

From my windows, which look out on to the square before the palace, I see a battalion of troops march past to exercise. Even the guards at Berlin could not march more automatically. The legs and the left arm move exactly together, while the guns are held precisely at the same angle by each soldier. Their steel barrels form a perfectly straight line as they glisten in the sunshine. The ranks of soldiers are absolutely rectilinear. The whole move in a body as if they were fastened on to a rail. It is perfection. What care and pains must have been bestowed before such a result could be attained! The Bavarians have naturally done their very best to equal and even to surpass the Prussians. They do not choose to be esteemed any longer as mere beer-drinkers, heavy, and somewhat dense. I wonder if this exceedingly severe drill, so effective on parade, is of use on a battle-field of the present day, where it is usual to disperse to attack. I am not competent to answer this question, but it is certain that rigid discipline accustoms the soldier to order and obedience; two very necessary virtues, especially in a democratic age. Obedience is still more wanted when the iron hand of despotism gives place to the authority of magistrates and laws. The mission of schools and military service is to teach this lesson to the citizens of Republics. The more the chief power loosens its hold, the more should free man bend at once to the exigences necessary for the maintenance of order in the State. If this be not so, anarchy will result, and a return to despotism is then inevitable, for anarchy cannot be tolerated.

In the evening the sound of bugles is heard. It is the retreat sounding for the garrison troops. It is a melancholy farewell to the day passing away, and, religious, like a call to rest, from the night,

which is fast falling. Alas! how sad it is to think that these trumpets thus harmoniously sounding the curfew will one day give the signal for battle and bloodshed! Men are still as savage as wild beasts, and with less motive, for they no longer devour their slaughtered enemy. I am a member of at least four societies whose object is to preach peace and recommend arbitration. No one listens to us. Even free nations prefer to fight. I admit perfectly that when the security or the existence of a country is at stake, it is impossible to have recourse to arbitration, although its decisions would be at least as just as those of violence and chance; but there are cases which I call "Jenkins' ears," since reading Carlyle's "*Frederic the Great*."\* In such as these, where the question is one of *amour propre*, of obstinacy, and frequently, I may say, also, of stupidity, arbitration might often prevent conflicts.

But if man is still hard on his fellow, he has become more tender towards animals. He has forbidden their being uselessly tortured. I take note of a touching example of this. I walk up to the Citadel, whence there is a splendid view over all Franconia. I cross the bridge over the Maine. In a street where the quaint pinions of the houses and gaudy sign-posts over the doors would delight the eye of a painter, I see a sort of sentry-box, on which is written in large characters, *Thierschutz-Verein* ("Society for the Protection of Animals.") A horse is standing there. Why? To be at the disposal of waggoners with a heavy load who are going up the slope to the bridge, and thus to prevent them ill-treating their horses. This seems to me far more ingenious and efficacious than the infliction of a fine.

Würzburg is not an industrial town. There appears to be no special reason why the population and the wealth of the city should increase rapidly, and yet the old town is surrounded with fine new quarters, fashionable squares, pretty walks and fine wide streets, handsome houses and villas. Here, as elsewhere, that singular phenomenon of our age, the immense increase in the number of well-to-do families, is distinctly apparent. If this continue in the same proportions, the "masses" of the future will not be composed of those who live on wages and salaries, but of those living on profit,

\* On April 20, 1731, the English vessel *Rebecca*, Captain Jenkins, is visited by the coastguards of Havanna, who accuse the captain of smuggling military goods. They find none on board, but they ill-treat him by hanging him first to the yard and fastening the cabin boy to his feet. The rope breaks, however, and they then proceed to cut off one of his ears, telling him to take it to his king. Jenkins returns to London and claims vengeance. Pope writes verses about his ear, but England did not choose to quarrel with Spain just then, and all is apparently forgotten. Eight years after, some insults offered by the Spaniards to English vessels brought up again the topic of Jenkins' ear. He had preserved it in wadding. The sailors went about London wearing the inscription "ear for ear" on their hats. The large merchants and shipowners espoused their cause. William Pitt and the nation in general desire war with Spain, and Walpole is forced to declare it. The consequences are but too well-known. Bloodshed all over the world on land and sea. Jenkins' ear is indeed avenged. If the English people were poetical, says Carlyle, this ear would have become a constellation like Berenice's crown.

interest, or revenue. Revolutions will become impossible, for the established order of things would have more protectors than assailants. These countless comfortable residences, these edifices of all kinds which spring up in every direction, with their luxurious and opulent appointments, all this wealth and well-being, is the result of the employment of machinery. Machinery increases production and economizes labour, and as the wages of labour have not diminished, the number of those who could live without working has increased.

Würzburg possesses an ancient University. It is a very old sixteenth-century building, situated in the centre of the town. As they recently did me the honour to confer on me the degree of *Doctor honoris causa*, I wished to see the Rector to offer him my thanks, but I had not the good fortune to meet him. On the Boulevard, special institutes have been constructed for each separate science, for chemistry, physics, and physiology. Immense sums have been spent in Germany to add a number of those separate institutes to the different Universities. The eminent professor of chemistry at Bonn, M. Kekulé, recently took me over the building constructed for his branch of science. With its Greek columns, and its palatial façade, it is considerably more extensive than the whole of the old University. The sub-soil devoted to experimental and metallurgical chemistry resembles immense works or foundries. The professor's apartments are far more sumptuous than those of the first authorities. Neither the Governor, the Bishop, nor even the General himself, can boast of anything to be compared with them. In the drawing-rooms and dancing saloons the whole town might be assembled. This Institute has cost more than a million francs. In Germany it is very rightly considered that a professor who has experiments to make ought to live in the same building where are the laboratories and lecture-rooms. It is only thus that he is able to follow analyses which need his supervision, at times even at night. Comparative anatomy and physiology have also each their palace. Several professors of natural sciences complain that it is really an excess. They say they are crushed by the extent and complications of their appurtenances, and especially by the cares and responsibilities they involve; nevertheless, if exaggeration there be, it is on the right side. Bacon's motto, "Knowledge is Power," becomes truer every day. The proper application of science is the chief source of wealth, and, consequently, of power. Nations, do you wish to be powerful and rich? Then encourage to the utmost your learned men.

I stop a day *en route* to revisit Nuremberg, the Pompeii of the Middle Ages. I will not speak of its many interesting churches, houses, towers, of the Woolding Chamber, nor of the terrible Iron Virgin, covered inside with spikes, like Regulus' barrel, which, in closing, pierced its victim through and through, and opened to drop

the corpse into the torrent roaring a hundred feet below. Nothing gives a more vivid idea of the refined cruelty of these dark ages. But I have no wish to encroach upon Baedeker's prerogative. A word only as to what I see before the cathedral. I observe there a small Gothic monument, which reminds me of the Roman column of Igel, on the Mosel, near Trèves. It has a niche on each of the four sides, under glass. In the first niche is a thermometer, in the second an hygrometer, in the third a barometer, and in the fourth the day's telegrams from the observatory, and the meteorological maps. These instruments are enormous, from four to five feet in height at least, so that the figures may be large enough to be clearly legible. I have seen similar monuments in several German towns, and in Switzerland, at Geneva, in the gardens near the Rhone, at Vevey, close to the landing-stage, and at Neuchâtel, on the promenade near the lake. It would be excellent if all towns would adopt them. I take every opportunity of urging this. Their cost is but trifling. A perfectly plain one can be made for £40, something more elegant might cost £80 or £100; they are a source of amusement and a means of instructing the people, and a daily lesson in physics for all classes. The labouring man learns there far better than he would do at school the practical use of these instruments, which are most useful for agricultural purposes and for sanitary precautions.

Towards midnight I go on foot to the railway station, to take the express to Vienna. The old castle throws a black shadow over the town, the roofs of which seem to whiten in the silvery moonlight. This, I say to myself, is the birthplace of the Hohenzollern family. What a change has taken place in its destiny since its name first appeared in history, in 1170, when Conrad of Hohenzollern was made Burgraaf of Nuremberg! One of his descendants, Frederick, first Elector, left this town in 1412 to take possession of Brandenburg, which the spendthrift Emperor Sigismund had sold him for 400,000 florins of Hungarian gold. He had already borrowed half this sum from Frederick, who was as economical as the ant, and had even mortgaged the electorate as security. Being unable to repay his debt, and in want of more money to defray the costs of an expedition to Spain, he very willingly yielded up this inhospitable northern "Mark," the sands of the "Marquis of Brandenburg," which Voltaire so turned into ridicule. The Emperor could not suppose that from this petty Burgrave would spring a future wearer of the imperial crown. Economy is a small virtue made up of small privations, but which makes much of little—*Molti pochi fanno un assai*—"Money a pickle makes a mickle," as the Scotch say. Though far too often forgotten or ignored by rulers, it is nevertheless even more necessary for nations than for individuals.

A short June night is soon passed in a sleeping car. I wake up and find myself in Austria. I perceive it at once from the delicious coffee and cream which is served me in a glass, by a fair young girl in a pink print dress and with bare arms. It very nearly equals in quality that of the *Posthof* at Carlsbad. We are very soon in view of the Danube, but the railway does not keep alongside it. Whatever the well-known waltz, "The Blue Danube," may say to the contrary, the river is not blue at all. Its waters are yellow-green, like the Rhine, but how infinitely more picturesque is the "Donau!" No vineyards, no factories, and very few steamers. I saw but one, making its way with difficulty against the rapid current. The hills on either side are covered with forests and green meadows, and the branches of the willow trees sweep the water. The farm-houses, very far apart, have a rustic and mountain-like appearance. There is very little movement, very little trade; the peasant is still the chief producer of riches. On this lovely summer morning the sweet repose of this peaceful existence seduces and penetrates me. How delightful it would be to live quietly here, near these pine forests and these beautiful meadows, where the cattle are at pasture! But on the other side of the river where there is no railway! There are several reasons for this great contrast between the Rhine and the Danube. The Rhine flows towards Holland and England, two markets that have been well established for upwards of three hundred years, and ready to pay a high price for all the river brings them. The Danube flows towards the Black Sea, where the population is exceedingly poor, and can scarcely afford to purchase what we should call here the necessaries of life. The produce of Hungary, even live cattle, is taken westward by rail to London. The transport by water is too long. Secondly, coal, the indispensable fuel of all modern industry, is cheaper on the Rhine than anywhere else. And thirdly, the Rhine, ever since the Roman conquest and at the earliest period of the Middle Ages, has been a centre of civilization, whereas that portion of the Danube the most valuable for traffic was, until yesterday, in the hands of the Turks.

At the Amstett Station I purchased the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, which is, I think, with the *Pester Lloyd*, the best edited and the pleasantest paper to read in the German language. The *Kölnische Zeitung* is exceedingly well-informed, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* is also as complete and interesting as possible; but it is a terrible pell-mell of subjects, a dreadful muddle, where, for instance, many little paragraphs from France or Paris are disseminated haphazard in the six sheets. I would rather read three *Times* than one *Kölnische*, in spite of the respect with which that paper inspires me. I have scarcely unfolded my *Neue Freie Presse* than I find myself in the very heart of the struggle of nationalities, just as I was sixteen years

previously, only that the strife is no longer, as it then was, between Magyars and Germans. The Deak dual compromise created a *modus vivendi*, which is still in force. The dispute is now between Tchecks and Germans on the one hand, and between Magyars and Croavians on the other. The Minister Taaffe has decided to dissolve the Bohemian Parliament and there will be fresh elections. The national and feudal Tchecks banding together will overthrow the Germans, who will no longer possess more than a third of the votes in the Diet. The *Freie Presse* is perfectly disconsolate at this, and foresees the most terrible disasters in consequence: if not the end of the world, at least the upset of the monarchy. On account of these warnings, the numbers are seized by Government order three or four times a month, even although it be the organ of the Austrian "bourgeoisie." It is Liberal, but very moderate, like the *Débats* and the *Temps* in France. After two or three months have elapsed, the numbers seized are returned to the editor, only fit for the waste-paper basket. These confiscations (for they are, in fact, nothing more nor less, although effected through the Administration) are absolutely contrary to the law, as is proved by the reiterated acquittals. Their constant recurrence reminds one of the worst periods of the French Empire. Applied to a newspaper that defends Austrian interests with so much skill as the *Freie Presse*, they are more than surprising. If my friend, Eugène Pelletan, were aware of this he would no longer claim for France "liberty as in Austria," for which saying he suffered at the time three months' imprisonment. It is said that the influence of the Tchecks dictates these confiscations, and this alone is sufficient to show the violence of the enmity between the races. The Viennese with whom I travel declare that this enmity is far less bitter than it was fifteen years ago. At that period, I tell them, I travelled across the country without meeting a single Austrian. I met with Magyars, Croatians, Saxons, Tchecks, Tyrolians, Poles, Ruthenians, Dalmatians, but never with Austrians. The common country was ignored, the race was all in all. At the present day, my fellow-travellers tell me this is very much subdued. You will find plenty of excellent Austrians, they say, to-day amongst the Magyars, and to-morrow amongst the Tchecks.

The reader will permit a short digression here touching this nationality question. You meet with it everywhere in the dual Empire. It is the great preoccupation of the present, and it will be in fact the chief agent in determining the future of the population of the banks of the Danube and the Balkan peninsula. You Englishmen cannot well understand the full force of this feeling which is so strong in Eastern countries. England is for you your country, for which you live and for which, if needs, you die. This love of country is a religion which survives even when all other faith or

religion has ceased to exist. It is the same in France. M. Thiers who, as a rule, so thoroughly grasped situations, never realized the immense force of these aspirations of races, which completely rearranged, before his eyes, the map of Europe on the nationality footing. Cavour and Bismarck were, however, well aware of this, and knew how to take advantage of this sentiment, in creating the unity of Italy and of Germany.

One evening, Jules Simon took me to call on M. Thiers, in rue St. Honoré, who asked me to explain the Flemish movement in Belgium. I did so, and he seemed to consider the question as most unimportant, quite childish in fact, and very much behind the age. He was at once both right and wrong. He was right because true union is one of minds, not of blood. Christ's saying is here admirably applicable: "Whosoever shall do the will of God the same is my brother and sister and mother" (St. Mark iii. 35).

I grant that mixed nationalities which, without consideration of diversity of language and race, rest, as in Switzerland, on an identity of historical reminiscences, of civilization and liberty, are of a superior order; they are types and forerunners of the final fusion when all mankind will be but one great family, or rather a federation. But M. Thiers, being idealistic, like a true son of the French Revolution, was wrong in not taking into account things as they actually are, and the exigencies of the transitory situation.

This awakening of nationalities is the inevitable outcome of the development of democracy, of the press, and of literary culture. An autocrat may govern twenty different peoples without in the least troubling himself as to their language or race; but if once assemblies be introduced, everything is changed. Speech governs. Then what language is to be spoken? That of the people of course. Will you educate the young? It must be done in their mother tongue. Is justice to be administered? You cannot judge a man in a foreign language. You wish to represent him in Parliament and ask for his votes; the least he can claim in return is that he may understand what you say. And thus by degrees the language of the multitude gains ground and is adopted in Parliament, law-courts, and schools of every degree. In Finland, for instance, the struggle is between the Swedes, who form the well-to-do classes and live in the towns on the coast, and the rural population who are Finns. When visiting the country with the son of the eminent linguist, Castrén, who died while in Asia seeking out the origin of the Finn language, I found that the latter was more spoken than Swedish, even in the suburbs of large towns such as Abö and Helsingfors. All official inscriptions are in the two languages. The instruction in the communal schools is almost entirely in the Finn tongue. There are Finn gymnasiums, and even at the University, lectures



in this language. There is also a national theatre, where I heard "Martha" sung in Finn. In Galicia, Polish has completely replaced German; but the Ruthenians have also put in a claim for their idiom. In Bohemia the Tcheck dialect triumphs so completely that German is in danger of being wholly cast aside. At the opening of the Bohemian Diet, the Governor made a speech in Tcheck and one in German. At Prague a Tcheck University has recently been opened next to the German one. The clergy, the feudals, and the population are strongly in favour of this national movement. The Archbishop of Prague, the Prince of Schwarzenberg, although himself a German, appoints none but Tcheck priests, even in the North of Bohemia where Germans dominate.

It is certain that in countries where two races are thus intermingled, this growing feeling must occasion endless dissensions, and almost insurmountable difficulties. It is a disadvantage to speak the idiom of a small number, for it is a cause of isolation. It would certainly be far better if but three or four languages were spoken in Europe, and better still if but one were generally adopted; but, until this acme of unity be attained, every free people called upon to establish self-government, will claim rights for its mother-tongue, and will try to unite itself with those who speak it, unless the nation be already fully satisfied with its mixed but historical nationality like Switzerland and Belgium. Austria and the Balkan peninsula are now agitated with these claims for the use of the national tongue, and with aspirations for the formation of States based on the ethnic groups.

As we near Vienna the train runs through the most lovely country. A succession of small valleys, with little streamlets rippling through them, and on either side green lawns between the hills covered with woods, chiefly firs and oaks. One might imagine oneself in Styria or in Upper Bavaria. Soon, however, houses make their appearance, often charming chalêts buried in creeping plants, "Gloire de Dijon" roses, or jessamine and clematis. These become more and more frequent, and, near the suburban stations, there are quite little hamlets of villas. I know of no capital with such beautiful suburbs, save perhaps Stockholm. Nothing could be more delightful than Baden, Mölling, Brühl, Schönbrun, and all those little rustic nooks south of Vienna, on the road to the Sömering.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

## GOETHE.

### III.

**T**HE highest rank in literature belongs to those who combine the properly poetical with philosophical qualities, and crown both with a certain robust sincerity and common sense. The sovereign poet must be not merely a singer, but also a sage; to passion and music he must add large ideas; he must extend in width as well as in height; but, besides this, he must be no dreamer or fanatic, and must be rooted as firmly in the hard earth as he spreads widely and mounts freely towards the sky. Goethe, as we have described him, satisfies these conditions, and as much can be said of no other men of the modern world but Dante and Shakspeare.

Of this trio each is complete in all the three dimensions. Each feels deeply, each knows and sees clearly, and each has a stout grasp of reality. This completeness is what gives them their universal fame, and makes them interesting in all times and places. Each, however, is less complete in some directions than in others. Dante, though no fanatic, yet is less rational than so great a man should have been. Shakspeare wants academic knowledge. Goethe, too, has his defects, but this is rather the place for dwelling on his peculiar merits. In respect of influence upon the world, he has for the present the advantage of being the latest, and therefore the least obsolete and exhausted, of the three. But he is also essentially much more of a teacher than his two predecessors. Alone among them he has a system, a theory of life, which he has thought and worked out for himself.

From Shakspeare, no doubt, the world may learn, and has learnt, much, yet he professed so little to be a teacher, that he has often been represented as almost without personality, as a mere undisturbed mirror, in which all Nature reflects itself. Something like

a century passed before it was perceived that his works deserved to be in a serious sense studied. Dante was to his countrymen a great example and source of inspiration, but hardly, perhaps, a great teacher. On the other hand, Goethe was first to his own nation, and has since been to the whole world, what he describes his own Chiron, "the noble pedagogue,"\* a teacher and wise counsellor on all the most important subjects. To students in almost every department of literature and art, to unsettled spirits needing advice for the conduct of life, to the age itself in a great transition, he offers his word of weighty counsel, and is an acknowledged authority on a greater number of subjects than any other man. It is the great point of distinction between him and Shakspeare, that he is so seriously didactic. Like Shakspeare myriad-minded, he has nothing of that ironic indifference, that irresponsibility, which has been often attributed to Shakspeare. He is, indeed, strangely indifferent on many points, which other teachers count important; but the lessons which he himself considers important, he teaches over and over again with all the seriousness of one who is a teacher by vocation. And, as I have said, when we look at his teaching as a whole, we find that it has unity, that, taken together, it makes a system, not indeed in the academic sense, but in the sense that a great principle or view of life is the root from which all the special precepts proceed. This has, indeed, been questioned. Friedrich Schlegel made it a complaint against Goethe, that he had "no centre;" but a centre he has; only the variety of his subjects and styles is so great, and he abandons himself to each in turn so completely, that in his works, as in Nature itself, the unity is much less obvious than the multiplicity. Now that we have formed some estimate of the magnitude of his influence, and have also distinguished the stages by which his genius was developed, and his influence in Germany and the world diffused, it remains to examine his genius itself, the peculiar way of thinking, and the fundamental ideas through which he influenced the world.

Never, perhaps, was a more unfortunate formula invented than when, at a moment of reaction against his ascendancy, it occurred to some one to assert that Goethe had talent but not genius. No doubt the talent is there; perhaps no work in literature exhibits a mastery of so many literary styles as "Faust." From the sublime lyric of the prologue, which astonished Shelley, we pass through scenes in which the problems of human character are dealt with, scenes in which the supernatural is brought surprisingly near to real life, scenes of humble life startlingly vivid, grotesque scenes of devilry, scenes of overwhelming pathos; then, in the second part, we find an incomparable revival of the Greek drama, and, at the close, a Dantesque vision of the

\* "Der grosse Mann, der edle Pedagog,  
 • Der, sich zum Ruhm, ein Heldenvolk erzogen."

Christian heaven. Such versatility in a single work is unrivalled; and the versatility of which Goethe's writings, as a whole, gives evidence is much greater still. But to represent him, on this account, as a sort of mocking-bird, or ready imitator, is not merely unjust. Even if we give this representation a flattering turn, and describe him as a being almost superior to humanity, capable of entering fully into all that men think and feel, but holding himself independent of it all, such a being as is described (where, I suppose, Goethe is pointed at) in the Palace of Art, again, I say, it is not merely unjust. Not merely Goethe was not such a being, but we may express it more strongly and say: such a being is precisely what Goethe was not. He had, no doubt, a great power of entering into foreign literatures; he was, no doubt, indifferent to many controversies which in England, when we began to read him, still raged hotly. But these were characteristic qualities, not of Goethe personally, but of Germany in the age of Goethe. A sort of cosmopolitan characterlessness marked the nation, so that Lessing could say in Goethe's youth that the character of the Germans was to have no character. Goethe could not but share in the infirmity, but his peculiarity was that from the beginning he felt it as an infirmity, and struggled to overcome it. That unbounded tolerance, that readiness to allow everything and appreciate every one, which was so marked in the Germans of that time that it is clearly perceptible in their political history, and contributed to their humiliation by Napoleon, is just what is satirized in the delineation of Wilhelm Meister. Jarno says to Wilhelm, "I am glad to see you out of temper; it would be better still if you could be for once thoroughly angry." This sentiment was often in Goethe's mouth; so far was he from priding himself upon serene universal impartiality. Crabbe Robinson heard him say what an annoyance he felt it to appreciate everything equally and to be able to hate nothing. He flattered himself at that time that he had a real aversion. "I hate," he said, "everything Oriental" ("Eigentlich hasse ich alles Orientalische"). He goes further in the "West-östlicher Divan," where, in enumerating the qualities a poet ought to have, he lays it down as indispensable that he should hate many things ("Dann zuletzt ist unerlässlich dass der Dichter *manches hasse*"). True, no doubt, that he found it difficult to hate. An infinite good nature was born in him, and, besides this, he grew up in a society in which all established opinions had been shaken, so that for a rational man it was really difficult to determine what deserved hatred or love. What is wholly untrue in that view of him, which was so fashionable forty years ago—"I sit apart holding no form of creed, but contemplating, all"—is that this tolerance was the intentional result of cold pride or self-sufficiency. He does not seem to me to have been either proud or unsympathetic, and among the many

things of which he might boast, certainly he would not have included a want of definite opinions—he, who was never tired of rebuking the Germans for their vagueness, and who admired young Englishmen expressly, because they seemed to know their own minds, even when they had little mind to know. Distinctness, character, is what he admires, what through life he struggles for, what he and Schiller alike chide the Germans for wanting. But he cannot attain it by a short cut. Narrowness is impossible to him, not only because his mind is large, but because the German public in their good-natured tolerance have made themselves familiar with such a vast variety of ideas. He cannot be a John Bull, however much he may admire John Bull, because he does not live in an island.\* To have distinct views he must make a resolute act of choice, since all ideas have been laid before him, all are familiar to the society in which he lives. This perplexity, this difficulty of choosing what was good out of such a heap of opinions, he often expresses: “The people to be sure are not accustomed to what is best, but then they are so terribly well-read!”\* But it is just the struggle he makes for distinctness that is admirable in him. The breadth, the tolerance, he has in common with his German contemporaries; what he has to himself is the resolute determination to arrive at clearness.

Nevertheless, he may seem indifferent even to those whose minds are less contracted than was the English mind half a century ago, for this reason, that his aim, though not less serious than that of others, is not quite the same. He seldom takes a side in the controversies of the time. You do not find him weighing the claims of Protestantism and Catholicism, nor following with eager interest the dispute between orthodoxy and rationalism. Again, when all intellectual Germany is divided between the new philosophy of Kant and the old system, and later, when varieties show themselves in the new philosophy, when Fichte and Schelling succeed to the vogue of Kant, Goethe remains undisturbed by all these changes of opinion. He is almost as little affected by political controversy. The French Revolution irritates him, but not so much because it is opposed to his convictions as because it creates disturbance. Even the War of Liberation cannot rouse him. Was he not then a quietist? Did he not hold himself aloof, whether in a proud feeling of superiority or in mere Epicurean indifference, from all the interests and passions of humanity? If this were the case, or nearly the case, Goethe would have no claim to rank in the first class of literature. He might pass for a prodigy of literary expertness and versatility, but he would attract no lasting interest. Such quietism in a man upon whom the eyes

\* “Zwar sind sie an das Beste nicht gewöhnt,  
Allein sie haben schrecklich viel gelesen.”

of a whole nation were bent, could never be compared to the quietism of Shakspeare, who belonged to the uninfluential classes, and to whom no one looked for guidance.

But in truth the quietism of Goethe was the effect not of indifference or of selfishness, but of preoccupation. He had prescribed to himself in early life a task, and he declined to be drawn aside from it by the controversies of the time. It was a task worthy of the powers of the greatest man; it appeared to him, when he devoted himself to it, more useful and necessary than the special undertakings of theologian or philosopher. At the outset he might fairly claim to be the only earnest man in Germany, and might regard the partisans alike of Church and University as triflers in comparison with himself. The French Revolution changed the appearance of things. He could not deny that the political questions opened by that convulsion were of the greatest importance. But he was now forty years old, and the work of his life had begun so early, had been planned with so much care and prosecuted with so much method, that he was less able than many men might have been to make a new beginning at forty. Hence he was merely disturbed by the change which inspired so many others, and to the end of his life continued to look back upon the twenty odd years between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution as a golden time, as in a peculiar sense his own time.\* The new events disturbed him in his habits without actually forcing him to form new habits; he found himself able, though with less comfort, to lead the same sort of life as before; and so he passed into the Napoleonic period and arrived in time at the year of liberation, 1813. Then, indeed, his quietism became shocking, and he felt it so himself; but it was now really too late to abandon a road on which he had travelled so long, and which he had honestly selected as the best.

What, then, was this task to which Goethe had so early devoted himself, and which seemed to him too important to be postponed even to the exigencies of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods? It was that task about which, since Goethe's time, so much has been said—self-culture. "From my boyhood," says Wilhelm, speaking evidently for Goethe himself, "it has been my wish and purpose to develop completely all that is in me." Elsewhere he says, "to make my own existence harmonious." Here is the refined form of selfishness of which Goethe has been so often accused. And undoubtedly the phrase is one which will bear a selfish interpretation, just as a Christian may be selfish when he devotes himself to the salvation of his soul. But in the one case, as in the

\* "Zwanzig Jahre liess ich gehn  
Und genoss was mir beschieden;  
Eine Reihe völlig schön  
Wie die Zeit der Barmeciden."—*West. Div.*

other, it is before all things evident that the task undertaken is very serious, and that the man who undertakes it must be of a very serious disposition. When, as in Goethe's case, it is self-planned and self-imposed, such an undertaking is comparable to those great practical experiments in the conduct of life which were made by the early Greek philosophers. Right or wrong, such an experiment can only be imagined by an original man, and can only be carried into effect by a man of very steadfast will. But we may add that it is no more necessary to give a selfish interpretation to this formula than to the other formulæ by which philosophers have tried to describe the object of a moral life. A harmonious existence does not necessarily mean an existence passed in selfish enjoyment. Nor is the pursuit of it necessarily selfish, since the best way to procure a harmonious existence for others is to find out by an experiment practised on oneself in what a harmonious existence consists, and by what methods it may be attained. For the present, at least, let us content ourselves with remarking that Goethe, who knew his own mind as well as most people, considered himself to carry disinterestedness almost to an extreme. What especially struck him in Spinoza, he says, was the boundless unselfishness that shone out of such sentences as this, "He who loves God must not require that God should love him again." "For," he continues, "to be unselfish in everything, especially in love and friendship, was my highest pleasure, my maxim, my discipline, so that that petulant sentence written later, 'If I love you, what does that matter to you?' came from my very heart."

However this may be, when a man, so richly gifted otherwise, displays the rarest of all manly qualities—viz., the power and persistent will to make his life systematic, and place all his action under the control of a principle freely and freshly conceived, he rises at once into the highest class of men. It is the strenuous energy with which Goethe enters into the battle of life, and fights there for a victory into which others may enter, that makes him great, that makes him the teacher of these later ages, and not some foppish pretension of being above it all, of seeing through it and despising it. But just because he conceived the problem in his own manner, and not precisely as it is conceived by the recognized authorities on the conduct of life, he could take little interest in the controversies which those authorities held among themselves, and therefore passed for indifferent to the problem itself. He did not admit that the question was to form an opinion as to the conditions of the life after death, though he himself hoped for such a future life, for he wanted rather rightly to understand and to deal with the present life; nor did he want what is called in the schools a philosophy, remarking probably that the most approved professors of philosophy

lived after all much in the same way as other people. It seemed to him that he was more earnest than either the theologians or the philosophers, just because he disregarded their disputes and grappled directly with the question which they under various pretexts evaded—how to make existence satisfactory.

He grasps it in the rough unceremonious manner of one who means business, and also in the manner which Rousseau had made fashionable. We have desires given us by God or Nature, convertible terms to him; these desires are meant to receive satisfaction, for the world is not a stupid place, and the Maker of the world is not stupid. This notion that human life is not a stupid affair, and that the fault must be ours if it seems so, that for everything wrong there must be a remedy,\* is a sort of fundamental axiom with him, as it is with most moral reformers. Even when he has death before his mind, he still protests. "He is no more!" Ridiculous! Why 'no more?' 'It is all over.' What can be the meaning of that? Then it might as well never have existed. Give me rather an eternal void." And this way of thinking brings him at once, or so he thinks, into direct conflict with the reigning system of morality, which is founded not on the satisfaction, but on the mortification of desire. He declares war against the doctrine of self-denial or abstinence. "Abstain, abstain!—that is the eternal song that rings in every ear. In the morning I awake in horror, and am tempted to shed bitter tears at the sight of the day, which in its course will not gratify one wish, not one single wish." So speaks Faust, and Goethe ratifies it in his own person, when he complains that "we are not allowed to develop what we have in us, and are denied what is necessary to supply our deficiencies; robbed of what we have won by labour or has been allowed us by kindness, and find ourselves compelled, before we can form a clear opinion about it, to give up our personality, at first in instalments, but at last completely; also that we are expected to make a more delighted face over the cup the more bitter it tastes, lest the unconcerned spectator should be affronted by anything like a grimace." He adds that this system is grounded on the maxim that "All is vanity," a maxim which characteristically he pronounces false and blasphemous. That "all is *not* vanity" is indeed almost the substance of Goethe's philosophy. "His faith," so he tells the Houri who, at the gate of Paradise, requires him to prove his orthodoxy, "has always been that the world, whichever way it rolls, is a thing to love, a thing to be thankful for."†

This doctrine, again, is not in itself or necessarily a doctrine of

\* "Sicherlich es muss das Beste  
Irgendwo zu finden sein."

† "Dass die Welt, wie sie auch kreise,  
Liebevoll und dankbar sei."



selfishness, though it may easily be represented so. It may be true that all virtue requires self-denial; but for that very reason we may easily conceive a system of senseless and aimless self-denial setting itself up in the place of virtue. It is not every kind of self-denial that Goethe has in view, but the particular kind by which he has found himself hampered. His indignation is not moved when he sees abstinence practised in order to attain some great end; it is the abstinence which leads to nothing and aims at nothing that provokes him. He has given two striking dramatic pictures of it. There is Faust, who cannot tolerate the emptiness of his secluded life; but does it appear that he rebels against it simply because it brings no pleasure to himself, even though it confers benefit upon others and upon the world? The burden of his complaint is that his abstinence does no good to anybody, that the studies for which he foregoes pleasure lead to no real knowledge; and expressly to make this clear, Goethe introduces the story of the plague, which Faust and his father had tried to cure by a drug which did infinitely more harm than the plague itself. The other picture is that of Brother Martin in "Götz," the young monk who envies Götz his life so full of movement and emotion, while he is himself miserable under the restraint of his vows. Here, again, the complaint is that no good comes of such abstinence. The life of self-denial is conceived as an utter stagnation, unhealthy even from a moral point of view. It is contrasted with a life not of luxury, but of strenuous energy, at once wholesome and useful to the world.

So far, then, Goethe's position is identical with that which Protestants take up against monasticism, when they maintain that powers were given to be used, desires implanted in order that they might be satisfied. He does not, any more than they, assert that when some great end is in view it may not be nobler to mortify the desire than to indulge it. But he applies the principle more consistently, and to a greater number of cases than they had applied it. Not against celibacy or useless self-torture only, but against all omission to satisfy desire, against all sluggishness or apathy in enjoyment—understood always that no special end is to be gained by the self-denial—he protests. In his poem, called the "General Confession" ("General-beichte") he calls his followers to repent of the sin of having often let slip an opportunity of enjoyment, and makes them solemnly resolve not to be guilty of such sins in future. Here, at least, the reader may say, selfishness is openly preached; and perhaps this is the interpretation most commonly put upon the poem. Yet it is certainly unjust to pervert in this way an intentional paradox, and, in fact, in that very poem Goethe introduces the most elevated utterance of his philosophy; for the vow which the penitents are required to take is that they will "wean themselves from half-measures and live reso-

lutely in the Whole, in the *Good*, and the Beautiful!" Goethe, in short, holds, as many other philosophers have done, that an elevated morality may be based on the idea of pleasure not less than on the idea of duty.

This principle, not new in itself, led to very new and important results when it was taken up not by a mere reasoner but by a man of the most various gifts and of the greatest energy. By "pleasure" or "satisfaction of desire" is usually meant something obvious, something passive, merely a supply of agreeable sensations to each of the five senses. In Goethe's mouth the word takes quite a different meaning. He cannot conceive pleasure without energetic action, and the most necessary of all pleasures to him is that of imaginative creation. The desires, again, for which he claims satisfaction—what are they? Chief among them is the desire to enter into the secret of the universe, to recognize "what it is which holds the world together within." Such desires as these might be satisfied, such pleasures enjoyed, without any very culpable self-indulgence. And existence would be satisfactory, or, as he calls it, harmonious, if it offered continually and habitually food for desire so understood, which is almost the same thing as capacity. But there are hindrances. The chief of these is the superstition of self-denial. Of course every practical man knows that self-denial of a certain kind must be constantly practised in life. The small object must be foregone for the sake of the greater, the immediate pleasure for the sake of the remote, nay, the personal pleasure for the sake of the pleasure which is generous and sympathetic. But the timid superstition which sets up self-denial, divorced from all rational ends, as a thing good and right in itself, which makes us afraid of enjoyment as such, this is the chief hindrance, and against this Goethe launches his chief work, "*Faust*." There is another hindrance, less obvious and needing to be dealt with in another way, which Goethe therefore attacks usually in prose rather than in poetry.

Man, as Goethe conceives him, is essentially active. The happiness he seeks is not passive enjoyment, but an occupation, a pursuit adapted to his inborn capacities. It follows that a principal condition of happiness is a just self-knowledge. He will be happy, who knows what he wants and what he can do. Here again Goethe gives importance to a doctrine which in itself is obvious enough by the persistent energy with which he applies it. He has been himself bewildered by the multiplicity of his own tastes and aptitudes. He has wanted to do everything in turn, and he has found himself capable to a certain extent of doing everything. Hence the question—What is my true vocation? has been to him exceptionally difficult. In studying it he has become aware of the numberless illusions and misconceptions which hide from most men the true nature of their

own aptitudes, and therefore the path of their happiness. He finds that the circumstances of childhood, and especially our system of education, which "excites wishes, instead of awakening tastes," have the effect of creating a multitude of unreal ambitions, deceptive impulses and semblances of aptitudes. He finds that most men have been more or less misled by these illusions, have more or less mistaken their true vocation, and therefore missed their true happiness. On this subject he has collected a vast mass of observations, and, in fact, added a new chapter to practical morality. This is the subject of "*Wilhelm Meister*," not the most attractive nor the most perfect, but perhaps the most characteristic, of Goethe's works and, as it were, the textbook of the Goethian philosophy. It is said not to be widely popular in Germany. Most English readers lay it down bewildered, wondering what Goethe's admirers can see in it so extraordinary, and astonished at the indifference to what we have agreed to call morality—that is, the part of morality that concerns the relations of the sexes—which reigns throughout it. I shall touch on this latter point later. Meanwhile, let me remark, that few books have had a deeper influence upon modern literature than this famous novel. It is the first important instance of a novel which deals principally and on a large scale with opinions or views of life. How Wilhelm mistook his vocation, and how this mistake led to many others; how a secret society, the Society of the Tower, taught a doctrine on the subject of vocations, and of the method by which men are to be assisted in discovering their true vocations; how Wilhelm is assisted and by what stages he arrives at clearness—this is the subject of a long and elaborate narrative. It is throughout most seriously instructive; it is seldom very amusing; and we may add that the moral of the story is not brought out with very convincing distinctness. But it has been the model upon which the novel of the present day is formed. Written twenty years before the *Waverley Novels*, which are in the opposite extreme, since they make no serious attempt to teach anything and dwell upon everything which Goethe disregards, adventure, surprise, costume, it began to produce its effect among us when the influence of the *Waverley Novel* was exhausted. The idea now prevalent, which gives to the novel a practical as well as an artistic side, the idea which prompts us, when we wish to preach any kind of social or moral reform, to write a novel about it, seems to have made way chiefly through Goethe's authority.

But the substance of "*Wilhelm Meister*" is even more important than the form. It presents the whole subject of morality under a new light, and as in this respect it is only the fullest of a number of utterances to the same effect made by Goethe, it can never be fully appreciated when it is considered by itself, but must be judged

in the closest connexion with his other works and with his life. Every attempt to treat such a subject as morality in an original manner has something alarming about it. Such attempts ought to be laid only before minds strong enough to consider them calmly, and yet of necessity they come to the knowledge of "the weak brethren," who are frightened or unsettled by them. Moreover, such attempts are always likely to be one-sided. As it is usually an intense perception of something overlooked in the orthodox morality that prompts them, the innovator is apt to be hurried into the opposite extreme, and to overlook in his turn what the orthodox morality has taught rightly. Goethe laid himself open to the charge of immorality. "*Wilhelm Meister*" was received with horror by the religious world; it was, if I remember right, publicly burnt by Count Stolberg. In England, Wordsworth spoke of it with disgust, and it still remains the book which chiefly justifies the profound distrust and aversion with which Goethe has been and is regarded among those who are Christian either in the dogmatic or in the larger sense. Not unnaturally, it must be confessed.

But I do seriously submit that Christians should learn to be less timid than they are. In their absorbing anxiety for "the weaker brethren," they often seem to run the risk of becoming "weak brethren" themselves. We ought not to come to the consideration of moral questions under the influence of panic and nervous fright. It is true that few books seem at first sight more directly opposed than "*Wilhelm Meister*" to that practical Christianity which we love to think of as beyond controversy, that spirit which, as it breathes from almost all Christian churches and sects alike, strikes us as undoubtedly the essential part of religion. At first sight the book seems secular, heathenish in an extraordinary degree. Let us, then, if we will, warn young people away from it; but let us ask ourselves at the same time how a man so gifted, so serious, and also so good-natured—for there is no appearance of rancour in the book, which even contains a picture, tenderly and pleasingly drawn, of Christian pietism—could come to take a view so different from that commonly accepted of questions about which we are all so anxious. Such a course may lead us to see mistakes made by modern Christianity, which may have led Goethe also into mistakes by reaction; whereas the other course, of simply averting our eyes in horror, can lead to no good.

We may distinguish between the positive and the negative part of this moral scheme. All that "*Wilhelm Meister*" contains on the subject of vocations seems valuable, and the prominence which he gives to the subject is immensely important. In considering how human life should be ordered, Goethe begins with the fact that each man has an occupation, which fills most of his time. It seems to

him, therefore, the principal problem to secure that this occupation should be not only worthy, but suited to the capacity of the individual and pursued in a serious spirit. What can be more simple and obvious? And yet, if we reflect, we shall see that moralists have not usually taken this simple view, and that in the accepted morality this whole class of questions is little considered. Duties to this person and to that, to men, to women, to dependents, to the poor, to the State—these are considered; but the greatest of all duties, that of choosing one's occupation rightly, is overlooked. And yet it is the greatest of duties, because on it depend the usefulness and effectiveness of the man's life considered as a whole, and, at the same time, his own peace of mind, or, as Goethe calls it, his inward harmony. Nevertheless, it is so much overlooked that in ordinary views of life all moral interest is, as it were, concentrated upon the hours of leisure. The occupation is treated as a matter of course, a necessary routine about which little can be said. True life is regarded as beginning when work is over. In work men may no doubt be honest or dishonest, energetic or slothful, persevering or desultory, successful or unsuccessful, but that is all; it is only in leisure that they can be interesting, highly moral, amiable, poetical. Such a view of life is, to say the least, unfortunate. It surrenders to deadness and dulness more than half of our existence.

In primitive times, when the main business of life was war, this was otherwise. Then men gave their hearts to the pursuit to which they gave their time. What was most important was also most interesting, and the poet when he sang of war sang of business too. Hence came the inimitable fire and life of Homeric and Shakspearian poetry. But when war gave place to industry, it seemed that this grand unity of human life was gone. Business, the important half of life, became unpoetical, from the higher point of view uninteresting—for how could the imagination dwell on the labours of the office or the factory?—and all higher interest was confined to that part of life in which energy is relaxed. Goethe's peculiar realism at once prompts and enables him to introduce a reform here. He denies that business is uninteresting, and maintains that the fault is in our own narrowness and in our slavery to a poetical tradition. It is the distinction of "*Wilhelm Meister*" that it is actually a novel about business, not merely a realistic novel venturing to approach the edge of that slough of dulness which is supposed to be at the centre of all our lives, but actually a novel about business as such, an attempt to show that the occupation to which a man gives his life is a matter not only for serious thought, but that it is a matter also for philosophy and poetry. That such a novel must at first sight appear tame and dull is obvious; it undertakes to create the taste by which it can be enjoyed, and will be condemned

at once by all who are not disposed to give it a serious trial. But the question it raises is the fundamental question of modern life. Comprehensive and practical at once, Goethe's mind has found out that root of bitterness which is at the bottom of all the uneasy social agitations of the nineteenth century. We live in the industrial ages, and he has asked the question whether industry must of necessity be a form of slavery, or whether it can be glorified and made into a source of moral health and happiness.

It is commonly said that "Wilhelm Meister" seems to make Art the one object of life; but this is not Goethe's intention. He was himself an artist, and, as the work is in a great degree autobiographical, art naturally comes into the foreground, and the book becomes especially interesting to artists, but the real subject of it is vocations in general. In the later books, indeed, art drops into the background, and we have a view of feminine vocations. The "Beautiful Soul" represents the pietistic view of life; then Therese appears in contrast, representing the economic or utilitarian view; finally, Natalie hits the golden mean, being practical like Therese but less utilitarian, and, ideal like her aunt, the pietist, but less introspective. On the whole, then, the lesson of the book is that we should give unity to our lives by devoting them with hearty enthusiasm to some pursuit, and that the pursuit is assigned to us by Nature through the capacities she has given us. It is thus that Goethe substitutes for the idea of pleasure that of the satisfaction of special inborn aptitudes different in each individual. His system treats every man as a genius, for it regards every man as having his own unique individuality, for which it claims the same sort of tender consideration that is conceded to genius. But in laying down such rules Goethe thinks first of himself. He has spent long years in trying to make out his own vocation. He has had an opportunity of living almost every kind of life in turn. It was not till he returned from Italy that he felt himself to have arrived at clearness. What was Goethe's vocation? Or, since happiness consists in faithful obedience to a natural vocation, what was Goethe's happiness? His happiness is a kind of religion, a perpetual rapt contemplation, a beatific vision. The object of this contemplation is Nature, the laws or order of the Universe to which we belong. Of such contemplation he recognizes two kinds, one of which he calls Art and the other Science. He was in the habit of thinking that in Art and Science taken together he possessed an equivalent for what other men call their religion. Thus, in 1817, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation, he writes a poem in which he expresses his devout resolution of showing his Protestantism, as ever, by Art and Science.\* It was because his view of Art

\* "Will ich in Kunst und Wissenschaft,  
Wie immer, protestiren.

was so realistic, that he was able thus to regard Art as a sort of twin-sister of Science. But the principle involved in this twofold contemplation of Nature is the very principle of religion itself, and in one sense it is true that no man was ever more deliberately and consciously religious than Goethe. No man asserted more emphatically that the energy of action ought to be accompanied by the energy of feeling. It is the consistent principle of his life that the whole man ought to act together, and he pushes it so far that he seems to forbid all division of labour in science. This is the position taken up in "Faust," which perhaps is seldom rightly understood. Science, according to "Faust," must not be dry analysis pursued at a desk in a close room; it must be direct wondering contemplation of Nature. The secrets of the world must disclose themselves to a loving gaze, not to dry thinking (*trocknes Sinnen*), man must converse with Nature "as one spirit with another," "look into her breast as into the bosom of a friend." How we should *not* study is conveyed to us by the picture of Wagner, who is treated with so much contempt. He is simply the ordinary man of science, perhaps we may think the modest practical investigator, of the class to which the advance of science is mainly due. But Goethe has no mercy on him—why? Because his nature is divided, because his feelings do not keep pace with his thoughts, because his attention is concentrated upon single points. Such a man is to Goethe "the dry creeper," "the most pitiable of all the sons of earth."

Thus it is, then, that Art and Science taken together, the living, loving, worshipping contemplation of Nature, out of which comes the knowledge of Nature, are to Goethe religion. But is not such a religion wholly different from religion as commonly understood, wholly different from Christianity?

It was, indeed, very different from such Christianity as he found professed around him. In his youth Goethe was acquainted with several eminently religious persons, Fräulein von Klettenberg, the Frankfurt friend of his family, Jung Stilling, and Lavater. He listened to these not only with his unfailing good humour, but at times with more conviction than "Dichtung und Wahrheit" would lead us to suppose. In some of his early letters he himself adopts pietistic language. But as his own peculiar ideas developed themselves, they separated him more and more from the religious world of his time. At the time of his Italian journey, and for some years afterwards, we find him speaking of Christianity not merely with indifference, but with a good deal of bitterness. This hostility took rather a peculiar form. As the whole disposition of his mind leads him towards religion, as he can no more help being religious than he can help being a poet, he does not reject religion but changes his religion. He becomes, or tries to become, a heathen in the positive sense of

the word; for the description of Goethe as the Great Heathen is not a mere epithet thrown at him by his adversaries. He provoked and almost claimed it in his sketch of Winckelmann, where, after enthusiastic praise of the ancients and of Winckelmann as an interpreter of the ancient world, he inserted a chapter entitled, "Heidnisches," which begins thus: "This picture of the antique spirit, absorbed in this world and its good things, leads us directly to the reflexion that such excellences are only compatible with a heathenish way of thinking. The self-confidence, the attention to the present, the pure worship of the gods as ancestors, the admiration of them, as it were, only as works of art, the submission to an irresistible fate, the future hope also confined to this world, since it rests on the preciousness of posthumous fame; all this belongs so necessarily together, makes such an indivisible whole, creates a condition of human life intended by Nature herself, that we become conscious, alike at the height of enjoyment, and in the depth of sacrifice and even of ruin, of an indestructible health." Clearly when he wrote this (about 1804) Goethe wished and intended to pass for a heathen. And, indeed, the antique attracts him scarcely at all from the historical side—he is no republican, no lover of liberty—but almost exclusively because it offers a religion which is to him the religion of health and joy.

Is it, then, true that Christianity is a system of morbid and melancholy introspectiveness, sacrificing all the freshness and glory of the present life to an awful future? He makes this assumption, and had almost a right to make it, since the Christianity of his time had almost exclusively this character. He was, however, himself half aware that there was all the difference in the world between the Christianity of his time and original Christianity or Christianity as it might be. And even at the time of his greatest bitterness he drops expressions which show that he does not altogether relinquish his interest in Christianity, but keeps open for himself the alternative of appearing as a reformer rather than an assailant of it. In the third period and the old age his tone is a good deal more conciliating than in the passage above quoted. In the Autobiography he appears, on the whole, as a Christian, and even makes faint attempts here and there to write in a style that Christians may find edifying. He tells us expressly that he had little sympathy with the Encyclopædists, and, in a passage of the "West-östlicher Divan," he declares with real warmth that he "has taken into his heart the glorious image of our sacred books, and, as the Lord's image was impressed on St. Veronica's cloth, he refreshes himself in the stillness of the breast in spite of all negation and hindrance with the inspiring vision of faith." Again, when in the "Wanderjahre" he grapples constructively, but somewhat too late, with



the problems of the nineteenth century, we find him assuming, a reformed Christianity\* as the religion of the future.

May we then regard Goethe as one who in reality only opposed the corruptions of Christianity even when he seemed to oppose Christianity itself? Certainly *other worldliness* does not now appear, at least in England, as a necessary part of Christianity. Surely that contrast between the healthy spirit of antiquity and the morbidness of Christianity, which was like a fixed idea in the mind of Goethe's generation, need not trouble us now. Those sweeping generalizations belonged to the infancy of the historical sciences. Mediævalism does not now seem identical with Christianity. The sombre aspect of our religion is clearing away. Christian self-denial now appears not as the aimless, fruitless mortification of desire which Goethe detested, but as the heroic strenuousness which he practised. The world which Christians renounce now appears to be, not the universe nor the present life, but only conventionalism and tyrannous fashion. With such a religion, Goethe's philosophy is sufficiently in harmony. According to these definitions the spirit even of "Wilhelm Meister" is not secular. Even his avowal of heathenism comes to wear a different aspect when we find him writing thus of the religion of the Old Testament: "Among all heathen religions, for to this class belongs that of Israel as much as any, this one has great points of superiority," &c. (he mentions particularly its "excellent collection of sacred books"). So that, after all, Goethe may only have been a heathen as the prophet Isaiah was a heathen!

Thus hindrance after hindrance to our regarding Goethe as a great prophet of the higher life and of the true religion disappears. There remains one which is not so easily removed. What surprises the English reader in "Wilhelm Meister" is not merely the prominence given to Art, or the serious devotion to things present and to the present life, but also the extraordinary levity with which it treats the relations of men and women. The book might, in fact, be called thoroughly immoral, if the use of that word which is common among us were justifiable. More correctly speaking, it is immoral throughout on one point; immoral in Goethe's peculiar, inimitable, good-natured manner. The levity is the more startling in a book otherwise so remarkably grave. Every subject but one is discussed with seriousness; in parts the solemnity of the writer's wisdom becomes quite oppressive; but on the relations of men and women he speaks in a thoroughly worldly tone. Just where most moralists grow serious, he becomes wholly libertine, indifferent, and secular. There is nothing in this novel of the homely domestic morality of the Teutonic races; a French tone pervades it, and this tone is more or

\* "An diese Religion halten wir fest, aber auf eine eigene Weise."

less perceptible in the other writings of Goethe, especially those of the second period, with the exception of "*Hermann und Dorothea*." On this subject, the great and wise thinker descends to a lower level; he seems incapable of regarding it with seriousness; or if he does treat it seriously, as in the *Elective Affinities*, he startles us still more by a certain crude audacity.

It seems possible to trace how Goethe fell into this extraordinary moral heresy. Starting from the idea of the satisfaction of desire, and with a strong prejudice against all systems of self-denial, he perceived, further, that chastity is the favourite virtue of mediævalism, that it is peculiarly Catholic and monastic. Then, as his mind turned more and more to the antique, he found himself in a world of primitive morals, where the woman is half a slave. He found that in the ancient world friendship is more and love less than in the modern—to this point, too, Winckelmann had called his attention—and, since he had adopted it as a principle that the ancients were healthy-minded and that the moderns are morbid, he jumped to the conclusion that the sentimental view of love is but a modern illusion. He accustomed his imagination to the lower kind of love which we meet with in classical poetry, the love of Achilles for Briseis, of Ajax for Tecmessa. In his early pamphlet against Wieland ("*Götter, Helden und Wieland*," 1773), we find him already upon this train of reasoning, and his conclusions are announced with the most unceremonious plainness. How seriously they were adopted may be seen from the "*Roman Elegies*," written fifteen years later. Among the many reactions which the eighteenth century witnessed against the spirit of Christianity, scarcely any is so startling and remarkable as that which comes to light in these poems. Here the woman has sunk again to her ancient level, and we find ourselves once more among the Hetaeræ of old Greek cities. After reading these wonderful poems, if we go through the list of Goethe's female characters we shall note how many among them belong to the class of Hetaeræ—Clärchen, Marianne, Philine, Gretchen, the Bayadere. And if we turn to his life, we find the man, who shrank more than once from a worthy marriage, taking a Tecmessa to his tent. The woman who became at last his wife was spoken of by him, in a letter to the Frau von Stein, as "that poor creature." She is the very beauty celebrated in the "*Roman Elegies*."

This strange moral theory could not but have strange consequences. Love, as Goethe knows it, is very tender, and has a lyric note as fresh as that of a song-bird; but it passes away like the songs of spring. In his Autobiography, one love-passage succeeds another, each is charmingly described, but each comes speedily to an end. How far in each case he was to blame is matter of controversy. But he seems to betray a way of thinking

about women such as might be natural to an Oriental Sultan. "I was in that agreeable phase," he writes, "when a new passion had begun to spring up in me before the old one had quite disappeared." About Friederika he blames himself without reserve, and uses strong expressions of contrition; but he forgets the matter strangely soon. In his distress of mind he says he found riding, and especially skating, bring much relief. This reminds us of the famous letter to the Frau von Stein about coffee. He is always ready in a moment to shake off the deepest impressions and to receive new ones; and he never looks back. A curious insensibility, which seems imitated from the apparent insensibility of Nature herself, shows itself in his works by the side of the deepest pathos." Faust never once mentions Gretchen again, after that terrible prison scene; her remembrance does not seem to trouble him; she seems entirely forgotten, until, just at the end, among the penitents who surround the Mater Gloriosa, there appears one who has borne the name of Gretchen. In like manner—this shocked Schiller—when Mignon dies she seems instantly forgotten, and the business of the novel scarcely pauses for a moment.

We are also to remember that Goethe was a man of the old *régime*. If he who had such an instinctive comprehension of feminine character, at the same time treats women in this Oriental fashion, we are to remember that he lived in a country of despotic Courts, and also that he was entirely outside the movement of reform. Had he entered into the reforming movement of his age, he might have striven to elevate women, as he might have heralded and welcomed some of the ideas of 1789, and the nationality movements of 1808 and 1813. He certainly felt at times that all was not right in the status of women ("Der Frauen Schicksal ist beklagenswerth"), and how narrowly confined was their happiness ("Wie engebunden ist des Weibes Glück"), as he certainly felt how miserable was the political conditions of Germany. Nevertheless he did not take the path either of social or of political reform. He worked in another region, a deeper region. He was a reformer on the great scale in literature, art, education, that is, in culture, but he was not a reformer of institutions. And as he did not look forward to a change in institutions, his views and his very morality rested on the assumption of a state of society in many respects miserably bad.

But the effect of this aberration upon Goethe's character as a teacher and upon his influence has been most disastrous. And inevitably, for as it has been the practice in the Christian world to lay all the stress of morality upon that very virtue which Goethe almost entirely repudiates, he appears not only to be no moralist, but an enemy of morality. And as he once brought a devil upon the stage, we identify him with his own Mephistopheles, though, in fact,

the tone of cold irony is not by any means congenial to him. He has the reputation of a being awfully wise, who has experienced all feelings good and bad, but has survived them, and from whose writings there rises a cold unwholesome exhalation, the odour of moral decay. It is thought that he offers culture, art, manifold intellectual enjoyment, but at the price of virtue, faith, patriotism.

If I have taken a just view, the good and bad characteristics of his writings stand in a different relation. It is not morality itself that he regards with indifference, but one important section of morality. And he is an indifferentist here, partly because he is a man formed in the last years of the old *régime*, partly because he is borne too far on the tide of reaction against Catholic and monastic ideas. Nevertheless, he remains a moralist; and in his positive teaching he is one of the greatest moral teachers the world has ever seen. In his life he displayed some of the greatest and most precious virtues, a nobly conscientious use of great powers, a firm disregard of popularity, an admirable capacity for the highest kind of friendship. His view of life and literature is, in general, not ironical and not encervating, but sincere, manly, and hopeful. And his view of morality and religion, if we consider it calmly and not in that spirit of agonized timidity which reigns in the religious world, will perhaps appear to be not now very dangerous where it is wrong, and full of fresh instruction where it is right. The drift of the nineteenth century, the progress of those reforms in which Goethe took so little interest, have tended uniformly to the elevation of woman, so that it seems now scarcely credible that at the end of the last century great thinkers can seriously have preferred to contemplate her in the half servile condition in which classical poetry exhibits her. On this point at least the world is not likely to become pagan again. On the other hand Carlyle himself scarcely exaggerated the greatness of Goethe as a prophet of new truth alike in morals and in religion. Just at the moment when the supernaturalist theory, standing alone, seemed to have exhausted its influence, and to be involving religion in its own decline, Goethe stood forth as a rapt adorer of the God in Nature.\* Naturalism in his hands appeared to be no dull system of platitudes, no empty delusive survival of an exploded belief, but a system as definite and important as Science, as rich and glorious as Art. Morality in his hands appeared no longer morbid, unnaturally solemn, unwholesomely pathetic, but robust, cheerful, healthy, a twin-sister of happiness. In his hands also morality and religion appeared inseparably united, different aspects of that free energy, which in him was genius, and in every one who is capable of it resembles genius.

\* "Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,  
Als dass ihm Gott-Natur sich offenbare?"

Lastly, his bearing towards Christianity, when he had receded from the exaggerations of his second period, was better, so long as it seemed hopeless to purge Christianity of its *other-worldliness*, than that of the zealots on either side. He entered into no clerical or anti-clerical controversies ; but, while he spoke his mind with great frankness, did not forget to distinguish between clericalism and true Christianity, cherished no insane ambition of destroying the Church or founding a new religion,† and counselled us in founding our future society to make Christianity a principal element in its religion, and not to neglect the “excellent collection of sacred books” left us by the Hebrews.

‘ J. R. SEELEY.

\* “ Von der Soci   St. Simonien bitte Dich fern zu halten ;” so he writes to Carlyle.

## A DEMOCRATIC CHURCH.

“THE object of the British Constitution is to get twelve honest men into a Jury box,” is an old-fashioned saying, which puts shortly enough the far-off end of our laws and institutions. The jury box may not itself survive, but whatever takes its place must in the same way depend on an honest public opinion. The object of the British Constitution is to secure freedom for thought and action and honesty among men. When its laws are enforced by the service of the citizens, and when the citizens are honest, politicians may cease to think of the need of a reform. Reforms in the Constitution are now urged because they will make possibilities for greater honesty and greater devotion, but if the possibilities are not used the reforms will make little change for the better. A man who has a vote may be put within reach of a higher virtue, but if he gives his vote dishonestly the reform which enfranchised him will not tend to progress. A tenant who is secured from eviction, and the landlord out of whose hands the power to evict has been taken, may thank the land-law reformers, who have made honesty more easy ; but if the tenant uses his power to make slaves of his labourers or his children, and the landlord his freedom from responsibility to do what he likes, the last state will be little better than the first. A population which is educated, through the efforts of the educational reformers, may have new capacities for virtue, but if they who are educated use their powers only to take care of themselves, there may at last be a difficulty in getting any to serve as jurymen. The self-devotion which makes men willingly leave business to do some public duty, and the honesty which makes them subject interest to justice, are essential to the greatness and happiness of the people.

No Constitution can, therefore, neglect the means which are to

develop these qualities. Neglect of duty is punished by fines, performance of duty is rewarded by the honours of title ; dishonesty is prevented by a system of checks, which is ever being elaborated, by new laws. All such means fail, and it has become a proverb that virtue cannot be made by Act of Parliament. The Church is a part of the British Constitution, and is the means by which in old days honesty was promoted, and if in these modern days the Church fails, its failure has given no ground for a proverb, that virtue cannot be made by a religious agency. The majority still believe that if men were spiritually minded they would care for things that are honest, and give themselves to duty in the spirit of the saints and puritans. There may be a morality, which is independent of religion ; but there is still confidence in the power of the spirit to carry men over the rough road of duty. There is still a willingness to trust in spiritual agencies to promote morality.

Now stated most widely, a church exists to spiritualize life. The ritual and the doctrine which are often regarded as ends, are the means to a further end. A National Church exists to connect the life of individuals and the life of the nation with the life of God, in whom all fulness is, to fill men with grace and truth, to make them to respond to high emotions and settle them on eternal calm. Its object is to make men friends, to unite all classes in common aims, to give them open minds, willing to learn, and to introduce them to whatever is honest and of good report. The Church aims to develop the sense of duty through the sense of God.

That the Church of England should fail to reach this object, is not surprising. In an age of free trade, a protected society starts at a disadvantage. In an age of self-government, a system which is not under popular control, is suspected. In a democratic age, an aristocratic organization is not understood.

Chivalry worked well in its own day. The times changed, and there was no room in the new age for knights errant. Many were sorry to see it pass away, with its swift remedies for wrong, its attractive dress, and its power for good. They tried to revive its force, and "Don Quixote" is a satire on the effort. The good man, with all his devotion, was out of place ; the knight of the old age was the butt of the new age.

Such a satire might be made on a church which tries by old forms and through an old constitution to spiritualize life. A few followers may be attracted by sentiment, clinging to memories of good old times, and by striking forms of devotion ; but the many will be bound to feel that the effort with all its beauty is out of place, that the realities of the old age have become the pictures of the new age.

The Church of England is not therefore effective to spiritualize the life of the nation and develop honesty of living. Its present posi-

tion is indeed indefensible. As a "reformed" Church, it offers the example of the greatest abuses. As a "Catholic" Church, it promotes the principle of schism. As a "National" Church, it is out of touch with the nation. There is no department in the State which can match the abuses connected with the sale of livings, with the common talk about preferment and promotion, with the irremovability of indolent, incapable and unworthy incumbents, with the restriction of worship to words which expressed the wants of another age, and with the use of tests to exclude from the ranks of ministers those called by God to teach in fresh forms the newest revelations to mankind. There are no greater supporters of the schism from which they pray to be delivered, than the bishops and clergymen who talk of "the Church" as if it were a sect to promote "Church of England" societies, and strive to cut off from the body of the people a section of its members. There is nothing national which so little concerns the nation as its Church. By the vast majority of those who are the coming rulers, by the working class, the Church and its services are unused. The parson may here and there be popular as a man; he may even be regarded as of some use to take the chair at meetings to get up charitable societies, and promote the education or the amusement of the people. He is not though looked to for the help he can give to life, and it is not through him that the people hope to get vice put down, virtue promoted and life spiritualized. The place of the Church in the Constitution is forgotten; so when there is a complaint that impurity is sapping the strength of the nation, or that cheating is ruining trade, or that selfishness is making men scamp work, it is not the clergy who are called on to do their duty and make a cure, a new society is formed or a new law is demanded, and the clergy are not even rebuked for neglect. No one seems to expect that a Church, nominally co-extensive with the nation, which is established to spiritualize life, should do its work. The position is indefensible. Those politicians who are moved only by agitation may say, "The condition of the Church is not one of practical politics," and pass on. The greater number realizing that the ultimate conflict is between those who would govern with God and those who would govern without God, and anxious that the Church should be effective for its purpose, are quietly making up their minds to one of two solutions—Disestablishment or Reform.

The present means for making the people virtuous or honest fail. "Disestablish," urge the Liberationists. "Let the clergy of the Church be stirred by competition and roused by interest, and we shall have better results." "Let the connection with the State continue," say the Reformers; "let the abuses be eradicated, but leave the teachers of the nation to be moved by duty and not by bigotry or sectarian rivalry." The two solutions for making effective the means of developing



honesty offer themselves for examination. It is worthy of remark that the common arguments for disestablishment, except those urged by the opponents of all religion, hardly touch the principle of establishment. Secularists urge that religion being useless and spirituality a fancy, it is no business of the State to do anything to spiritualize the life of its members as a means to increase virtue. Their position is unassailable, and the day on which the nation decides that God has no relation to life, the Church as a spiritualizing agency must be disestablished, its buildings turned into lecture halls, and its endowments devoted to the reduction of the national debt, or to the teaching of art and science.

The position of the Secularists is occupied by few. The Liberator is anxious that the life of the nation may be spiritualized, but he sees that the Church is ineffective, marks its abuses, its rivalry with the sects, and its assumption of superiority. He argues that its ineffectiveness and its assumption are due to its connection with the State, and urges that disestablishment alone will sweep out the abuses. These abuses he would abolish, and he aims blows at the connection with the State, as Samson destroyed the building under the Philistines, not regarding the other uses to which the building might serve. He has much therefore to say of the unfitness of old customs for modern uses, and of the badness of individuals, but he hardly tries to prove that the principle of church establishment is bad; he destroys it simply as the shortest means of destroying the undoubtedly bad. He cannot, indeed, condemn a principle which affirms the duty of the State to teach the higher life, as he himself has probably approved the principle in other conditions as a supporter of education acts, liquor laws, and other legislation of a like aim.

It is allowed by, at any rate, the majority of the people that the State should teach the life of prudence, and schools are established under local School boards to teach every child that he may earn his living. Further, it is allowed that the State should control the forces which, for good or evil, may rouse the people, and thus licensing boards are established to limit the sale of strong drink.

The same principle is involved in an Established Church. If the State educates the citizens, and admits its responsibility for the formation of their characters, a line can hardly be drawn at a point which would exclude it from giving the people the means which are the best security for happiness and for morality.

The principle of establishment does not—as its opponents often think—assert that a sect has truth; it asserts that the nation has truth, or is seeking it. The truth abides in the best thought of the whole nation, and the Church is established to express that truth. The clergy have no special rights, they are servants appointed to do the will of the nation. Truth abides not in “the Church” of the bishops

and clergy, nor in a book, it abides in the people. Once when it was proposed in the House of Commons to refer a matter of doctrine to the bishops, "No, by the faith I bear to God," said Mr. Wentworth, with the approval of the House, "we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were to make you Popes." It is the people, therefore, which by its Parliament has settled, and may re-settle, the limits of teaching and ritual. The clergy are its servants paid out of funds set apart for this special purpose. Lord Palmerston put it shortly when he said, "The property of the Church belongs to the State."

Disestablishment, however great be the measure of disendowment, would leave the Church of England the strongest of the sects. In a short time one of the parties now held in union within the Establishment would obtain the supremacy, and that party would inherit all the power and prestige of the position. This party—being only a section of the religious body, would pose as the representative of religion, and its clergy would identify their interests with the interest of God. Again, there would be some Becket to oppose the will of Parliament, and to call some law affecting his order "irreligious," and a clericalism would be let loose to assume, and perhaps make hateful, the name of religion. "Clericalism is the enemy of men," is a saying which has too much truth in it. The pity is if clericalism and religion are enabled to seem to be the same thing.

Disestablishment, finally, would intensify the competition of sects. To make one proselyte, the supporters of various forms would compass sea and land. The standard of morality would be lowered, and the flags of doctrine—invented out of will-worship—would be waved to bring in rich adherents, and get the use of their money. Even as it is there is no need to go far to find work, which would fall to pieces if the preacher spoke the truth to the subscribers about their private life or their tempers. As an instance of the success of disestablishment, it is urged that the congregations in American churches are large; it is not urged that the people in America are above bribery in politics or above cheating in trade. It is not urged that American social life is spiritualized, and that is the only fact which would be evidence of the good of the system.

To sum up the case against those who offer disestablishment of the Church, as an answer to the question, "How is the nation to be brought into union with the spirit of goodness," it may be urged that:

1. Disestablishment is a destructive and wasteful method of getting rid of abuses, and would destroy the power of the State to teach what the State holds to be truth.

2. Disestablishment would establish clericalism, a force which more than once in history has made religion hateful, and roused for its repression the God-fearing men of the nation.

3. Disestablishment, trusting to competition, would leave poor neighbourhoods unhelpt. A poor congregation could not hope for a church in which worship should be stirred by the beauty of sight and sound. An ignorant population would not exert itself to get either a church or a teacher. The most needy would thus be the most neglected. It is only the State which can give with equal hand to all its members, and which thus can either educate or spiritualize the masses.

The solution offered by those who say, "Reform the Church," remains for examination. These, like the religious liberationists, are anxious that the instrument for spiritualizing life should be effective. They recognize, though, that this, which is the highest object of any organization, is also the object of the State, and can only be attained by means of the Constitution. Individuals may be left to provide for the wants they have recognized. The State must provide for the wants of the higher life, and send out teachers to tell individuals of things beyond their ken. The Church reformers urge, therefore, that the principle of Establishment should be retained, but that abuses should be eradicated, and old-fashioned methods reformed. The practical difficulties of reform are doubtless many, but they are not insuperable. Inasmuch as Burke has said: "What is taught by a State Church must be decided by the State, and not by the clergy;" it is possible to conceive that the nation, and not a sect, might determine how truth should be sought and taught. Inasmuch as now it is the people who directly or indirectly appoint their rulers, it is easy to conceive how the people, and not a patron, might have a voice in the choice of the parson, and how the parishioners, and not the parson, might govern the Church and the parish. There need be no ill-paid, no over-paid, no unworthy incumbent. There need be no neglected parish, and a State Church might be as effective an organization for promoting spirituality as the State Post-office is for promoting intercourse.

Institutions have survived a greater reform than that which is required in the Church, and those who have seen the changes which the law-making department of the State has endured, may without fear submit the right-making department to like changes.

It is no new principle to reform the Reformed Church. By a law of Henry VIII., the king has authority to "reform, correct all errors, heresies and abuses," and the people's Parliament now takes the place of the king. "The particular form of Divine worship," says the preface to Edward VI.'s second prayer book, "and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, &c. &c." The Long Parliament changed the whole Constitution and Ritual of the Church. The Restoration Parliament undid that work. Throughout

the seventeenth century the Teaching, the Ritual and the Organisation were discussed as open questions, and the present system is purely the result of a Parliamentary decision.

Three hundred years ago, to suit the new age, the new birth of learning, the Church was reformed. The present times are marked by changes as great as those of the Renaissance, and the Church remains unchanged. As was the Church of the sixteenth century, so is the Church of the nineteenth century.

The discoveries of science have changed both the subject and the methods of men's thoughts. A new learning has arisen in which the minds of the most ignorant move. New conditions of life, which have been brought about by steam and electricity, affect all classes. The government of England has become popular, and the people elect the Parliament which makes the laws; the Church of England is still exclusive, and the clergy in "their" churches and "their" parishes are still supreme.

Freedom has destroyed monopolies; and, according to a rough scale, justice is equally administered. In the Church monopolies still exist, justice is defied in arrangements which are for the benefit of the strong, and the clergy are a "protected" class.

The language and the fashion of Englishmen have changed, but the Church still addresses men with the language and the ritual of the Middle Ages. The Church, reformed to suit new needs, the rites of which are "alterable," has not been made to suit the needs of modern times. The Church must be reformed. If details be asked as to the Constitution of the Church of the future, if questions rise to men's lips, "What will be done about Bishops?" "Who will fix the limits of doctrine?" "How will the rights of minorities be considered?" the simple answer is that all will be settled by the people. The Reformers of 1832 did not map out the details of the new Government of England; they simply gave the power to the people, and the people have rooted out abuses and reformed the administration of law. It will be sufficient to-day if the people are admitted to a share in Church government. The State is democratic, the Church must also be democratic. As the State is governed by the people for the people, the Church must be governed by the people for the people.

It is waste of time to make a paper constitution, which often bends the hopes of its makers to one plan. Church boards, a popular veto on patronage, or a general synod, may be the best means of introducing the people's power, but it is not wise to work as if the means were ends. Church reformers need not advocate any means as essential, the one thing essential is to give the people power to form their own Church, to see, in a word, that the Church is democratic.

The obstacle to Church reform is not the doubt as to its possibility,

or difference of opinion as to its method. The real obstacle is the general indifference to religion. The zeal or enthusiasm which passes as religious is most often roused by opinions, and, as Wesley said, "Zeal for opinions is not zeal for religion." In the noise of controversy, and in the hurry of trade, the very nature of religion seems forgotten. The arguments of theologians and the sensationalism of revivalists are discussed as religious problems, in which it is well to show an intelligent interest, but men do not feel that their daily lives, the lives of the poor, and the hope of England, depends on their relation with God. If it were really seen that it is on religion, that is, on keeping up the communication between the little good within and the great good without, between man's broken light and God's full light, that trade, happiness, and life depend; if it were seen that England cannot be virtuous till Englishmen drink of the fountain of virtue, then Church reform would be forced. No difficulty would seem too great to prevent the vast resources of the Church being brought to the service of religion, and the highest intelligence of statesmen would be devoted to making perfect the organization for spiritualizing life.

It may not be in the power of those of less intelligence to tell the method of reform, but all who are weary at the thought of the present condition of the people, may refresh themselves with hopes. Those who reflect on the cheerless faces so common to East London, the dull, weary round of the workers, their deathful life and their hopeless death, are borne down by the thought that each lives in the parish of some church minister. They weary themselves wondering how the servant provided by the State might better serve the needs of the poor, how the great church organization might eradicate unfit houses, bring wealth to the relief of poverty, and make the means of joy more equal. They ask themselves in vain how the house of God might be a house for God's children. Unable to answer, they may at any rate gladden themselves with an ideal.

The Democratic Church then may be so close to the best thought of the nation that it will reflect that thought in every parish, as the ministers who have gathered light from the greatest teachers of science and history direct that light on to the lives of the hardest workers. It may be so near to every individual that its buildings will be the meeting place of all, the scene of the Holy Communion, where men will learn to know and love God and man. It may so bring together rich and poor, the cultured and the ignorant, that the efforts and the money now fitfully wasted by rival philanthropists will be directed to the effectual remedy of ignorance and poverty. The ministers of the Democratic Church may be near to God and near to men, a means by which the avenues to the highest are kept open, the spiritual teachers who, by their lives and doctrines,

touch the divine within the human, and make all men respond to the call of right and duty, and settle life on eternal calm.

The conception of such a Church is possible, though it is not possible to say how it may be accomplished ; or how these competing claims of creeds and rituals to be religion may be satisfied ; or how the rights of men and the rights of their little systems may be sunk in the thought of duty. The organization of the Church of the future is not now to be sketched. The first step which it is for this generation to take has been made clear. All progress has been through the people, and the Church must be in fact as in name—the people's church. There must be a parish parliament and not a parish despot, and the government of the Church must be by the people as well as for the people.

This is the first step, and what will follow is in God's counsels. It is the people who govern the nation and decide on peace or war. They have moulded the machinery by which justice is administered and freedom secured, the people must also mould the machinery by which right will be taught and life spiritualized. If they are excluded from exercising their will upon the Establishment, nothing can hinder them from destroying it. God speaks in every age ; He has not forgotten to be gracious, and the people are now His instruments, as in old days were kings. It is by them His will is being done, and in that belief the people may be trusted so to order the Church that by its means the Holy Spirit will once more show among men the fruit of virtue and honesty.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

## GENERAL GORDON AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

**I**N an article in the *Fortnightly Review* for the month of October, under the heading of "The Future of the Soudan," grave charges are made against General Gordon.

It is alleged in that article that General Gordon's proclamation at Khartoum, of the 18th or 19th of February last, will have a very injurious effect upon the condition of thousands of unhappy negroes from the upper regions of the Nile, who are, or will become, slaves. That General Gordon has undone by his own hands the work he devoted years of his life to accomplish. That his proclamation to the slaveholders showed that he was inclined to temporize with an injustice, and that the English Government have confirmed the right of man to sell man. It is further asserted that the issue of the proclamation secured General Gordon's safe arrival at Khartoum.

The writer advocates the total abolition of slavery in Egypt at once, without any compensation. He is of opinion that General Gordon should not have accepted a commission from the Khedive. He thinks that if an equitable administration, under the British Government, cannot be established, it would be better to abandon the Soudan absolutely, and leave the native chiefs to themselves, even at the risk of there being a period of anarchy; but further on he says there is no reason why we should allow the Soudan to sink into barbarism. And then he goes on to assume that some form of government might be established, separate from Egypt, and that the railway from Snakim to Berber ought to be made, if we wish to keep open the road to Khartoum, and our access to the heart of Africa. The writer considers that the garrisons of Kassala and Sennaar should have been relieved through Abyssinia, and that General Gordon was most unwisely empowered to settle the nomina-

tion of the future native administration of the country, in place of frankly withdrawing from the Soudan, and leaving the tribes to settle their government among themselves. The writer then makes a direct charge against General Gordon to the effect that he, in a proclamation of February 26, said he had been compelled to send for British troops, who were then on the road, and would arrive in a few days. In conclusion, the writer of the article states that the despatch of the present expedition is a sufficient proof that General Gordon overrated his powers.

Now what are the facts ?

According to the terms of the Convention \* between the British and Egyptian Governments for the suppression of the slave trade, dated August 4, 1877, it was agreed that slave hunting should cease, and that any persons engaged therein should be treated as murderers, and it was further arranged that after certain dates—viz., August 4, 1884, in Lower Egypt, and August 4, 1889, in the Soudan, all trafficking in slaves between family and family, should be illegal, and be punished with imprisonment. It was further resolved that a special ordinance should be published throughout the land of Egypt, in order to prepare the people for the change determined upon.

General Gordon, during the time that he was Governor-General of the Soudan, rigidly adhered to this Convention, and annually published a proclamation to the effect that the sale of slaves between family and family would determine in 1889. In Lower Egypt, where, by the terms of the Convention, the sale of slaves has already become illegal, no such proclamations have been promulgated, nor have any steps whatever been taken to put the terms of the Convention into force. Although General Gordon faithfully carried out the provisions of this article of the Convention, he was adverse to the conditions. He saw that they could not be carried out, and suggested that the only effectual way of abolishing slavery would be the following :—

1. The registration of all existing slaves.
2. Registers to be kept in each Government office of the names of slaves and their owners, with a description of each.
3. Every slave not registered within six months from a certain date to be free.
4. All slaves born after a certain date to be free.

And he suggested that the Convention should be cancelled, and that the foregoing proposals should take its place.

Prior to General Gordon's arrival in the Soudan in February last, it was rumoured throughout that country by the emissaries of the Mahdi, that General Gordon would proclaim the freedom of all slaves, which form seven-eighths of the population of that province.

\* Egypt, No. 1, 1878.



In order to counteract this baneful influence, General Gordon, on his arrival at Khartoum, issued the proclamation \* complained of. What are its terms? It simply tells the people what they are by law entitled to—viz., “That whoever has slaves shall have full right to their services, and full control over them, and that no one shall interfere with their property.” General Gordon had no power to cancel the Convention and abolish slavery. What he did was in accordance with a solemn convention entered into by the Governments of Great Britain and Egypt, and in no way referred to the making of new slaves, and still less to slave hunting, against which nefarious traffic, as is well known, all his energies have been exercised.

It is not the case that the issue of the proclamation procured the safe arrival of General Gordon at Khartoum. The proclamation was not issued until after his arrival at Berber—most probably not until after his arrival at Khartoum itself.

With regard to the total abolition of slavery, without compensation, at once—the writer can hardly have considered the question. For a powerful nation like Great Britain to confiscate the personal property of a people, with whom slavery dates from the time of the Pharaohs, would be as impolitic as it would be unjust. We have no right, human or divine, to so deal with property that is not our own. We did not dare to act in this manner when we gave our slaves their freedom, we began by proposing a loan of £15,000,000, and we ended by a gift of £20,000,000.

With respect to General Gordon's commission as Governor General—which is objected to—how could he have derived any power without it? The number of Egyptian employés and troops could be counted by thousands, each province being under the government of an Egyptian Pasha. How could he have issued any orders unless he derived his authority from the firman of the Khedive?

The writer advocates the evacuation of the Soudan upon any terms, even if such withdrawal would result in anarchy—always provided that Great Britain is not prepared to exercise a protectorate over it—and then he goes on to recommend the construction of the Suakim and Berber railway under any circumstances, with the view of opening the road to Khartoum, and giving us access to the heart of Africa. He seems to consider that the people of the Soudan would, after a time of anarchy, form good governments. It is asserted, on the contrary, that the country, at present a productive one, would revert into barbarism, and, after a scene of murder, rapine, and plunder, would become the resort of slave-hunters,† who would carry on raids into all the surrounding provinces.

\* Egypt, No. 9, 1884.

† See Egypt, No. 12, p. 132-133.

The writer does not say where the money is to come from for the construction of the railway, or how it is to be maintained. When he speaks of the garrisons of Sennaar and Kassala being withdrawn through Abyssinia, he apparently forgets the extreme hatred that exists between the natives of the Soudan and the Abyssinians. He seems to have forgotten the thousands of people whom General Gordon was sent to remove. Putting on one side the Egyptian garrisons in the Bahr-el-Gazelle, and at the equator, and other places, Colonel Coetlogen states\* that the people to be removed from Khartoum and Sennaar alone consist of from 40,000 to 50,000 persons, and is of opinion that the evacuation would take two years to carry out, and could only be carried out at great risk, and with much bloodshed.

It is very difficult to explain the meaning of the proclamation of February 26,† wherein General Gordon speaks of having sent for British troops who would in a few days be in Khartoum. It would seem as if the proclamation had been promulgated under some misapprehension or misunderstanding open to explanation. General Gordon is not an Arabic scholar, and his interpreter may have inserted words that he did not use. Again, General Gordon may have intended to allude to Graham's force proceeding to Suakin,‡ since the proclamation is addressed to the inhabitants of the Soudan generally, of which Suakin is an integral part; or he may refer to the 200 Indian troops that on the same day (February 26) he requests§ may be sent to Wadi-Halfa.

As this incident has nothing to do with the future of the Soudan, nor with the slave proclamation, it would seem quite unnecessary for the writer of the article in the *Fortnightly Review* to go out of his way to charge General Gordon, an absent officer, with having proclaimed an untruth.

As to the statement that "the dispatch of the present expedition is a sufficient proof that General Gordon overrates his powers," it is not to be believed that the people of England will endorse any such unfair statement. On the contrary, they will be of opinion that General Gordon's prestige has never stood so high as it does at this time. It has certainly carried him through the perils of a terrible ordeal out of which it seems probable that he and his companions will emerge with undiminished reputation. Few persons will ever know the fearful anxiety which he has undergone during this time of trial—not on account of himself, but on account of those who were with him, and for whose lives he considered himself responsible. General Gordon never asked for any expedition to Khartoum. After Graham's victories, he requested that two squadrons

\* *Times*, September 12.  
 † *Egypt*, No. 8, 6.

‡ See *Egypt*, No. 12, p. 226.  
 § *Egypt*, No. 12, 169.

of British cavalry should be sent to Berber, and 200 men to Wadi-Halfa. He himself remarked, he made these requests solely on account of the moral effect they would produce if acceded to.

It is difficult to know for what purpose the present expedition is sent, except it be to carry out the evacuation of this fertile country. It is to be hoped, however, in the interests of humanity, that the country may be retained under Egyptian rule, the more especially as Khartoum is as essential to Egypt as our frontier position at Quetta is to India. Under Egyptian rule it returned a surplus revenue of over £100,000.

The question of Zebehr requires no comment, and it is too long a subject to go into.

In conclusion, it may be observed that, while General Gordon would perhaps deprecate any notice being taken of the article referred to, yet in his absence his friends do not consider it should be allowed to pass unobserved.

H. W. G.

## GREEK CITIES UNDER ROMAN RULE.

I TRIED in a former article to point out the special importance which, in the general history of the world, belongs to the period which saw the establishment of the dominion of the Roman People over the civilized world of its time, especially over the Hellenic and hellenized lands round the eastern Mediterranean. It is of the first importance for the right understanding of the history to take in the real character of the state of things which was brought about by this gradual establishment of the Roman dominion. It is curious to see how constantly that state of things is misunderstood, from looking at the matter with modern eyes. And it is the more curious when we come to think how very modern the eyes must be which are unable to see the matter correctly. For we have hardly to go out of our own century to find lively images of the state of things which Roman conquest brought about. Yet we are constantly tempted to fancy that the rule of the early Roman Emperors, perhaps that of the Roman Commonwealth before them, was a centralized administration, in which all authority issued from a central power. We are used to the great kingdoms and commonwealths of modern Europe, in which local bodies may enjoy a greater or less degree of local independence, but in which they hold that independence in inherent subordination to the central authority, by virtue of laws passed by the central legislature. The land is divided into counties, departments, provinces, administered according to such rules as the central legislature may think good to lay down. It is true that in our own country the shire is, both in idea and in part of the land in historical fact, older than the kingdom. But in a large part of England the shires are as truly divisions of the kingdom as the departments of France, and in the part where they are not so historically they have become so practically. An English

shire, an English borough, has no rights or powers but such as it has derived, in some shape or another, from the central power of the land, by Act of Parliament or by royal charter. That central power has the same rights and powers in every corner of the kingdom. I speak of course only of the United Kingdom; as soon as we get beyond its limits, as soon as we enter the Scandinavian kingdom and the Norman duchy which lie so near to it but which form no part of it, so soon we still find ourselves in a state of things which has much in common with the Roman dominion. And if all this is true of the United Kingdom, it is yet more true of states like France and Italy, whose geographical divisions and administrative system have been drawn up as something wholly new in quite modern times. Yet down at least to the end of the last century, in many parts of Germany, of Italy, of Switzerland, of all the lands to which the power of Venice reached, the endless varieties of alliance and subjection between different towns and lands presented the closest analogies to the relations of which I have now to speak. Survivals went on even to our own time. In 1865 a small district was still held in *condominium* by the two free cities of Lübeck and Hamburg. I passed through it with a feeling as if I had been carried back into some distant age. I presume that since 1866 things are different there.

It is of course perfectly true that, at a later age of the Roman dominion, when the Empire began to change into an acknowledged monarchy—though monarchy is not the proper word for a power which was often held by two or more colleagues—that Empire did come much nearer to the character of a modern centralized state. It was mapped out into administrative divisions, and those divisions were administered according to a general law. But the dominion of Rome, Commonwealth and Empire, had been in being for several ages before this change took place. The elder Roman rule was not the rule, despotic or constitutional, of a man over an united territory; it was the rule of a city over other cities and lands standing to the ruling city in every possible relation, from nominally equal alliance to a subjection hardly better than bondage. That so it should be was the natural result of the way in which the Roman dominion was formed. With the political ideas of the third and second centuries before Christ no other state of things was possible. The way in which the dominion of Rome was formed, the process by which the cities and lands of so large a part of the world passed under the supremacy of one ruling city, has much in common with the further process which the growth of that dominion made inevitable, the submission of Rome herself to the dominion of one or more of her own citizens. In both cases the change was gradual. People often talk of the change from the Republic to the Empire, very much as they talk of the English Reformation, as if it were a definite act which took place in some

particular year. Yet all that was characteristic in the Imperial power arose out of its gradual growth, its growth through an union of magistracies and extraordinary commissions which virtually bestowed supreme authority on their holder. Above all, out of the original character of the Empire as an extraordinary commission granted by a vote of the Senate came the fact that the Empire remained for ages without any law of succession. A law prescribing a mode of election and a law prescribing a rule of hereditary succession both alike assume an ordinary office which must be filled by some one; the Empire was in its origin an extraordinary office which might not be filled at all. A vote, or several votes, of the Senate entrusted a single citizen—or more than one citizen—with powers which practically amounted to sovereignty, and which in the end grew into acknowledged sovereignty. But that growth was slow. For a long time after the Empire began, the republican constitution, the republican assemblies, still lived on untouched in their outward framework. They had simply lost all living energy through the growth of a power greater than all, a power which sometimes directed their course of action, sometimes itself acted in their stead. If we could conceive, as once or twice did happen for a short time, the controlling power removed, that is, if the extraordinary commissions which constituted the Empire were not granted to any one, the old elements of the commonwealth were there, able in theory again to act for themselves as of old. The Senate, after ages of utter nullity, actually did act again as an independent body when the Goth was at the gates of Rome and the Emperor was far away at Ravenna. For Rome once more to act without her master there was no need to create any new power, but simply to take the fetters off an old one. In the earlier ages of the Empire, when the old traditions were more lively, when the forms of the old constitution were still observed, such a change would doubtless have been far more easy. A modern kingdom cannot be changed into a republic without an active change in its constitution. The executive authority must be vested in some new power to be created and defined for the purpose. The Roman Empire might have been turned back into a republic by a purely negative change. All that was needed was not to appoint an Emperor. The various powers of the State which had come to act only as the Emperor bade them or not to act at all, would, doubtless, from lack of practice, from change in all surrounding circumstances, have found it practically impossible to act as they had done in the days of the old commonwealth. But there would have been no formal hindrance to their so doing; there would have been no need to clothe the Senate or the magistrates with any powers beyond those which they still held, though in a dormant state.

The power of Rome over her allies and dependencies during the Commonwealth and the early Empire was very much of the same kind as the power of the Emperors over Rome herself. It was something which overshadowed a crowd of old powers and liberties, which brought them down to practical nullity, but which in no way formally abolished them. The republican institutions of Rome under the early Empire, the constitutions of the allied states, of the dependencies, even of the direct subjects of Rome, under both the early Empire and the Commonwealth, were exactly in the same state as a man or a beast that is fettered or bridled. His inherent physical powers of action are not lessened; only they cannot be exercised or can be exercised only according to the will of a master. So it was with Rome herself under the Emperors; so it was yet more strikingly with the dependencies of Rome under Rome herself. As Rome herself submitted only gradually to the rule of her Emperors, so the dependencies of Rome submitted only gradually to the rule of Rome. There could hardly have been one Roman province in which, as in an English county or a French department, every inch of soil stood in the same relation to the central power. Within the geographical bounds of most provinces, above all within the bounds of the Greek and hellenized provinces, there were cities and districts standing to Rome in all those endless relations which were the natural result of the different times and the different circumstances under which their connexion with Rome began. Here was a free and equal ally of Rome, a city which Rome had been glad to receive as a free and equal ally at a time when her alliance was really valuable. Nothing had happened to give any excuse for bringing down the old ally to any inferior position. In theory she was still as free as ever, keeping every power of a sovereign state within and without. No Roman magistrate had any authority within her territory; if she sent offerings to Rome or to Rome's master, if she supplied a contingent to a Roman army, all was the gift of pure friendship from one equal ally to another. A neighbouring town might be in the most strictly provincial relation; over her soil the Roman people had become, not only sovereign, but landlord; she might keep her old municipal constitution, but it was purely by the grant or sufferance of the ruling city. Such a city yielded obedience to Rome, because Rome was an acknowledged mistress; if its free neighbour practically yielded obedience to Rome no less, it was simply because in an alliance between the weak and the strong, the strong will always give law to the weak. And between these two extremes there were endless intermediate shades. Besides the absolutely independent ally, there were allies who also had treaties with Rome, but whose treaties were less favourable, treaties which bound both sides alike, but which formally placed one of the contracting parties in a higher and the

other in a lower position. Again there were towns of the province itself on which Rome had bestowed, not by treaty but by her own grant, higher rights than the rest of the province. One city was free, keeping its own law, exempt from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Roman governor, paying no tax or tribute to Rome, but holding all these privileges by grant from the Roman state. Another was equally free within its own walls, but bought its privileges by the payment of tribute to Rome. And as there were within every Greek-speaking province spots which remained spots of free Hellas abiding in their old freedom, so there might be other spots which were transplanted fragments of the soil of Latium or of Rome itself, keeping in the foreign land the rights of Latium or of Rome itself. That is, there might be within the bounds of the province Latin or Roman colonies, or towns to which, without being in their origin Latin or Roman colonies, Rome had thought good to grant, perhaps her own full citizenship, perhaps only the half-citizenship of Latium. Of these, the free and allied city, the Roman and the Latin colony, were geographically within the province, but they were not legally part of it. To the Roman and the Latin colony we have nothing exactly answering in modern Europe; but Andorra and San Marino are still lively illustrations of the position of a small state which has powerful neighbours. San Marino, a perfectly independent state, but which, as wholly surrounded by its great neighbour, is practically cut off from exercising any of the external powers of an independent state, is in exactly the position of a free and equal ally of Rome. Such an ally might keep perfect internal freedom, but it was in the nature of things cut off from any foreign policy. Andorra, a dependent and tributary state, though keeping full internal freedom, would, if it had only one protecting lord, also have its parallels among the dependent allies of Rome. But, in the complication of mediæval relations, Andorra has two protecting lords, two receivers of tribute. That was a state of things which could not be in the days of the Roman Peace.

There is only one San Marino within the geographical bounds of Italy, and San Marino is not one of the great cities of Italy. It is therefore a harmless political curiosity, with whose rights the Italian kingdom has no temptation to meddle. It might be otherwise if the kingdom had many such independent towns and districts within its borders, and if any of the great cities of Italy were reckoned among them. Now one of the ugliest features of Roman history, one which comes out in every page of the history of the second century B.C., is the ungenerous way in which Rome treated her independent allies the moment any one of them had ceased to be useful to her. As long as they were useful checks on some other power, they were made not a little of; as soon as the dangerous power was overthrown



or humbled, the ally which had helped to overthrow it became an object of Roman jealousy. The friendly power whose day of usefulness was over was exposed to endless attempts on the part of Rome to weaken and break it in pieces. Such is the tale of the kingdom of Pergamon, of the city-commonwealth of Rhodes, of the confederation of Achaia. No part of Roman history is more disgraceful than the dealings of Rome with those three states, the model governments of their several classes. No learning, no eloquence, can avail to whitewash the faithless and brutal dealings of the Roman Senate towards powers whose only fault was to be weaker than Rome and to have done good service to Rome. This feeling of jealousy towards the allies seems to have lingered on long after all ground for jealousy had passed away, when the free city was free only within its own walls, and could not lift hand or foot against the mighty ally by whose dominion it was hemmed in. But the wrongs of these cities under Roman rule were far more largely due to more immediate causes, to the overbearing love of power, to the baser love of gain, which formed the dark side of the Roman character. The liberties of these weak states were often encroached on, not only by the Roman state itself, but by Roman magistrates and even by powerful men who were not at the moment magistrates. The establishment of the Empire undoubtedly did something to check the oppressions of the Roman governors, on whom there was very little check under the commonwealth. But if the Empire led to less oppression on the part of the representatives of the central power, it led to more meddling on the part of the central power itself. A man placed at the head of the world stands in a different position from a city placed at the head of the world. To the ruling city the dependent states are simply dependent states; it gets what it can out of them, but it has no temptation to meddle for the sake of meddling. The ruling man has temptations to meddle, and it may even be that, the better disposed he is, his temptations to meddle become greater. The natural tendency of the Empire was to unity and centralization everywhere and in every way. Under imperial rule, the endless variety of relations among the allies, dependents, and subjects of Rome changed in the end into the one character of direct members of the Roman Empire. But the change was slow and gradual. Sovereign commonwealths sank into municipalities, and municipalities sank into something less than municipalities, by mere force of circumstances, without any formal act. It is often very hard to say when this or that free city finally lost its distinct being through absolute incorporation in the Roman Empire. It is certain that the memory of past freedom as something that still was not wholly past lived on for ages. Under the early Empire the commonwealths of Greece and Asia, whatever was their formal relation, were in practice, not only subject to

the Roman Empire, but very much at the mercy of the governors of the provinces within which they geographically lay. But they still were commonwealths, though dependent or even subject commonwealths. Their senates, assemblies, or other ruling bodies, had practically sunk to the functions of town-councils, and they were open, in a way in which an English town-council is not, to the caprice of an external power. But they were town-councils which had been sovereign parliaments. Some of them were in theory sovereign parliaments still. And even those which were furthest from that character, the councils of those towns which were neither free and allied states nor Roman colonies nor in any way privileged above the general provincial relation, had not wholly lost their original character. Deep into the time of the Empire, the old character of the Roman dominion, that of a city ruling over other cities, still left its traces. In such a state of things the authority of the councils or assemblies of the subject states might practically be smaller than that of the town-council of an English borough. That is, the assembly might be afraid of acting in any matter of importance without the leave of the central power or its representative. It might practically confine its action to matters of routine and ceremony, at most to votes of honours and setting of up statues, because any bolder action would awaken Roman jealousy. That is to say, the free and allied state could in theory do everything, even the provincial town could in theory do many things, according to its own free will. But long generations of submission to an irresistible neighbour had taught it not to exercise that free will except according to the higher will of the power which was supreme over all. If the rights of the subordinate state became formal or even null, it was because they were wide and indefinite; they were the powers of a community which still kept a distinct being, but which was placed under the irresistible influence, sometimes under the direct dominion, of a stronger community. This is a position altogether different from that of a town or district in a modern kingdom or commonwealth where every part of the land has equal rights. In such a kingdom or commonwealth, whatever powers, great or small, this or that board or council has, are the grant of the law of the land. As long as those powers are exercised according to the law of the land, no administrative interference is to be feared; if the law is broken, if the local authority steps beyond its legal powers, the wrong will be made good, not by an arbitrary will, but by a legal process. It was wholly different with the cities of which we speak, whether free, dependent, or subject; they were still separate commonwealths with inherent rights, even if those rights could no longer be exercised; their assemblies had once been parliaments, and to both the forms and the feelings of parliament they still clung. And one city at least among the allies

of Rome kept its substantial freedom down to an age when many fancy that the Roman power itself had altogether vanished from the earth. The freedom of Chersôn was overthrown, not by Mummius in the second century on one side, not by Vespasian in the first century on the other, but by the Amorian Theophilos in days when the Frank already wore the Imperial crown of the West. Till that day the last of the Greek commonwealths lived on its ancient life, and for the simplest of reasons. Not only the Emperor himself, but the proconsul of Achaia, of Macedonia, or of Asia, could at any moment encroach on, the Emperor could at any moment destroy, the freedom of any Greek city that lay geographically within those provinces. He had always the physical power to encroach or to destroy; not uncommonly he had the will. But the commonwealth which lay far away in the Tauric Chersonêsos stood in another case. The faithful ally could not be changed into the helpless subject except by the same kind of effort which would have been needed for a Gothic or a Persian war.

The long abiding independence of Chersôn is a fact to which I have often had occasion to call attention from other points of view. So is the independence of the Lykian League, though the geographical position of that power caused its freedom to come to an end eight hundred years sooner than the freedom of Chersôn. I have elsewhere spoken of that League as perhaps the best example that the elder day could show of a federal constitution;\* it concerns me now as an example of the degree of independence which a considerable territory could keep under the general supremacy of Rome, from the fall of Perseus to the reign of Claudius. For the story of its origin we have to go to the narrative, unhappily fragmentary, which Polybios gives of the events which led to the deliverance of Lykia from Rhodian rule;† for a full account of its constitution we have only to turn to the description of Strabo.‡ It is specially instructive when the geographer tells that the League still kept the right of war and peace, though, he adds, in his day that right could not be exercised at all, or could be exercised only as Rome thought fit.§ After reading this, it is certainly curious to read the comment of a recent scholar who thinks that the powers of the League and the measure of its independence were something like those of the city of London.|| A nearer

\* History of Federal Government, i. 208.

† Polybios, xxx. 519; xxxi. 7, 16, 17.

‡ Strabo, xiv. 3, vol. iii. p. 219, Tauchnitz.

§ καὶ περὶ πολέμου δὲ καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας ἐβουλευόντο πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐκ εἰκός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταύτ' ἀνάγκη κείσθαι, πλὴν ἐὶ ἐκείνων ἐπιτρεψάντων ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς χρῆσιν. That is to say, the right had never been formally taken away, only it practically could not be exercised.

|| In writing this article I have had several times in my thoughts a controversy on "Home Rule under the Roman Empire," which will be found in two numbers of *Macmillan's Magazine* for November 1882 and March 1883. This controversy is instructive in many ways, specially as showing how utterly, and how contentedly,

analogy might surely be found in the relations in which many of the smaller powers of Europe stood not very long back; it is not very unlike that in which some of them stand at this moment. The position of Lykia towards Rome is very like that in which various Italian and German states stood towards Austria thirty years back. It is very like that in which Servia at this moment stands to Austria and Montenegro to Russia. It is in short the position of a "protected" state, whether the protection be avowed or only practical. But there is this important difference. A protected state now has at least some voice in choosing its protector. And a small state may even keep perfect independence without any protector at all, simply through the jealousies of the greater powers. A small state may now live on in perfect freedom surrounded by powers stronger than itself. Any one of them could at any moment put an end to its freedom; but none of them is likely to make the attempt, because the others, for their own ends, will not allow it. But Rome stood alone in the world; there was no choice of protectors; whatever independence was left was held only by Roman sufferance. Whenever it suited Roman policy or caprice to extinguish the independence of any state, the thing was done.

The Lykian League, as embracing a considerable territory, has, from its geographical side, more in common with the kingdoms and principalities which lived on under Roman vassalage, than with the single city-commonwealths which supply the examples which most naturally occur to us. It must have been beyond the power of any single proconsul in a peaceful time seriously to interfere with the liberties of Lykia. It is true that the federal states of Greece still lived on for Pausanias to see them at work; and two generations earlier the sacred convocation of the Amphiktyons had drawn a new life from the measure of redistribution ordained by the Emperor Augustus.\* But we may be sure that no confederation of old Greece kept anything like such a measure of political life as that which Strabo saw at work in Lykia. What little life there still was in the Greek world abode in the single cities, and there was doubtless more life among the Greek cities of Asia than in those of old Greece. Of Lykia in Strabo's day we have only Strabo's general description; we have no detailed illustrations of the working of the political system; least of all have we any speeches, any letters, any political treatises, either from Lykian orators or philosophers or from Roman magistrates who had dealings with the Lykian League or any of its cities. Let us leap on to the age of Trajan, and we shall find that that age

large parts of Roman history and Roman literature may be passed by, even by a scholar who enjoys a high repute in other branches of those subjects. The comparison between the Lykian League and the city of London comes from the second of the two articles. Its author could hardly have read the description of the League in Strabo.

\* See *History of Federal Government*, i: 136.

is rich in materials for the political life of the Achaian and Bithynian provinces and of the free cities which lay within their geographical boundaries. We have four highly instructive contemporary writers, two Greek and two Latin, one of the latter being the renowned Emperor himself. We have from Plutarch a treatise on the duties of a Greek statesman of his day. We have from Diôn Chrysostom several speeches actually delivered in the assemblies of Greek cities in the reign of Trajan. We have the correspondence of Trajan himself with the younger Pliny when Pliny was proconsul of Bithynia. We thus get two sides of the picture. We see how things looked in the eyes of two literary Greeks, one of whom to be sure was bound to make the best of things and to make his rhetoric as acceptable as he could to his Greek hearers. We see also how things looked in the eyes of two official Romans, an Emperor and a proconsul who were among the very best of their several classes, but whose very virtues laid them open to one special temptation. Both Trajan and Pliny utterly loathed oppression and wrong of every kind, and they sincerely sought the welfare of all for whose welfare they were responsible. But for that very reason they were more likely to be led to constant meddling with the affairs of their subjects than rulers who might now and then be guilty of some gross piece of tyranny, but who would commonly leave people alone in the time between one act of oppression and another. The colouring on the Greek and on the Roman side is very different; but the main outlines are the same in both pictures. In both cases we see cities which keep much—which in some cases keep everything—of the outward show of free commonwealths, but which do not dare to exercise their powers, even in very small matters, without the knowledge and good will of the Roman prince or his local representative.

The political treatise of the wise and kindly Plutarch\* is one which cannot be read without sadness. To a Greek, a Bœotian, living in a land which had once been so great and which was so utterly fallen, the contrast between what had been and what was came more keenly home than it could have come home to his Asiatic contemporary. The cities of Diôn's native Bithynia had never been so great in the past, and they were far more prosperous in the present, than the cities for whose would-be statesmen and orators the sage of Chairôneia had to give rules. But in both writers we find things looked at from the same general point of view. Local independence is assumed as the state of things which exists at least in theory. We read page after page of both Plutarch and Diôn without any hint that the commonwealths of which they were speaking had any superior beyond their own walls. Both write in a way in which no one would

\* His Πολιτικά Παράγγελα, commonly quoted as *Reipublica Græcæ Præcepta*.

write for the instruction of a newly-chosen town-councillor in a modern state. It is for parliaments, not for town-councils, that the whole language is fitted. But ever and anon we come to some passage which shows us that the parliaments with which we are dealing are parliaments working in fetters, parliaments which can practically do nothing without the approval of a foreign superior. In our own land we find the nearest parallel in ecclesiastical bodies, and the likeness is increased by the fact that the range within which the Greek assemblies of that day were most active was that which concerned religious worship and that large class of subjects which in Greek ideas were connected with religious worship. A Convocation organized like a Parliament, carrying on its debates as freely as a Parliament, but whose acts go for nothing unless they have the licence of the Crown beforehand and the consent of the Crown afterwards, a Convocation which, without ever being suppressed, without ever having its formal meetings interrupted, could be practically suspended for a hundred and fifty years, has far more likeness to one of these Greek assemblies than can be found in a local body whose powers are narrowly defined, but which can freely exercise such powers as it has. We have another parallel in the Chapter electing its Bishop, electing him freely according to all outward look, but whose choice not only needs the approval of the Crown, but is actually dictated beforehand by the Crown, under heavy penalties if that dictation is not obeyed.\* We read several chapters of Plutarch which might have been written for any Greek commonwealth in days before either the later or the former Philip. Presently we feel that the Roman has entered into the Greek world by the mention of certain demagogues who corrupted the people by shows of gladiators.† But, for anything in that or in several following chapters, the commonwealths so corrupted might have been as independent as when earlier demagogues were said to have corrupted their countrymen by allurements of other kinds. We go on further, and the full truth comes out. The Greek commonwealths of Plutarch's day had no longer anything to do with wars, with alliances, with putting down of tyrants, and some might think that in such a state of things there was no room for statesmanship left. Plutarch thought otherwise; there were still public trials at home; there were embassies to be sent to the Emperor; there were dealings with Roman governors, possibly with bad governors. These things needed some qualifications; energy, daring, discretion, were all needed by those who

\* A still closer parallel might have been found up to the present reign, as long as the Deans of the churches of the Old Foundation were chosen by the Chapters. By long-standing custom a nominee of the Crown was always chosen, though there was not, as in the case of the election of Bishops, any legal obligation so to do.

† C. 5. ἡ τοῦ βασιλεῖος διδόντες ἢ πύρριχαί τινας ἢ μορομένων θέματα παρασκευάζοντες αἱ δημαγωγοὶ, ἄλλων δὲ δημακοποῦσι.

had to plead for the weak before the powerful.\* The chosen magistrate was not to despise his office because he had not so free a field as the magistrates of old times; but he was never to forget the difference between him and them. Periklēs might say that he was called to rule among freemen, among Greeks, among Athenians. The magistrate of Plutarch's day was to remember that he ruled with a ruler over him; that his city was in subjection to the proconsuls of Rome, to the procurators of Cæsar.† War was impossible; of freedom they had as much as their masters left to them, as much perhaps as was good for them‡ when Greece was so weak, when there was no power left in her which the slightest bidding of a proconsul could not upset.§ In such times public men must be careful to give no offence, no occasion, to dangerous neighbours, above all they must avoid such occasion as was given by disputes at home or with other cities. At the same time, while fully understanding their dependent position, they must avoid base cringing and flattery; they must not make the governor yet more of a master than he is disposed to be by calling him in on all occasions;|| and it will be wise to make some powerful Roman their friend.¶ They will do well to study the records of old Greece, but only for examples suited to the actual state of things; tall talk about Marathôn and Plataia and Eurymedôn should be left to the rhetoric of the schools; but peaceful examples from earlier times, examples of courtesy, humanity, and good faith, were as instructive then as they ever had been.\*\*

The precepts of Plutarch are perfectly general. He draws no distinction between the different classes of cities, according to the greater or less degree of independence which they still formally kept. For in truth they were all practically in the same case; all had, in his own phrase, the shoe of the Roman over their heads.†† The mere provincial town could act freely in many things, if the governor did not choose to meddle; the independent ally could not act freely in any thing, if the governor did choose to meddle. We find things on the whole the same when we turn from the philosopher giving wise precepts in his study to the orator actually haranguing the assemblies whose duties Plutarch so carefully lays down. Diôn Chrysostom is a rhetorician by profession, and he has the faults of his profession; but there is much that is attractive about the man and his writings, and he gives us several instructive pictures of Greek

\* C. 10.

† C. 17. ἀρχόμενοι ἀρχεῖς, ὑποτεταγμένης πόλεως ἀνθυπάτοις, ἐπιτρόποις Καίσαρος.

‡ C. 32. ἐλευθερίας δὲ ὅσον οἱ κρατοῦντες νέμονται τοῖς δήμοις μετερτί, καὶ τὸ πλέον ὥς οὐκ ἄμεινον.

§ Ibid. ποῖα δύναμις ἦν μικρὸν ἀνθυπάτου διάταγμα κατέλυσεν ἢ μετέστησεν εἰς ἄλλο.

|| C. 19. οἱ πάντι δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίῳ καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προπάγοντες ἡγεμονικὴν ῥῆσιν ἀναγκάζουσι ταὐτὸν μάλλον ἢ βούλονται δεσπότας εἶναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους.

¶ C. 18.

\*\* C. 17.

†† Ibid. ὁρῶντα τοὺς καλτίους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς.

life in his own day. His orations on subjects of theoretical politics, on kingship, aristocracy, democracy, and the like, sound a little unpractical for those times; but we must remember that it mattered a good deal whether the reigning prince was Domitian or Trajan. We gain real additions to our knowledge from the picture of the Euboian hunter, possessed of the civic franchise but who had never been in the city, and we learn better what an Euboian city was like in Diôn's day.\* More interesting still is his picture of the Greek city of Olbia or Borysthenês, still clinging to its Greek speech and manners amid the constant attacks of dangerous barbarian neighbours.† Of more importance for our purpose is his oration to the Rhodians, an oration of good advice, but of course largely mingled with panegyric on his hearers and their city. This is a document of deep interest if read by the light of the history of that illustrious island in the second century before Christ. Rhodes is throughout addressed as a free commonwealth, as a democracy;‡ it is the one Greek state besides Athens which keeps its freedom;§ it is the only one which keeps up the glory of the Hellenic name.|| The relations of the state to Rome are nowhere dwelled upon after the manner of Plutarch; Emperors are several times casually mentioned, but not as masters;¶ the point of connexion between Rhodes and Rome of which the orator is most inclined to speak is the part played by the Rhodians in the Roman civil war.\*\* He knows of no break between the mighty Rhodes of an earlier day and the still flourishing democracy which he harangues. Some of his sayings could hardly have been approved by Plutarch; they are too much in the Marathôn and Eurymedôn style; but they could not, even as flourishes, have been addressed to a people who were not free, at least in theory, however precarious might be the tenure by which their freedom was held.

Less interesting in themselves than any of these, but perhaps in a certain way more instructive, are the speeches which Diôn makes in his own city of Prusa and in other cities of his native province. He had to preach peace and concord both to rival cities and to rival parties in the same city, and also to plead his own cause against his own enemies.†† The assemblies which he addresses are always assumed to be self-acting bodies; references to the existence of Rome come in only

\* Oration vii. Εὐβοϊκὸς ἢ Κυρηγός.

† Oration xxxvi. Βορυσθενικός.

‡ Oration xxxi, vol. i. p. 364, Dindorf. ταῦτα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, οἱ μέγιστον φρονεῖτε ἐπὶ τῷ νομίμῳ καὶ δικαίῳ διοικεῖν τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 380. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ [Ροδίοις] μόνον ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δίχα Ἀθηναίων.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 380. τῆς λοιπῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπον τινὰ εὐσεβέμενης μόνους ἐφ' αὐτοῖς διαφυλάττει τὸ κοινὸν ἀξίωμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸν νῦν παρόντα χρόνον. So p. 398. μόνον καταλείπεσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἷς ἂν καὶ παραμύσαι τις καὶ περιῶ, ὅτι ἐπὶ λυπηθῆναι δοκούντων ἀμαρτάνειν.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 380, 381, 387, 393.

\*\* *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 383.

†† See the forty-third and forty-fourth orations.



casually, and Diôn does not often copy the plain-speaking of Plutarch.\* But the speeches of the Greek orator put on a tenfold interest when we come to compare them with the memorable correspondence which is luckily preserved to us between a Roman Emperor and a proconsul of Bithynia of Diôn's own day. The letters which passed between Trajan and Pliny seem at first sight to describe a wholly different state of things from that which appears in the speeches of Diôn. If we compare the two, we shall see that they set before us two opposite sides of the same state of things. From the two together we shall get a clear notion of the state of the various cities of Bithynia, and of the different relations in which, like those of any other province, they stood to the ruling power. Speeches and letters together illustrate the show of freedom which existed in perhaps every case, the reality of freedom which existed in some cases, and at the same time the precarious tenure by which both the shadow and the reality were held. We see the ordinary provincial town, still keeping the style of "*res publica*," passing "*psephismata*," sending "*legati*" to the Emperor and the neighbouring governors, playing in short at being a commonwealth, but not venturing to do any local act of the least importance without consulting the Emperor's representative. Diôn brings out one side, Trajan and Pliny bring out the other side; that is all. Diôn makes a speech to the people of Nikomèdeia, exhorting them to peace and harmony with the people of Nikaia. Many passages would have been in place in the mouth of a mediator between Athens and Sparta five hundred years earlier. There is no direct mention of any superior authority as bearing rule over both; the orator indeed tells his hearers that after all they cannot make war on their enemies,† and warns them lest by their dissensions they make the Greek name ridiculous among the Romans.‡ We are for the moment amazed when we turn from this picture of two seemingly independent commonwealths to the letters which show how the Emperor and his representative had to be consulted by Nikomèdeia, Nikaia, and every other city, about the smallest municipal regulations, about every kind of local improvement.§ It is an odd comment on the dissensions between city and city of which Diôn speaks, when Trajan, remembering how Nikomèdeia and other cities had been torn by seditions, will not allow the creation of a kind of company of firemen, lest it be turned to some dangerous political purpose.|| We again feel sure that Pliny,

\* Once perhaps in the home orations, xliv. (vol. ii. p. 117). *εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν μὲν λεγομένην ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦθ', ὃ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων καὶ δυνάμενων γέγνηται ἐνίοτε οὐ δυνατὸν κτήσασθαι.*

† Oratio xxxviii. Πρὸς Νικομηδεῖς περὶ ὁμονίας τῆς πρὸς Νικαίαις, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75, 76.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 80.

§ Epp. Plini et Trajani, 31, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 48, 49, 70, 71, 74, 81, 90.

|| Ep. 34. "*Tibi quidem secundum exempla complurium in mentem venit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedenses constitui. Sed meminimus provinciam istam et precipue eas civitates ejusmodi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dedērimus iis qui in idem contracti fuerint . . . heterisque fient.*"

in his zeal, meddled in many matters which a worse proconsul would have left alone, and that, in his desire to do right, he referred many things to the Emperor which such a proconsul would have settled for himself in a high-handed way. Reading speeches and letters together, we better understand both. We are dealing with commonwealths, but with commonwealths acting in fetters. They do everything for themselves by votes of their own assemblies. But those votes need a licence beforehand, a confirmation afterwards, or both the one and the other, from the overruling power that stands without.\*

Both Nikomèdeia and Nikaia and Diôn's own city of Prusa were only ordinary provincial towns with no special privilege. But there were spots in Bithynia which were more highly favoured. Here, as elsewhere, the Roman colony, the free and allied city, were locally in the province, but not of it. It is plain that even cities of this rank were used to a good deal of meddling on the part of the Roman officers; but they resented such treatment and appealed to their privileges. Apameia was no provincial town, but a Roman colony. Diôn, who claimed to be one of its citizens, made a speech before its senate, in which he sets forth its dignity in that character.† Pliny, more busy than other proconsuls, claimed to look over the accounts of the colony. The colonists told him that he was welcome to do so, that it was their common wish that he should do so. But he should remember that it was a thing which no proconsul had ever asked before; their ancient privileges gave them the right of managing their own commonwealth as they thought good. Pliny asks for and receives a statement of their case in writing. He thinks much of the paper irrelevant; but he sends it to the Emperor to be guided by his judgment. In all this correspondence one somehow thinks of Augustine and Gregory; the superior is so clearly the wiser man of the two. Trajan writes back that the straightforward dealing of the men of Apameia is to be respected; the proconsul is to tell them that it is by the Emperor's special request that he asks to look at their accounts; he is to do it without any prejudice to their privileges for the future.‡ We here see plainly enough the difference inherent in the position of a Roman colony as distinguished from that of an ordinary town of the province. Still an Emperor and a proconsul less scrupulous than Trajan and Pliny might have made short work of the liberties of Apameia. Under the men with whom the colonists had actually to deal, those liberties, when once established by sufficient evidence, were safe.

But within the geographical limits of Bithynia there was some-

\* In Ep. 81 there are references to Diôn himself. He was a Roman citizen.

† Oration xli. vol. ii. pp. 103, 105.

‡ Plin. et Traj. Epist. 47, 48 (56, 57). The claim of the colony is "habuisse privilegium et vastatissimum morem arbitrio suo rem publicam administrare." The Emperor's answer is "Reverenda est igitur probitas eorum, et jam nunciant quod inspecturus es ex mea voluntate salva, quæ habent privilegiis esse facturum."

thing yet higher than a Roman colony. Amisos was an independent state surrounded by Roman territory. The city had in past times seen many settlers and many masters; it was at last delivered from its oppressors by Augustus Cæsar, and it became a free ally of Rome, bound to Rome only by the terms of its treaty.\* We know not what those terms were; they may, like treaties with Gades and Aitôlia, have formally bound Amisos to respect the majesty of Rome, or they may not. That difference mattered little to a commonwealth whose geographical position in any case compelled it practically to respect that majesty. But it mattered greatly that, within its own walls, Amisos was by right perfectly free, governed by its own laws, which might or might not agree with the laws of Rome. Still it is plain that its treaty rights could not always secure the commonwealth from the meddling of Roman proconsuls. And it again marks the difference between the servant and the master that Pliny speaks of the liberties of Amisos as existing by the indulgence of Trajan, while Trajan himself grounds them directly on the faith of treaties. The proconsul asks if an *eranos*, a benefit club, is to be allowed in Amisos. Such a question marks the way in which the rights even of a perfectly free city were liable to be interfered with. Trajan, as we have seen in the case of the Nikomèdeian firemen, had a great dislike to unions and societies of any kind which might possibly be turned to political ends. No *eranos* is to be allowed in any city that is subject to the laws of Rome. But at Amisos, a city ruled by its own laws, Pliny is not to interfere with the establishment of such a body. The way in which the great Emperor speaks is remarkable. The might of Cæsar stands disarmed before the majesty of treaties. Trajan carries out a certain policy wherever he has the legal right to do so; where he has no such right, he forbears. Yet his words seem to imply that even he, the just Emperor, might have interfered with the rights of the free commonwealth, had he seen really good cause for doing so.† What other Emperors and other proconsuls did, with or without cause, it is easy to guess.

It is not at all wonderful if most of the business done by the assemblies of these commonwealths had to do with religious and social matters, and again with formal and trifling matters, with votes of honours, statues, and the like. As Diôn several times tells them implicitly, as Plutarch tells them more directly, the decision of

\* See Strabo, xii. 3 (iii. 24 Tauchnitz. The Dictator Cæsar delivered it from Pharnakés; *Ἀντωνίου παρέδωκε βασιλεύει, εἰς ἡλευθερώθη πάλιν μετὰ τὰ Ἀκτιακά ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ νῦν εὖ συνέστηκεν.* Pliny (92 or 93) says, "Amisenorum civitas libera et federata beneficio indulgentiæ tuæ legibus suis utitur." Trajan answers, "si legibus istorum quibus de officio federis utuntur concessum est eranon habere," &c. "In cæteris civitatibus, quæ nostro jure obstrictæ sunt, res hujusmodi prohibenda est." There is another mention of Amisos in Letter 110, which reads rather like sharp practice on the part of the free and allied city, its *bule* and *ecclesia*.

† "Possumus quo minus habeant non impedire, eo facilius si talis consuetudine non ad turbas et ad illicitos cætus, sed ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam utimur."

greater matters had passed into other hands. The point is that these cities still kept the form of commonwealths, commonwealths that must have passed most of their lives in fear and trembling, but still commonwealths, even if in fetters, not mere municipalities, such as we are used to in modern times. In Eastern Europe and Western Asia this state of things is the direct and necessary consequence of those events of the Polybian age of which we spoke in a former article. The history of the Roman power in Western Europe is a wholly distinct subject. There Rome did not enslave or destroy, but created. The towns of the West looked forward, while the Greek commonwealths looked backward. The gradual extinction of these last was the necessary consequence of later changes, of changes which followed on the centralizing and despotic tendencies of the later Empire. Much of local independence had vanished between Strabo's day and Pliny's; the Lykian League itself was a thing of the past when Trajan respected the privileges of Amisos. How late any traces of freedom lingered we need not here inquire. My present object is to show the long abiding effects of the peculiar process by which the Roman dominion was definitely formed in that great determining period of the world's history which is marked by the second century before Christ.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

## RAILWAY RATES AND BRITISH TRADE.

**T**HERE is unquestionably a widely spread belief that railway companies fix the rates and charges for goods traffic in an arbitrary manner without any defined basis, that they are generally influenced by the desire to injure some particular district, and particularly to favour foreign as against English manufactures and produce of all kinds. This is no exaggeration of a statement made by a Cabinet Minister\* in a recent discussion in the House of Lords. At the Social Science Congress at Birmingham, the charge of conspiring to injure certain districts in the Midland counties appears to have been broadly made against three of the largest English companies; and newspaper articles take up the cry and suggest sweeping and drastic, though possibly ill-considered, remedies.

It is not unnatural that, in the struggle for existence which nearly all our national industries are now sustaining, every element of cost should be most carefully scrutinized, and that the item of carriage should be closely investigated, and, if practicable, reduced; but the wild and absurd charges made against railway companies, and the threats of confiscatory legislation with which these are accompanied, can only have the effect of causing railway companies to combine for the protection of their common interests, and of inducing a feeling of distrust throughout the large body of railway shareholders who are preparing to organize themselves in defence of their property.

It should be remembered that during the last eighteen years three great national inquiries have been held into the administration of English railways, and that by each of these the railway companies have been acquitted of the principal charges brought against them.

\* The Earl of Kimberley in the debate on a new Standing Order moved by Lord Henniker, July 22, 1884.

Inasmuch as frequent reference to these investigations will occur, it may be desirable to mention them shortly.

In 1865 a Royal Commission, presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, was appointed to inquire into railway rates and charges for the conveyance of traffic and other matters connected with railway administration. Among the members of this Commission were Lords Belmore and Sherbrooke and the late Lord Wolverton, and Messrs. T. B. Horsfall, A. S. Ayrton, and Douglas Galton. Their Report was presented in May, 1867, and the Regulation of Railways Act, 1868, was framed upon the lines of its recommendations.

In 1872, a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed to consider certain Amalgamation Bills then pending, and made a full inquiry into railway management. This Committee was exceptionally strong, the peers upon it being the Marquesses of Salisbury and Ripon, Earls Derby, Cowper, and Redesdale, and the late Lord Belper, while the representatives of the House of Commons were Lord Carlingford (then Mr. Chichester Fortescue, President of the Board of Trade), Sir R. A. Cross, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Dodson, and the late Mr. G. Ward Hunt and Mr. S. Cave. The Railway and Canal Traffic Act of 1873, under which the Court of Railway Commissioners was constituted, was based upon the Report of this Joint Committee.

The last investigation was made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon Railway Rates and Fares, which sat during the Sessions of 1881 and 1882. Its proceedings show how complete and exhaustive an inquiry was made into the whole subject committed to it. This Committee presented an elaborate Report, containing many valuable recommendations, and they expressly stated that, "on the whole of the evidence, they acquit the railway companies of any grave dereliction of duty to the public."

While these Reports show that railway companies, having repeatedly proved their innocence, should not be assumed to be guilty, it may be freely admitted that the whole subject of railway rates and charges, both as regards the public and the railway companies, is in an unsatisfactory position, and that, by the exercise of fairness and moderation on both sides, it may be beneficially dealt with by legislation. But it is by no means free from complications and difficulties of detail, and these have hitherto prevented any reform.

It may be desirable to trace shortly the growth of the present system (if system it can be called) of the rate powers of the companies.

The earliest railways were authorized and constructed on the supposition that they would, like canals, be highways for the use of carriers. Hence, in framing the early Railway Acts, the precedents of the Canal Acts were followed, and a scale of maximum tolls was

prescribed in each Act, the classification of goods for this purpose being that adopted in Canal Acts. Each Act also contained a clause (also following the precedent of the Canals) authorizing the railway company to act as a carrier, and in that case to charge a reasonable sum in addition to the maximum tolls. Under these Acts several of our trunk lines were constructed and used, the goods station accommodation being either provided by the great firms which then controlled the carrying business, or provided by the company and leased to one or other of those firms at a rent. Even now, forty years after the companies have become the sole carriers upon their respective railways, some stations disclose evidences of this original design, and some veterans yet remain in the railway service who commenced their career as public carriers on railways.

The original scheme, therefore, was that railways should be limited in their *tolls* (using that term strictly), but that the charges for conveyance, whether paid by the public to railway companies or to the carrying firms, should be something beyond the tolls in order to cover carriers' services, risks, and profit—the amount of these charges being governed, not by any special enactment, but by competition between the railway companies and the carrying firms which used the railways.

As railways increased and the great systems began to grow up by amalgamation, a further limitation upon charges was imposed, and from about the year 1845 each Act prescribed a scale (calculated at per ton per mile) of maximum charges for conveyance. The scale was generally somewhat below the sum of the tolls chargeable under the earlier Acts for the use of the railway, for locomotive power, and for the use of waggons respectively. To these maximum rates the companies, most of them, were still permitted to add a terminal charge for the services of loading, unloading, covering, collection, and delivery, &c. This form of toll and maximum rate clauses has been followed from 1845 to the present time with few amendments or variations.

The most important part of the controversy now being carried on before the Railway Commissioners and in the courts of law between traders and railway companies depends upon the extent of the companies' powers with regard to the terminal charges. The question at issue may be shortly stated thus: "Does the service of loading and unloading include the provision of the stations, sheds, and sidings necessary for the loading and unloading to be performed, or is it limited to the actual labour required?" The companies maintain the former and the traders the latter contention, and the Railway Commissioners, to whom the determination of terminal charges is entrusted by the Regulation of Railways Act, 1873, support the view

of the traders, and have recently decided, that in the cases before them the remuneration to the companies for providing stations, however costly, was included in the authorized maximum rate per ton per mile. The question is one of the utmost importance as affecting railway dividends, and, unless dealt with by the Legislature, must come for decision before the highest courts of law.

But whatever decision the House of Lords may ultimately pronounce upon this question, it is clearly for the advantage of traders as well as of railway shareholders that the knot should be cut by legislation, and that the power should be conceded or confirmed to the companies to charge station terminals upon a reasonable scale. It must be borne in mind that these charges are not new, but have been included in railway rates for more than forty years, during which traders have paid them without question, so that the recent crusade opened against terminal charges by the traders' associations seeks to disturb an existing state of things, and to enforce a reduction of charges which have always hitherto formed the basis of the relations between railways and their customers.

There appears to be no serious controversy that it is right and fair that companies should make their terminal charges; the only issue raised is whether they are within the language of the existing Acts. Upon this point the Royal Commission of 1867 reported as follows:—"We recommend that terminal charges should be defined to be charges for all services rendered by the railway company beyond conveyance from station to station, and that they should be based upon the expenses incurred in the receipt and delivery of goods on and from the line."

The Joint Committee of 1872 assumed the right of companies to charge terminals, and only discussed the question of fixing a maximum scale of terminal charges. The Rates Committee of 1882 reported that "Terminal charges should be recognized, but subject to the publication by companies and, in case of challenge, to sanction by Railway Commissioners."

It is obvious that in framing any system of railway charges the remuneration to companies for the conveyance of goods should be made reasonably proportionate to the cost of the services rendered. Whether goods are conveyed for ten miles or for one hundred miles over a railway the company has equally to provide stations, sidings, and machinery in and by means of which the traffic is received from, and delivered to, the public; a station staff for handling, checking, and marshalling the traffic, and clerks for booking and invoicing. All this terminal expenditure is necessarily independent of the distance for which traffic is carried. The other heads of cost are—(1) the cost of constructing, maintaining, and signalling the railway, and (2) the cost of haulage. The first of these may be taken as



proportionate to distance; and the second, though approximating to that proportion, is relatively greater for short than for long distances, because the full earning capacity cannot be obtained from engines or waggons working for short mileages. Now, although the cost to railway companies of carrying traffic is made up of these items, many of which are independent of distance, their remuneration, according to the recent decision, is to be regulated by distance alone (for the small charge allowed for the actual labour of loading and unloading may be left out of consideration). The result of this is, that a rate of say threepence per ton per mile, which gives a company a fair remuneration on a distance of fifty miles, will leave them little, if any, profit for twenty-five miles, and a positive loss for less distances.

Hitherto this difficulty has been met by the addition of a terminal charge; and the companies have voluntarily agreed that for the purposes of the division of all through rates this terminal charge shall be taken as between themselves at fixed amounts. But if the Acts of Parliament as now interpreted are to be rigidly enforced, and station terminals are disallowed, the companies will be in the position of either having to acquiesce in a substantial loss of revenue, or to make such alterations in their scale of charges for conveyance, and in their mode of conducting their business, as will recoup the deficiency. No one will consider that railway dividends are excessive at the present time, nor will the prospect of railway affairs justify any acquiescence in diminished revenues.

What, then, will follow from the disallowance of terminals, if successfully accomplished? The present charges for long-distance traffic are below the maximum scale authorized by the Acts, and numerous exceptionally low rates are granted for particular descriptions of traffic. The re-adjustment of these rates would compensate companies for any loss they may sustain by the disallowance of terminals. But this is a remedy which railway administrators would be most unwilling to apply, and to which they would only resort if compelled to do so by the necessities of their position. The inconvenience and loss which would be caused to some of the great industries of the country—such, for example, as the coal and iron trades—would be very great. A large proportion of these industries are dependent upon the lowest possible rates being charged for long mileages to enable them to reach distant markets on favourable terms.

Another measure of relief open to the companies would be to restrict the accommodation and facilities now afforded for short-distance traffic, and to discontinue acting as carriers at unremunerative rates. This course, although within the powers of the companies, is objectionable, as leading to inconvenience to trade, and to

the introduction of a class of middlemen, who would be uncontrolled in their charges.

The traders' associations which have been recently formed with the avowed object of reducing railway rates appear to rely upon competition as sufficient to prevent any counter-action of the companies to protect themselves. But although competition may safely be trusted to keep rates down to a low level, its effects cease when profits disappear. No business can be long carried on at a loss, and closer combination among railway companies will be one certain consequence of an enforced reduction of railway revenues.

Upon so important an issue affecting trading interests throughout the country the opinions of the permanent officials of the Board of Trade are entitled to great weight. Sir Thomas Farrer, in his evidence before the Rates Committee (August 1, 1881), said: "I give no opinion on the legal question" . . . "but I cannot doubt that it is an equitable thing that the railway companies should charge for what we call station terminals—that is, for the use of stations and fixed appliances at stations." The Government Regulation of Railways Bill of last session, introduced by the President of the Board of Trade, proposed to sanction station terminals to such companies as should bring before Parliament, and obtain parliamentary sanction to, a revised classification of their rates, with a revised schedule of maximum rates applicable thereto. The companies considered that to couple the grant of the terminals, which they claimed as a matter of justice, with a condition the fulfilment of which rested with Parliament and not with them was neither just nor politic; but the main opposition to the clause came from the trading interests. The franchise difficulties stopped the progress of this measure, and it never reached a second reading.

Upon the question of re-classification of rates (which, under this proposal, was to be the price paid by the companies for the grant of terminals) there is probably no controversy that, if the inherent difficulties and complications of the subject can be overcome, a revised and uniform classification of goods for general adoption throughout the country would be advantageous alike to railway companies and the public. The classification in the present Acts, following, as has been shown, that in use for canals, and originally intended to apply to tolls only, and not to charges for conveyance, is imperfect and practically useless for railway business as now conducted. The railway companies, by their voluntary action through the organization of the Railway Clearing House, have framed a classification which has for some years been in general, though not universal, use. Although, perhaps, over-complicated in its striving after accuracy, it affords the basis of a general uniform classification. But the *grava* of this question is, that the present toll and rate

clauses of the companies would not be applicable to any such new and uniform classification. A new and revised scale of maximum rates for each company would be necessary.

The advantages of an accurate re-classification, with consolidated and revised toll powers, are at once apparent. Existing anomalies would be cured. The practical classification in daily use would not differ, as it does now, from the theoretical classification of the Acts. Traders would have easy and certain knowledge of the powers of the companies, which are now buried in, and obscured by, a vast number of different statutes; and it may reasonably be hoped that a removal of one of the most frequent causes of dissatisfaction would lead to a better and more harmonious state of feeling between traders and companies. It is evident that to face the difficulties of this question, and to submit a revised scheme of toll and rate powers to Parliament, would involve a heavy responsibility on the part of directors of companies, and that they would not be justified in undertaking it if there were reason to fear that the occasion would be seized by some of the great industries of the country, now unfortunately suffering from unprecedented depression of trade, to endeavour to improve their position at the expense of railway shareholders. An adverse movement of this kind would necessarily involve the abandonment by the companies of any attempt at consolidation and revision of their powers, and the present state of things would be perpetuated. On the other hand, if the toll and rate powers of the companies could by revision be placed upon a more sound and assured basis, managers might be enabled to lend a more willing ear to the applications, not infrequently addressed to them, to meet the special difficulties of particular districts by revised rates; at present, with terminal charges threatened, they are bound to resist most jealously any experiments of this character.

It is frequently said that the quotation of low import rates for foreign produce, and in a few instances for foreign manufactures, is one of the principal causes of the unpopularity which English railways suffer. In so far as these import rates raise questions of "undue preference," they may form the subject of proceedings before the Railway Commissioners, and are, therefore, not proper for discussion here; but it may be possible to dispel some of the illusions respecting them. It needs no argument to show that English railway companies can have no possible interest in benefiting foreign producers or manufacturers at the expense of those at home, upon whose prosperity that of the railway carrying trade must largely depend. All these import rates will be found on examination to have their origin in the competition of sea-ports, acting either directly or indirectly; and in very few, if any, cases would the abolition of the import rates to which objection is taken affect the circumstances of competition

between the home and foreign produce. Take the well-known case of the low meat rate from Liverpool or Birkenhead to London. If the American meat traffic were not attracted to the Mersey by this low rate, it would go direct by sea to London, and the Cheshire grazier or dealer would be exposed to precisely the same competition. Illustrations might be multiplied to demonstrate that low import rates arise, not from an evil and unpatriotic desire to encourage foreign or injure British commerce, but from competition with the open highway of the sea for traffic, which is valuable from a carrier's point of view, because generally moving in large quantities.

If, however, low import rates are objectionable, how can low export rates be defended? Every one of the thousands of these rates now in force has been made at the instance of some home manufacturer or merchant, in order to enable him to reach foreign markets, and it is no exaggeration to say that numerous and important industries in the country depend upon, and could not exist without, these special export rates. It must not be forgotten also that these rates are discussed and determined at conferences, in which the companies interested are represented by highly competent goods managers, each protecting the interests of the district served by his company, and all watchful that fair competition between different ports and towns shall be effectively preserved.

Another danger to be considered and guarded against in any attempt at the revision of railway rate and toll powers is that some "crotchety" legislation may be attempted, such as the enforcement of equal mileage rates, or a sliding scale of rates varying with good or bad times, or the fixing of rates by some outside authority, such as the Railway Commissioners. All these and some other similar suggestions have been put forward from time to time, and some of them still appear to find supporters. They were all investigated upon the inquiries above referred to, and emphatically condemned. Parliament may probably be trusted to maintain the present system of free competition between carriers, limited by equality of treatment of the public. The report of the Duke of Devonshire's Commission upon this subject is worth recalling: "We do not consider that it would be expedient, even if it were practicable, to adopt any legislation which would abolish the freedom railway companies enjoy of charging what sum they deem expedient within their maximum rates when properly defined, limited as that freedom is by the conditions of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1854."

What, then, from the point of view of railway companies, are the conditions on which any systematic revision and codification of rate and toll powers should proceed? Clearly these must be the following:

1. The maximum charges allowed to companies must be made reasonably proportionate to the services rendered.

2. The shareholders who have invested their capital in railway undertakings must be protected from any serious reduction of the revenues arising from goods and mineral traffic.

3. Companies must retain the power to fix their rates and charges within their maximum powers, subject to the present restrictions against inequalities or undue preferences or advantages.

The first of these conditions, as affecting terminals, has been already discussed. It also involves the question of short-distance charges, an increased mileage charge for short-distance traffic being essential to preserve a fair equilibrium. This principle has already been recognized in many of the existing Acts. The soundest basis would appear to be that, the mileage rate being fixed for an average distance, a varying percentage increase should be allowed as the mileage diminishes.

The obligation of the second condition is self-evident.

The Government proposal of last year assumed the voluntary promotion by companies of Revision Acts, under which they would surrender some of their existing powers, receiving others in exchange; the object of the legislation being to put the companies in harmony with their customers, and to make their powers more consistent with the requirements of the trade of their respective districts. Obviously the companies would not be justified in promoting Bills which would injure, not benefit, their shareholders; and, in the present state of the railway traffic of the country, directors would not be permitted, even if they were willing, to incur the risk of seriously diminished revenue.

One result of the abortive Government Bill of last Session has been to demonstrate the practical impossibility of dealing with the subject of classification and revision of tolls by public legislation. If ever accomplished, it must be by means of private Acts, promoted by the companies themselves and at their own cost. In response to a request from the Board of Trade, the officers of the principal railways of the United Kingdom held numerous meetings in the winter of 1883-4, and with great care and labour prepared a scheme for one uniform classification which might be generally adopted if the companies were empowered to apply to it such scales of rates and charges as might be fairly appropriate to their particular circumstances. Though a general and uniform classification appears possible, a uniform scale of maximum rates and charges for all companies is clearly impracticable, because the traffic and the conditions of conveyance differ so materially. A general uniformity or similarity of maximum rates among companies whose circumstances are alike in general character would be possible and of public advantage.

The initiative in this question must rest, as has been shown, with the companies—that is, with the boards of directors. Ought they,

in justice to their shareholders, to attempt to solve it, or is it wiser "to bear the ills they know"? Undoubtedly, if Bills promoted by the companies were fairly and judicially considered by Parliament, the prospective advantages to the community, whether traders or shareholders, carefully borne in mind, and inevitable differences treated with reasonable restraint and concession on both sides, a great good might be accomplished. Unfortunately, railway companies are apt to receive scant consideration in the House of Commons; and the conclusions arrived at by Committees, after full investigation, are not always accepted by the House. Recent sessions have shown that attacks upon railway administration are favourably regarded by constituencies; the most respected and popular members, if advocating railway interests, speak to deaf ears; and, indeed, in a recent debate one member of position and authority declared that railway directors were considered in the House of Commons to bear "the mark of the Beast." These facts are not encouraging to those who believe that the interests of railway companies, and of the public whom they serve, cannot in the long run prove dissimilar, and who desire to remove as far as may be causes of controversy between railways and their customers.

It is possible that some attempt may be made in the ensuing session to introduce a better and more intelligible system of railway rates and charges. Is it unreasonable to hope that by the wise mediation of Parliament, and by reason and forbearance on the part of all who are interested (and who is not?), legislation may be possible on a basis fair to all, simple in its principles, and easy of comprehension?

JAMES S. BEALE.

## LORD SALISBURY AND REDISTRIBUTION.

**T**HERE has not been for many years a time when party feeling has run so high as at present, and the combatants have rather endeavoured to prove or disprove charges of insincerity in the sudden conversion of the Conservative party, or to challenge and defend the right of the House of Lords to act as it has done, than to examine and enforce the reasons which the leaders of the Conservative party have given for the course they have pursued. These reasons have been formulated by Lord Salisbury himself in an article in the *National Review* for October, and may be shortly summarized as follows:—An appeal to the existing constituencies with the extended franchise would be so unfairly favourable to the Liberals, that it might result in the almost total destruction of the Conservative party; therefore, if the Franchise Bill is once passed, the House of Lords will be obliged to accept any Redistribution Bill that may be passed by the House of Commons, or to bring about a dissolution under circumstances which would lead to so dreaded a result.

The foundation of this reasoning is that the present arrangement of the constituencies is unduly favourable to the Liberals, and will be more so when the franchise is extended; and this appears to result from Lord Salisbury's figures in the article referred to. A little examination, however, will show that Lord Salisbury's figures are entirely fallacious, and that the present distribution of seats, even with the extended franchise, will really favour the Conservatives.

The effect of the present system of election, by which each constituency returns only members of the party to which the majority of voters belong, is to give to the party which is strongest a larger proportional strength in Parliament than in the country.

Lord Salisbury has taken his numbers from the election of 1880

when the Liberals had, according to his own figures, a majority of between eight and nine per cent. of the aggregate votes; and he has pointed out that the Liberal majority in Parliament (omitting Ireland, where the Home Rule vote complicates the calculation) is now about seventy greater than it would be if it was in proportion to the Liberal majority of the electors. He has shown also that if the franchise were extended this excess would be increased to 87 or 129, according as the new voters voted like the present County voters or like the present Borough voters.

In order, however, to ascertain whether this arises from the present constituencies unduly favouring the Liberals, or from the tendency of the present mode of election, already referred to, to exaggerate the majority obtained by either party among the electors, it is necessary either to examine a case where the voters in the kingdom were equally divided, or to compare the actual numbers in 1880 with the results that would have been obtained if there had been a Conservative instead of a Liberal majority of eight per cent. among the electors. The election of 1874 affords an opportunity for the first of these tests. At that election, there was, according to different calculations that have been made, a small Conservative or small Liberal majority among the electors; but there is no doubt that the majority was so small as not to represent more than ten or fifteen members in the House. In fact, however, there was a Conservative majority of eighty-two.

To apply the second test, it is necessary to examine what would have been the effect upon the constituencies of a change of opinion sufficient to alter the Liberal majority of eight per cent. into a Conservative majority of eight per cent. Such an examination, assuming the alteration to take place in each constituency, shows that it would have resulted in a loss to the Liberals of 173 seats, counting 346 on a division, so that the Liberal majority of 128 would have been changed into a Conservative majority of at least 218. A list of the changes which show this result is given next page.

Both tests, therefore, show that the present arrangement of the constituencies favours the Conservatives to the extent of forty to fifty seats, a result less improbable than that arrived at by Lord Salisbury, as the last redistribution was made by a Conservative Government.

It is true that the extension of the franchise would, if the new voter votes as the borough householders did in 1880, strengthen the Liberal party by a transfer of forty-seven votes, so increasing the Liberal majority to 222; but in that case, it must be remembered, there would also be a Liberal majority of fourteen per cent. among the voters. If parties were equally divided, as in 1874, and the new voters voted on an average as the other voters in the country, which



is perhaps the most probable supposition, there would still be a Conservative majority of eighty-two (since the new voters would not affect the result in any constituency), although the parties were equal in the country.

It is clear, therefore, that the present arrangement of the constituencies unduly favours the Conservative party, and that this would continue to be the case, though in a less degree, even with the enlarged franchise. Although, therefore, if there were a large Liberal majority in the country, the Conservative party in the House of Commons might be greatly weakened, it is still more certain that,

NOTE.—The following are the seats in contested constituencies the representation of which would have changed from Liberal to Conservative by a change of opinion on the part of 8 per cent. of the electors who voted :—

1 Abingdon	1 Gravesend	2 Salisbury
1 Andover	2 Hartlepool	2 Scarborough
1 Anglesea	1 Hastings	1 Shaftesbury
1 Ashton-under-Lyne	1 Haverfordwest	1 Sheffield
1 Aylesbury	2 Hereford	2 Shrewsbury
1 Barnstaple	2 Herefordshire	2 Southampton
2 Bath	1 Huntingdonshire	2 Southwark
1 Bedford	1 Ipswich	1 Staffordshire, N.
2 Bedfordshire	1 Isle of Wight	1 Staffordshire, E.
2 Berwick-on-Tweed	1 Kidderminster	2 Stafford
1 Bewdley	1 Knaresborough	1 Stalybridge
1 Birmingham	2 Lambeth	1 Stamford
1 Blackburn	2 Lancashire, N.E.	2 Stockport
1 Bodmin	2 Lancashire, S.E.	2 Stroud
2 Bolton	1 Leicestershire, S.	1 Taunton
1 Boston	1 Lyme Regis	1 Tewkesbury
1 Brecknockshire	2 Macclesfield	2 Tiverton
1 Brecon	1 Maldon	1 Wakefield
2 Brighton	1 Manchester	1 Wallingford
2 Bristol	2 Marylebone	1 Wareham
1 Buckingham	1 Monmouth Boroughs	1 Warrington
1 Burnley	1 Montgomeryshire	1 Warwickshire, S.
1 Bury St. Edmunds	1 Montgomery	1 Whitby
2 Cambridge	1 Newark	1 Winchester
1 Carlisle Boroughs	1 Newcastle-under-Lyme	2 Worcester
1 Carlisle	1 Newport	2 Worcestershire, E.
2 Chelsea	1 Norfolk, S.	2 York
1 Cheltenham	1 Northampton	2 Yorkshire, W. Riding, E.
1 Christchurch	1 Northamptonshire, N.	division
1 Clitheroe	2 Northumberland, S.	2 Yorkshire, West Riding,
2 Colchester	2 Norwich	W. division
1 Cornwall, East	1 Nottinghamshire, N.	1 Argyleshire
1 Coventry	2 Oldham	1 Dumfriesshire
1 Cumberland, E.	2 Oxford	1 Edinburgh Univ.
1 Cumberland, W.	1 Pembroke	1 Kirkcubrightshire
1 Denbigh District	2 Penryn and Falmouth	1 Lanarkshire, S.
2 Derbyshire, E.	1 Petersfield	1 Midlothian
2 Derbyshire, N.	1 Plymouth	1 Perthshire
2 Durham	1 Pontefract	1 Renfrewshire
2 Durham, N.	2 Reading	1 Roxburghshire
1 Durham, S.	1 Retford, East	1 Selkirk and Peebles
1 Exeter	1 Rochester	1 Stirlingshire
2 Finsbury	1 Rye	1 Wigtown District
1 Gloucester	1 St. Ives	
2 Gloucestershire, W.	2 Salford	173

In these cases, there were not always two Conservative candidates, but I have assumed that there would have been, if they had been likely to succeed. In addition to these, several of the uncontested seats would have been fought and won by the Conservatives.

if, as the Conservatives are constantly saying, the Government has forfeited the confidence of the nation, an appeal to the present constituencies on the present franchise would be still more unfair to the Liberals, and might leave them with only 100 or 150 members in the House of Commons, and with no majority in the House of Lords upon which to fall back.

It appears, therefore, that Lord Salisbury's reasoning is fallacious, and that the Liberals and not the Conservatives have cause to dread a dissolution before a Redistribution Bill has been passed.

These considerations seem also to show that a Redistribution Bill ought to add to the Liberal members, if it is to enable the constituencies to return a Parliament truly representing the nation; but that both parties have reason to seek for some check upon the increasing tendency of the majority in Parliament very greatly to exceed that in the country at large.

H. M. BOMPAS.

## DO WE NEED A SECOND CHAMBER?

THE constitutional struggle through which England is now passing, with its disagreeable accompaniments of the loss of a year's legislation, the fatigue of an autumn session of Parliament, the bad example of popular demonstrations intended to coerce a branch of the Legislature, will not be without its compensation if it forces the country to face the question of reforming the Upper House. For half a century political philosophers, as well as impatient Radicals, have been crying in the wilderness that the House of Lords must perish or be reformed; but they have never been able to catch the ear of the nation, and compel it to appreciate the vital necessity for the change. At last Lord Salisbury has come to their help. He has forced the question to the front; he is compelling practical men to admit that it is a practical question, and responsible men to quit their position of hesitation and reserve.

It is the fashion to blame him; but the only persons entitled to complain are the members of his own order. From a national point of view he deserves the praise of patriotism. His bold and logical mind has discerned the absurdity of the present position, and has resolved to end it. The House of Lords is a body which, in theory, has equal authority with the Commons, but is not permitted to use that authority. It is, according to the Tory doctrine, the defender of the interests of the upper classes, and of the rights of property. Yet its timidity has made it fail at those critical moments, such as the passage of the Irish Land Bill, when that defence was most needed. It is a staff which breaks in the hand—worse than no staff at all. Let us—a consistent Tory may well say—let us have done with these shams, with this humiliation of sanctioning through fear what our judgment condemns. Here is a crisis which involves the

future of Conservatism. If the Radicals are left to settle the redistribution of seats according to their own ideas, they may so arrange it as to secure a Democratic majority for twenty years to come, which will make short work of the Established Church, of voluntary schools, of the land laws, doubtless of the House of Lords itself. The only way to prevent this is either to compel redistribution by the present Parliament, or to secure another general election on the present franchise. The occasion is therefore one when something must be risked, and the danger which the House of Lords incurs by resistance is really no greater than that of confessing its impotence by submission, and leaving itself at the mercy of a Parliament elected on Radical lines. If the House of Lords can ever make a stand, let it make a stand now.

"But may not defeat in this contest accelerate the fall of the Lords?" Doubtless. But Lord Salisbury may well hold that to refuse battle is as bad as to be beaten. Besides, he cannot be expected to care as much for the Lords as for his party, nor to dislike a change which would restore him to the life and stir of that great popular assembly where his combative energy would find a worthier sphere.

We are therefore entitled to assume that the question dealing with the Second Chamber has been so raised that it cannot again sleep; and that even a speedy settlement of the Franchise Bill will not withdraw it from the place it has taken upon the programme of coming reform. It has been a pressing question ever since 1832, when the extinction of pocket boroughs turned the House of Commons from being a nominated into a truly elective and popular body. And just because it is an old problem, which needs solving utterly irrespective of this question of the franchise, it deserves to be treated without passion, in the rational and temperate spirit of those who desire to discover what is best for the whole country and not merely for their party, of those who feel that the improvement and adaptation to changed conditions of an ancient constitution like ours is one of the most difficult tasks any nation can undertake. Persons whose historical studies, or inquiries into the politics of other countries, have driven them to consider the matter, may render some small service by trying to separate the various issues it involves, and to present dispassionately some of the arguments upon which those issues will have to be decided.

II. Before attempting this, one must premise that the House of Lords cannot go on as it is. No one outside its own walls can deny that it is a bad Second Chamber. Theory is against it.\* The choice by lot, which prevailed for a while at Athens and at

\* I pass over the argument from history, because that has been handled with so much learning and cogency by Mr. E. A. Freeman in the last number of this REVIEW.

Florence was not more irrational than to confer the right of legislation on the accidents of an accident, the sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, of men whom a Prime Minister has wished to compliment? Experience is against it. During the last thirty years it has shown itself useless for all good purposes, powerful only for mischief. It has not prevented a single bad law, nor improved a single good one. It has maimed, delayed, and sometimes fatally delayed, measures whose value lay in their completeness or in their taking instant effect. The vast majority of its members know and care about politics no more than do any other persons belonging to the wealthy class—i.e., much less than they do about shooting, racing, or hunting. Except on five or six nights of the session there are only some forty or fifty, often only some twenty present. Those who do attend rarely sit for more than an hour or two. They discourage the attempts of the younger and more ambitious members to come forward and show their mettle. They entirely neglect the function of criticizing and amending in detail the work of the Lower House, and allow such blunders as it makes to pass uncorrected. The atmosphere of the place demoralizes even able men, and turns a person of real capacity, like Lord Cairns, into an obstructive, who will neither pass legal reforms when he is in office, nor allow any one else to do so when he is in opposition. Irresponsibility breeds, and must always breed, laziness and selfishness.\*

So obviously indefensible is our present Upper Chamber that those who, like Mr. Gladstone at Edinburgh, decline for themselves the task of reforming it, do not attempt to justify it, but dilate on the difficulties of substituting anything else for it. Assuming that the country is not prepared for abolition, it will be found so hard to persuade people to agree as to the kind of reform wanted, that perhaps (such is their argument) we must continue to bear the present evils. The same point of view finds expression also in Mr. Bright's suggestion, that if the veto of the House of Lords were limited, the House might be spared for the present.

Before acquiescing in this despairing conclusion, let us inquire whether any and what reform is possible.

III. There are four questions involved in the discussion which has been carried on regarding the House of Lords, questions perfectly distinct, but which have been so mixed up as to make the topic more confused than it need be. They are these:—

Is a Second Chamber needed at all?

If needed, what should be its composition?

If needed, what should be its powers and constitutional position?

\* Since the above was in print, I perceive that the *Quarterly Review* feels that the House of Lords is of little use as a safeguard against revolution. "It is already," says an able writer there, "one of the weakest Upper Houses known to history."

By what means or steps can the requisite change from the present system be effected?

IV. Before dealing with these a word is needed on the scheme which would dispense with any further reforms. Mr. Bright and others have suggested that the Lords might be forbidden to reject a Bill for more than one year, so that on passing the House of Commons in a second or any subsequent year it should become law at once.

The only good thing about this device is the quarter it comes from. The objections to it are weighty as well as obvious. It would encourage the House of Lords to delay every Bill it disliked. It would recognize their right to delay a Bill whose importance (like that of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880) might lie entirely in its passing forthwith. It would raise many difficulties of detail, for either the Commons must, in passing a Bill for the second time, pass it in exactly the same form, which might often be undesirable, or else some one would have to decide what changes in minor provisions or in language made the Bill substantially a new one—a delicate question, which would have to go to the Courts of Law, because neither the Lords nor the Commons would be impartial judges. And finally, it would so much lower the dignity of the House of Lords that the attendance would probably be even worse than now, the chance of getting any useful functions out of a Second Chamber would be gone, and it would be hard to resist the demand of the Peers to be allowed to enter the then omnipotent House of Commons. With the utmost respect for the author of the suggestion, one may, I think, conclude that while it would be strenuously opposed by the Lords, it would so little satisfy those who desire reform that it need not be further discussed.

V. I return to the first of the four issues enumerated: Is a Second Chamber needed at all? and will try to state fairly the arguments *pro* and *con*.

The ground usually taken by those who declare one Chamber sufficient is to ask, what purpose a second will serve? Is it meant, they say, to check the First Chamber? But why should it? If the First Chamber is duly chosen by the people, why permit any other body to interfere with the popular will? It is like that famous argument of the Khalif Omar which is said to have destroyed the Alexandrian library. Either the Second Chamber agrees with the First, or it does not. If it does, it is superfluous; if it does not, it is wrong. If it is composed of strong and able men, it will be frequently in opposition to the other House. If its members are inferior in will and capacity, it will merely say ditto to the House of Commons. If you leave to it large powers of legislation and interference with the Executive, it will attract the best talent of the country, and denude

the popular House of those men who have hitherto given that House its character. If you restrict its powers, able men will not care to enter it; it will have no weight with the country, no capacities for usefulness. In any event, the creation of a Second non-hereditary Chamber must injuriously affect the First Chamber by draining away a part of the men best suited for political work. Such men are a limited quantity. It is their presence in the House of Commons that makes that body fit to discharge its enormously large and daily increasing duties, for it is they who lead, and enlighten, and inspire, and consolidate into working parties, the crowd of ordinary members. To whatever extent you take them away you diminish the efficiency of the House of Commons. As by drawing off half of the stream which is now just sufficient to supply one town with water, in order to provide a supply for another town, you do an injury to both towns; so in taking away from the House of Commons half of the talent that now flows into it, you will weaken that House, and yet have not gained enough for your Second House.

The historical argument from the existence of Second Chambers in this and other countries proves little, because such Chambers have been the result, not of any desire to provide constitutional checks, but of the existence of various orders of men whose differences have now disappeared. England happens to have had two Chambers because she had two orders, the clergy having had an organization of their own. France, before the Revolution, had three Houses; Sweden had four. As for the double-chambered Legislatures which have come into existence latterly, including those of the United States and the self-governing British Colonies, these are all mere imitations of the British Parliament; nor is there anything to show that one-chambered Legislatures would not (except, perhaps, in America, which as a federation has peculiar features) work as well or better than their present systems do. When orders of men have been extinguished their Chambers ought to follow.

Consider, moreover, the difficulties of creating any brand-new Second Chamber in England. It must either be representative or not. If it is not, it will have no authority with the country, it will stand self-condemned by being out of sympathy with the people and not responsible to them. If it is, it may become too strong, and so divide the national councils, and blunt the edge of national action. In so far as it is representative it will diminish the title of the House of Commons to speak for the people, and thereby remove that sense of popular momentum behind the House of Commons which is the main source of its power, which makes it the sovereign body of the country, which gives to English policy whatever unity and force it possesses.

The fallacies which lurk under some of these arguments—

dilemmas are proverbially good vehicles for a fallacy—are obvious enough. Nevertheless, there is much weight, much truth, in others of them. By creating a Second Chamber you do multiply occasions for constitutional conflict; you do diminish the unity and vigour of national action; you do weaken the *personnel* of the House of Commons since you provide another place where eminent statesmen may vote and speak. The best composed Second House in the world is open to these objections; and the only question is whether the benefits which it offers are sufficient to outweigh them.

VI. Let us see what those benefits are alleged to be.

And first do not let us omit to allow for the prejudice against Second Chambers which the action of the House of Lords during the last fifty years has created among all thinking men. We in England can hardly help taking our notions of a Second Chamber from it; and as it has utterly failed to discharge any one of the functions of such a Chamber, we have come to think that they cannot be duly discharged. Had our experience been of bodies like the French or the American Senate, our feeling might be widely different. The warmest theoretical advocate of a divided Legislature may admit that if he had to choose between continuing the House of Lords as it is or abolishing it, he would vote for abolition. Let us therefore throw hereditary Houses out of sight, and consider what I will call Senates, bodies of limited size, formed either by nomination (for life or a term of years) or by some species of election.

The arguments adduced in favour of two Houses may be classed under three heads. They are these: that a revisory body is needed for all legislation; that a restraining body is wanted to check the sudden and violent impulses of a democracy; that the experience of other countries commends the system of a division of powers. •

It is suggested that a second legislative body is required in order to correct the errors of the first. There may be errors in the policy of a statute, provisions unwise in themselves or ill-fitted to attain their end, or there may be errors in expression—that is to say, in the drafting of an Act, in the arrangement and language of its clauses. Errors of the latter class are frequent now, and give abundant occupation to the Courts of Law, frequent in spite of the House of Lords, which does not correct them, and in spite of the Procedure Rules of the House of Commons, which interpose such constant delays, such “opportunities for consideration,” to all but three or four of the most important Government measures. It may be thought that these Procedure Rules furnish ample security against hasty or careless legislation. In so far as they stop many Government Bills and nearly all private members’ Bills, they do, but they do it only by preventing the Bills themselves, many of which are valuable,



from being ever considered. They do not contribute to the excellence either in matter or in form of the Bills that do pass. On the contrary, they cause measures to be run through hastily, perhaps recklessly, because the member in charge of a Bill has to make the utmost of any chance he gets, and the abuse of the practice of "blocking" by the least judicious members has disposed others to refrain from discussion, in order that the Bill which has been unfairly delayed by blocks may run through as quickly as possible. In fact, there is now really no opportunity for discussing in the House any but a very few important Ministerial Bills, for the earlier hours of the sitting are so habitually devoted either to these Bills or to miscellaneous motions, votes of censure, and so forth, that all other business has to be scrambled through in the small hours of the morning. However, the question ought to be considered apart from the present rules of the House of Commons, for it would be an insult to the common sense of that House, and an outrage on the forbearance of the people, if those rules were to be tolerated much longer. Whatever new system of procedure may be framed for the Commons, the terrible weight of work that presses upon them must leave little leisure to deal carefully with the details of legislation. Much good might therefore be expected from the existence of a body able and willing to attend to these details, and not only to amend in minor points Bills coming from the Commons, but to consider and send down to the Commons measures dealing with non-political questions, improvements in the ordinary private law of the country, which raise no party issue.

The second function expected from a Senate is that it should stem the torrent of democratic change, arrest revolutionary proposals, and either defeat them by appealing to the sober judgment of the country, or at least secure full time for their consideration and mitigation by delaying them till there can be no more room for doubt as to the will of the nation. Although the English people, it is said, have been hitherto a sensible and practical people, averse to sudden and violent change, there is no saying whether they will continue so under the new conditions of our time. Already the political power in the towns rests entirely with the wage-earning class. It will soon be the same in the counties. Suppose those socialistic movements, of which we hear the scattered mutterings, to grow to a storm. Suppose a period of severe commercial distress to throw many thousands out of work. Suppose agitators to allure the sufferers by promises of relief from the property of the rich or the revenues of the Established Church, what security have you that a majority of revolutionary members would not be returned to the House of Commons, and a string of revolutionary measures be passed in a few weeks? If you have but one Chamber there will be no power in the country that can legally

resist the majority of the voters; and the very defencelessness of the richer classes will be a temptation to attack them. The masses have not yet realized their own supremacy, though they have practically enjoyed it ever since 1867. Who can tell that they will not soon discover it, and will not be intoxicated by the discovery? •

Such events are unlikely. They seem to us, accustomed to the increasing good feeling between classes, and to a long course of material prosperity, more unlikely than they seemed to our fathers in the days of Chartism. But they are not impossible. A Second Chamber that could resist revolution would be worth having, not merely on account of the evils it might avert, but for the sake of the confidence it would inspire.

But could any Second Chamber weather such a storm? The present House of Lords clearly could not. Its masts would go by the board. No more could any House consisting of life nominees, or of peers elected by other peers. The modern spirit will not defer to an order, will deem it discredited by the fact that it is an order. The requisite strength could only be found in a House both elective and responsible, a House with the weight behind it both of popular authority and of the personal eminence of its members. It is not easy to see how such a House could be created; and if created, it would be at all times a serious force in the State. If you want to have it strong enough for a great crisis, you must consent to its showing its strength at other times also. There is no such thing as a *deus ex machina* in politics; if your higher power interferes at all, he will interfere whether you like it or no. This is no objection in principle, but it is a point to be well weighed by those who wish to have the House of Commons supreme, except on those rare occasions when the House of Commons may itself be dangerous. •

Apart, however, from the question of facing such a crisis, which, be it repeated, is an improbable one, there are certain defects in the present House of Commons, and certain diseases which may conceivably attack it, which the existence of a good Senate might cure or mitigate. They are defects incident to any body immediately elected by and timidly obedient to large popular constituencies.

One is the tendency of members to submit to the dictation of small sections of opinion. It is right for a candidate to pledge himself on great questions, because he goes up to represent the opinion of the electors, who are entitled to know how he means to vote. But he is now plagued by demands to pledge himself on small questions, which comparatively few electors care for, but which to the eyes of those few obscure all others. Such are—to be impartial, I take instances in which most Liberals agree with the proposal, as well as others in which they disagree—Abolition of Vivisection, Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination, Sunday Closing of Public-

houses, prohibition to contract oneself out of the Employers' Liability Act, Female Suffrage. Where the two great parties are nearly equal in strength, it needs a resolute man to set himself against those who feel warmly on any of these points, and who threaten to throw their votes for whichever candidate will give the required pledge. Many members go up pledged who have no real opinion, or an opinion opposed to their pledges, and the result is that the vote of the House on the question is not a true vote, and represents the views neither of the members nor of the majority in the constituencies. Thus legislation may result which the country does not really desire. A House whose members, being removed from the necessity of pledge-giving, are comparatively independent in little things, while understood to be loyal adherents of their party in great things (as, for instance, persons chosen by the indirect election of public bodies), might be a more fair and faithful index of public opinion on issues of this nature.

The House of Commons makes increasingly heavy demands on the physical strength needed of its members, especially, of course, on those who belong to the Government. Sittings of ten continuous hours, with a comfortless meal snatched in the refreshment-room, are now the rule. Some of our best men decline office, or even decline a seat in the House, on the score of inability to stand such a life, whose mental worry and vexation is at least as severe as the strain it puts upon the body. The worth for public purposes of those who go through the work is greatly diminished, for even if they have no private occupation, their duties in the House and to their constituencies leave little time for reading or thinking. A Second Chamber might secure such men to the service of the country.

\* Much has been said of late years against the tendency in democracies of local party organizations to control and terrorize members of the House of Commons, forcing them to vote at the bidding of a local clique, which is itself perhaps guided by some other clique ramifying over the country. Personally, I cannot believe that this is at present a serious danger in England; and there is certainly no ground for charging the more democratic party, rather than their opponents, with coercing its members, for everybody knows that defections are more frequent on the Liberal than on the Tory side. In the Parliament of 1874-80 hardly a Tory voted against the foreign and Afghan policy of the then Government, though it was no secret that several eminent members of that party disapproved of it;\* whereas many Liberals voted for it, not a few of whom have kept their seats. A member of the House of Commons who talks about his independence, and quarrels with the local party

\* Two of these privately told the present writer that they thought the Ministry entirely wrong, but they either voted with it in critical divisions or stayed away.

organization, is apt to be suspected of being moved by private pique or private interest. Nevertheless, such a danger may even in England become a real one, for it is the natural result of the growth of powerful party organizations. In every constituency it is the extreme partisans who are most active, and who may, by their activity and the intensity of their party spirit, be led to bring forward as candidates men like themselves, or men who will be subservient to themselves. In this way, also, public opinion may be to some extent falsified, the members on both sides representing rather the organizations which have secured their election than the general mass of their constituents. Should such a state of things arrive, the voice of independent opinion might be feebly heard from the popular House, and the existence of another place for its expression become a public benefit. Those, however, who use this argument must bear in mind that an elective Upper Chamber may itself come to be in like manner controlled by the party organizations. There is no escape from the evil except in the intelligent participation in politics of the great mass of the electors, and in their refusal to be dictated to by cliques, whether local or co-extensive with the country.

There are some signs that a remarkable change is going on in the Constitution of England, which must perhaps sooner or later arrive in all democratic countries, or at least in all which are highly unified and not federal. Till the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 England was governed by an oligarchy, but one which, acting through the House of Commons, was obliged to keep step with and to humour the bulk of the nation. The Reform Act made the House of Commons the real governing body. It derived its power from the people, but it led them rather than was led by them. The people left things in its hands, indicating their general wishes, but not interfering with details, and, in particular, allowing the House of Commons to choose the Cabinet, who may, in the language of the most acute of our constitutional writers, be fitly called the Governing Committee of Parliament. But of late years, while the credit and authority of the House of Commons have been waning, the participation of the constituencies (or of those who lead them) has become far more active and more constant. Every member is now closely watched and called to account for every speech and vote; every night's proceedings in Parliament are read next morning at breakfast over the whole three kingdoms. Ministers, ex-Ministers, and other prominent men spend their vacations on the stump, defend their conduct and assail their opponents before a crowd of electors and non-electors, make declarations of policy not less important than those delivered within the walls of Parliament. All this has quickly become so familiar that we are apt to forget how new it is, and how many changes it must involve. General elections are becoming trials of strength, not so much between two parties as

between two leaders. The Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition address themselves to the nation, and demand from it the renewal or the gift of power. If a Prime Minister is beaten, he now resigns forthwith, without waiting for an adverse vote of Parliament; a constitutional trifle, one may say, but a straw which shows how the wind blows. It shows that general elections are tending to become even as French *plebiscites*, or American presidential elections. The nation chooses its ruler by choosing delegates whose main profession is that they will support a particular person, and it holds them bound to do so until, or unless, they may honestly believe that it has changed its own mind; when they may, by carrying a vote of censure, bring about a fresh *plebiscite*. Formerly the people chose their members, and left them to choose a Prime Minister; now they choose their members with a mandate to make some given man Prime Minister. Thus the Government of England is becoming a popular dictatorship; although a dictatorship tempered not only by the right of interpellation in Parliament, and the right of free discussion everywhere, but also by the uncertainty of its duration. It is the consequence and the expression of the new principle of the sovereignty of the majority of the people as opposed to old usage of the sovereignty of the majority of the House of Commons. The people can act only through instruments—they choose the Prime Minister as their instrument.

I do not put this view confidently forward, but only suggest it as a fair explanation of recent facts. If such a change in our Constitution be really in progress, it is still far from complete. One cannot tell how much may be due to the existence of two men with such an exceptionally strong hold on their party, as Lord Beaconsfield possessed in his later years, and as Mr. Gladstone has possessed since 1868. Nor can one be sure that some new influences may not arrest the process. All I observe is, that there are signs that such a process is going on, that the current is setting in this direction. Should the fact be so, it supplies a further argument for a Second Chamber, whose debates, perhaps whose votes also, may help to check the inordinate influence of one man, and make that man rule better by bringing to bear on him a larger and more temperate criticism than party journals usually supply. A democratic State, inspired as well as guided by a great and lofty mind, as the Athenian democracy was guided by Pericles, is as well off as any State can be. But the leader is not always lofty, nor even great; while the habits of deference formed under great men are apt to be transferred to a smaller one, if he possesses popular gifts. A Second Chamber is not therefore an anti-democratic institution. It is not merely compatible with, but useful to, the most thoroughly popular government. It may save a democracy from lapsing into the sort of imperialism

which would result from the surrender of its powers to a succession of overbearing party chiefs.

Politicians will estimate these arguments, and the whole case against and for a Second Chamber, according as they are swayed by one or other of those two tendencies between which we all vibrate—the tendency to trust to the good instincts of the masses, and to believe that they will go right in the long run; and the tendency to see and dread the weaknesses of men and of crowds, and to hold that skilful contrivances are needed to restrain their sudden impulses. This is a contrast which goes deeper than politics, and will outlast all our present political divisions, for it depends upon the view we take of human nature itself, and that is a matter of temperament as well as of reason. Every sensible man feels how much may be said for either view, yet nearly every man is permanently inclined to the one or the other.

The argument from the prevalence of the double chamber system abroad is sometimes met by the remark that England, which has served as a model to the constitution-framers of other countries, has no need, with her own long constitutional life, to be moved by the example of foreign States in such a matter. But the point of the argument lies not so much in the fact that Second Chambers exist in nearly all parliamentary States, as in this, that in most of them the question of a single or double Legislature has been recently argued, weighed, and decided in favour of the double system. The latest instance is France, whose Senate of three hundred, seventy-five chosen for life by the Assembly, and renewable by the Senate itself, two hundred and twenty-five elected for nine years by electoral colleges constituted in the departments and colonies (seven members only from the latter), has already played an important part in the politics of that great Republic. The general opinion of judicious and moderate Frenchmen as to its worth is, I believe, exactly represented by the following extract I give from a letter written to me by one of the most distinguished of the Senators, himself a firm Republican:—

“I speak with some confidence, because I feel that I shall express not only my own opinion but that of almost all our reasonable men and practical politicians.

“In 1875, when we drew up our Constitution, many of us inclined to a single and sovereign and permanent Assembly (which, of course, could only suit a Republic), but with a system of *renouvellement partiel*, that is, a third or a fourth (let us say) of the Assembly being subjected to re-election every third year.

“Whatever may have been the theoretical doubts about the uses of an Upper Chamber, it is now generally acknowledged that our Senate has rendered eminent services to the Republic, and that a single Chamber would expose us to manifold dangers.

“The difficulty, of course, is to give an Upper House a sufficient *raison d'être* to supply it with distinct attributions, or, at least, with an authority of

its own, equal or superior to that of the Lower House; to make it, in fact, an efficient part of the machinery of the State, and one *evidently useful*. Everything, in the long run, will depend on the conduct of that body itself; if their intervention in public affairs is justified by wisdom and patriotism, nobody will think of questioning their right to exist; if they obey party views and class interests, they will be swept away by democratic logic. Such is now-a-days the law of the political world."

It is true that the experience of France has been short; let us, therefore, look at America, whose Federal Constitution has been in force for nearly a century. The provisions of that famous instrument which experience has most approved are those relating to the Senate.\* It is the sheet-anchor of the American system, preventing abuses of power by the Executive, and restraining the impetuosity of the popular House. The personal eminence of many of its members has also given it a moral weight in the country, an influence upon public opinion, which the House of Representatives can scarcely be said to enjoy. The circumstances of America, as a federation, are, however, so different from those of England, that an argument more directly in point may be drawn from the constitutions of the several States (thirty-eight in number) which make up the Union. In every one of these the Legislature has two Houses, and (what is still more to the purpose) in every one of these, so far as one can ascertain, the existence of two houses is deemed the natural and necessary arrangement. All parties, all sections of opinion, approve of it. In one or two States, the experiment of a single Chamber was for a while tried. It worked ill, and they returned to the double plan. Of course, both Houses are elective, only the Senate is always smaller, its members chosen by different and somewhat larger districts, and often (though not always) for a longer term of service. There is little difference between the personal qualifications of the members of the two Houses, yet it is universally held that the machine works better when they are put into two Houses than when they are united in one. If one asks the reason, the answer is always the same. Each House acquires a certain character of its own, and the diversity of the two protects the community. Measures passed in one House are criticized afresh in the other, from a new point of view. The influence of an individual or a group, who may be too potent in one House, disappears in the other. The sense of self-importance induces each to differ from the other, or amend its work wherever a fault can be detected; and

\* A very able writer, whose article in the *Fortnightly Review* for October I have seen since writing the present one, observes with truth that the example of America is the more forcible, because in England Parliament can change the Constitution at any moment, while in the United States the Constitution is above Congress. One may add that in America the veto of the President, and in the several States the veto of the Governor, on legislation, is constantly exercised; whereas with us the veto of the Crown is obsolete, because the Cabinet is necessarily in accord with the parliamentary majority.

thus many bad measures are stopped, and the mischiefs of haste and heedlessness, frequent in these assemblies, are sensibly lessened. Where the Upper House sits for a comparatively long term, its members are independent of sudden popular impulse, and can safely delay a Bill for a year or two till the people have had time to reflect and to recover from an emotion or a delusion.

The experience of our self-governing colonies appears to be similar. They all have two Houses; they are generally satisfied with their two Houses. That which the more wish to imitate the English system originally suggested has now been tried and proved sound by the fire of keen political controversy.

The decision of the issue between one Chamber or two is for England probably not vital. Becoming more democratic in the course of years, we may, with ordinary good fortune in our relations to foreign States, hope to maintain a stable and pure Government, either with or without an Upper House. It is not the existence of the Crown and the House of Lords that has hitherto checked revolutionary impulses; it is the social weight of the property-holding class, our long commercial prosperity, the general good feeling between classes, the hold which religion has on the majority of the people. One may say the same of the United States, where these forces are perhaps even stronger; while the cases of Ireland and France show what the existence of race and class hatreds and the decline of religious faith import. If, however, the ideal of good government be government by an enlightened public opinion; if assemblies are needed both to form such opinion and to make its concentrated expression tell upon the Executive; if the House of Commons is, as many maintain, a less perfect organ of such opinion than it once was, having lost much of its influence in losing its dignity and its business habits, then the creation of a second organ becomes a matter of serious moment, to be undertaken speedily, else the question may be settled by the fall of the House of Lords before anything has been prepared to take its place.

VII. If an affirmative answer be given to the question whether a Second Chamber is needed, the further issue presents itself: what ought to be the composition of the Second Chamber? The House of Lords being admittedly indefensible, the attempt to discover some new and better body opens a boundless field for political theorists. Instead of trying to add to the many suggestions already placed before the public, let us ask what are the principles on which the construction of a good Second Chamber ought to proceed?

Those who have sketched out plans for such reconstruction have had two objects in view. Some have sought to secure, with the fewest possible changes in the Constitution and smallest disturbance of existing habits, a body which shall appear to retain the position of the present House of Lords, but be wise enough to avoid conflicts



with the House of Commons. Others desire a House capable of resisting popular impulses, of giving an independent and efficient criticism to the measures presented by the House of Commons; of being in fact an equal, or nearly equal, power in the State. Thirdly, there are those who pursue both objects at the same time. They wish to have a strong Second Chamber, strong enough to check a revolutionary majority in the popular House, and at the same time they deprecate any large constitutional change, and would alter the composition of the present House only so far as to appease the popular outcry, and bring the new House into somewhat better accord with the general sentiment of the nation. The two former views are each of them logical and consistent. The third is self-contradictory. You cannot have a strong Second Chamber built on lines similar to those of the existing House of Lords. Those lines are incurably weak, and would expose their weakness more completely in a new House than they do in the present old one. If you make but slight changes, the Second Chamber will be unable to cope with the Commons, and will fall at the first blast of popular displeasure. To obtain a strong Chamber you must build on new lines altogether. One may therefore confine oneself to the two theories first mentioned, and ask, either how some sort of Second Chamber can be created with little struggle and change? or how a Second Chamber can be made strong, be the necessary changes great or small? For the former purpose, nomination is the best method, because the simplest; for the latter, popular election (direct or indirect), because that which can alone give solidity and permanence. Most of the schemes proposed have been inspired by the wish to depart as little as possible from the present House of Lords, and have therefore adopted some form of nomination. The Crown—that is, the Ministry of the day—might (it is suggested) be authorized to create a certain number of life peers, in addition to the present peers. Or the Crown might at the beginning of each Parliament summon only those whom it thought fit to constitute the Upper House. Or the House of Commons might indicate by an address at the beginning of each Parliament those peers whom it approved as fit persons to compose the Upper House. As regards the first of these suggestions, the improvement is too slight to be worth considering. It might have been accepted as a temporary expedient thirty years ago, but would satisfy nobody to-day. The second and third are recommended by the ease with which they could be effected; but they would make the Upper House a mere echo of the Lower. A peer belonging to the Opposition would not consent to sit as the nominee of his antagonists; he would demand to be made eligible for a seat in the popular House, and the Second Chamber would become a mere house of refuge for debilitated

Ministers and third-rate party hacks. There would be no real debate. There would be so little power or dignity that the sittings would inspire no public interest, nor command the attendance of men capable even of the function of criticizing and revising the details of legislation.

It has been also suggested that while all existing peerages might be left to confer a seat in the House of Lords, no new ones should be created, or be created only on an address of the House of Commons. This is the minimum of conceivable change. It might begin to make a difference in two centuries from now, but scarcely sooner. No reformer would accept it, any more than he would accept the scheme of allowing the peers to choose certain persons from their own body to constitute a House of Lords. Election from a caste and by a caste is as bad as the present hereditary system; indeed, judging by the elections of Scotch and Irish representative peers, it is worse.

There is a further objection to the nomination system which must not be lost sight of. It would tend to fill the Upper Chamber with old men, men with the ideas of thirty years ago—stiff, timid, querulous; it would make it (as some one has said) a Chamber of Horrors. There are no doubt many persons of eminence willing to leave the House of Commons, or unwilling to compete for a seat in it, whose presence in a deliberative body would give that body a claim on the respectful attention of the nation. But what likelihood is there that a nominated House would be chiefly composed of such men? They ought to be independent as well as able, and independence commends itself neither to Ministers nor to parliamentary majorities. The temptation to a Minister to bestow his nominations as a means of rewarding adherents, of getting rid of troublesome colleagues, of purchasing the local support of local magnates, would be irresistible.

I forbear a more minute examination of these schemes, because it is clear on the first view what their merits and their defects are. They have the advantage of being comparatively easy to understand, to adapt to our present system, and to carry through. They have the defect of weakness. We could not get a strong House out of them; we are not likely to get one either wise or industrious.

The other plan is to make the Second Chamber a responsible and in the main a representative body, chosen by the people, and therefore both entitled to speak for them and bound to defer to them. There are two ways in which this may be done. One is to have direct popular election, but in different and usually in larger local areas. In the various States of the American Union, the members of the State Senate are elected, but from districts differently arranged (and I think always larger) than those which return the members of the

Lower branch of each State Legislature. The other is to have the senators chosen indirectly—i.e., not by the people, but by local bodies, themselves elected by the people. It is on this wise that the United States Senate is chosen, each State Legislature selecting two senators, who must be citizens of the State, but not necessarily members of the State Legislature itself. Apart from the other grounds which commended this plan to the framers of the American Constitution, it has the advantage of securing tried and capable men, because none others are likely to have made themselves known to an electing body drawn from a wide area. A mere local notability, or a man of merely popular manners, does not get chosen by such a body. The French system, under which a section of the senators are chosen by electoral Colleges created in the Departments, is similar, and, though somewhat too artificial, is reported to succeed in securing experience and ability in those elected.

The difficulty in the way of applying such a scheme to our own country is that we have no local bodies resembling the State Legislatures of America or the *Conseils Généraux* of France. It is assumed that the County Government Bill, for which we have been waiting for so many years, will create such bodies. Still, they do not now exist. We do not know how they will be composed. If there is to be one for each county, it would obviously be impossible to give each the choice of two senators, for not only should we have too many\* (there are fifty-two counties in England and Wales, thirty-three in Scotland, thirty-two in Ireland), but a county like Rutland or Sutherland would have as much weight as Yorkshire or Lanarkshire. Those who think it a misfortune that the elections of local governing bodies, such as the Town Council of the present and the County Board of the future, should be fought on party lines, will find another objection to this plan in the tendency it would have to make County Boards political, by investing them with an important political function. There are persons, however, who think they ought to be political, and they will probably in any case become so. In America, nearly every local body and local official is elected on party lines.

The recommendations of the scheme are:—

It would ensure the presence of a considerable number of men of tried capacity and mark in a Second Chamber.

It would place these men above the necessity of giving pledges on minor questions, already indicated as a growing evil among members of the House of Commons.

\* The United States Senate consists of seventy-six persons, and the feeling there is that it is rather too large than too small. Those who desire a Senate in England are generally agreed that it ought to be a small body, so that 234 elected members would be too many, especially as any reform would probably provide for the existence of a certain number of nominated members in addition to the elected members.

It would make the Second Chamber amenable to public opinion, because each senator's re-election would depend on the fidelity and ability with which he expressed the opinion of his district and discharged his functions generally.

It would get rid of the monstrous anomaly by which large and important groups of persons and sections of opinion are without a spokesman in the present Upper House. There is scarcely an English Nonconformist there—certainly no one who ever speaks on behalf of Nonconformity. There are extremely few persons belonging to the non-established Presbyterian churches of Scotland, although these churches include nearly two-thirds of the population of that country. And there is not a single representative of the Irish Nationalist party, important as it would be that a party so numerous, so active, so menacing, should speak with its own voice in that Chamber whose dealings with Ireland have been largely answerable for the failures in Irish legislation, and the disaffection of the Irish people.

"Degrade the House of Lords as you have degraded the House of Commons!" some Orangeman may exclaim. Yes; in popular government one must swallow the bitter along with the sweet. Nor is it so much the excesses of which some Irish members have been guilty that have degraded the House of Commons and English policy in Ireland, as the state of things that caused those excesses. If you are to persevere in doing justice to Ireland, you must have either a House of Lords which will submissively accept whatever Irish Bill the House of Commons passes, or else a Senate in which Irish feeling, including Irish disaffection, is duly represented.

The methods of combining the elective with the nominative systems of constructing a Second Chamber, that have been suggested, need not be examined. It is plain that the larger the elective element is, the stronger will the Second Chamber be. Those who think some other Assembly needed to check the House of Commons, ought to throw the present House of Lords overboard, and go in for a Senate. Those who wish to see the House of Commons stand alone and omnipotent, may be content with some trivial alteration of the present system, for none such can long delay the extinction of an Upper House.

VIII. It is a further and quite distinct question whether, if a Second Chamber be retained and be re-modelled, it should have its constitutional functions defined and limited, instead of being left, as they now are, vague and large.

There are two strong reasons against definition:—

The first is, that no one could tell beforehand how a re-modelled Chamber would work. The best chance of its working well is that it should be left, for a time at least, to show its quality and capacity.

It would tend to follow the lines of the existing Constitution—i.e., generally to agree with the House of Commons, but now and then to differ, and, after a year or two's resistance, to yield, in case the sentiment of the nation was unmistakeable. The people would not complain of this course if it were dictated by reason and public spirit, for they complain of the House of Lords, not because it sometimes resists, but because it invariably resists from selfish and factional motives.

The second is, that any statute defining the functions of the Second Chamber would have to be interpreted by the Courts of Law. Suppose the Act which reformed the Upper House to provide that certain classes of measures should not be altered by that House, or should become law if twice passed by the House of Commons although thrown out by the other House, cases would soon arise in which it was doubtful whether a particular measure came under the provisions of the Act. The Commons would hold that it did; the other House that it did not. New legislation would be needed to settle the question, but the Upper House would refuse to join in legislation negating their own interpretation, and in the meantime the point would have to be settled by the legal tribunals, which would thus become the arbiters between the Houses: a novel position, likely to sit ill upon them, and to work ill in a Constitution like ours. Our courts have daily to pronounce on the construction of statutes, but nearly all questions affecting the relations of the chief powers in the State to one another have been kept out of statutes, and prudently left in that uncertain twilight which has favoured the growth of our Constitution, and allowed compromises to be effected when any dangerous crisis appeared. To attempt to specify the powers of either House in a statute would be an experiment unwise, unless absolutely necessary, and likely to raise more conflicts than it could prevent.

IX. The last question is, by what steps the necessary abolition or reform of the House of Lords is to be effected. I have kept it to the last for the sake of separating the previous issues from it, because, being the most practical, it is apt to thrust itself among them, and to make men ask what is the quickest way of getting rid of our present troubles, instead of quietly considering whether we need a Second Chamber, and, if so, what sort of one. It is a minor question, anyhow. We may be sure that whenever the large majority of the people have made up their mind that they want no Upper House, or an Upper House quite unlike the present, the Peers will submit, without the need for any Cromwell to turn them out of doors. They will demand to be admitted to the House of Commons, and their demand will be cheerfully granted. Why not? It is better that the Tory leaders should meet their antagonists there than have a gilded chamber of their own, in which the applause of their *claque* can make them

deaf to the voice of the nation. To the Liberal party, at least as much as to the Conservative, it would have been a gain that Lord Salisbury should have been in the House of Commons since Lord Beaconsfield's death.

However, though it may be better that the question of a Second Chamber should be weighed on its own merits, in the confidence that whatever the people desire they will obtain, some statesmen will incline rather to press for a small and easy change than to purchase a more complete and satisfactory one at the price of a longer previous agitation. Nothing complete and satisfactory is ever to be had in politics; so perhaps it may be necessary to move by a series of steps to the proper Second Chamber. The only point I seek to urge is that, as regards the present House of Lords, it is not worth while to gild the pill. They will, they must, oppose any and every reform that is worth having. They will not initiate or accept a moderate change. They will yield only to fear, and it will be just as easy to completely reconstruct them as to effect some smaller improvement. Privileged castes and close corporations never reform themselves. They grow accustomed to hear themselves called an abuse. So many threats pass harmlessly over them that they come to believe they will survive for years to come. That very sloth and indifference to public duty and public opinion which caste life breeds, make them careless of their character, and at last reckless of the future. The waters accumulate behind the dam until a rent appears, and the structure vanishes in a moment. The probabilities are that the House of Lords, which has already rejected more than one moderate suggestion of reform, will reject all such until a democratic leader, with a strong majority behind him, uses the impatience and disgust of the people to overthrow the hereditary Chamber. Such a leader is not likely to put anything in its place, for by that time the prejudice against Second Chambers, which the House of Lords has been strengthening all these years in the minds of the masses, will have grown too powerful to permit the revival of the hated institution in however different a form. We shall be left with one Chamber, not because the nation will ever have decided that a one-chambered Legislature is preferable; but because the House of Lords will have destroyed the chances of a Senate. Those, therefore, who are satisfied with the solitary omnipotence of the House of Commons may be satisfied to let events pursue their present course, and the Peers fill up the measure of their iniquities. It is those who value a Second Chamber, and hold that much remains to be done for the safe working of our Constitution by one wisely constituted, that ought to bestir themselves to bring about a reform, and see that the question of dealing with the Upper House is never again suffered to fall into the background.

It may seem idle, at a moment when party spirit runs so high, to plead for a temperate consideration of these grave constitutional questions. In politics, nothing is accomplished without that very passion which clouds the minds of the combatants, and even when compromises result, they represent not so much the balance of well-weighed arguments as the relative strength of contending factions. Yet it is hard to refrain from asking ardent reformers, on the one hand, to remember that, in the United States and France, the existence of strong Second Chambers is not only compatible with democratic institutions, but actually saves them from excesses which might involve their ruin, and, on the other hand, from entreating those thoughtful Conservatives who can look a few years forward, to consider whether a House so weak as the present House of Lords is worth defending; whether it is possible to resist the tide that now, in all countries, runs so strongly against privileged orders; whether the only chance of securing a strong and useful Second Chamber is not to be found in prompt and large reforms. If they hold, as most sober men on both sides do hold, that such a Chamber will contribute to the stability of the Constitution, and to the dignity and continuity of our foreign policy, ought they not to throw their weight into the scale of progress, discountenance blind and unavailing resistance, join in placing a renewed Upper House upon the only basis which can give it permanence and vigour? England is a country in which things move slowly up to a certain point, but, after that point, move even too swiftly. Who dreamt in 1640 of the fall of the ancient monarchy, or could have foretold in 1829 the tempest of 1832? If such Conservatives realized, as persons brought in contact with large working-class constituencies are forced to realize, the extent and bitterness of popular enmity to the House of Peers, they would not hesitate to exert the power which now lies in their hands to secure, while yet there is time, the creation of a stable Senate.

JAMES BRYCE.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN GERMANY.

THE international relations of Germany have during the last six months continued to be satisfactory, and, as regards Russia, have much improved. Only a year ago the relations between Vienna and St. Petersburg were so strained that any unlucky incident might have sufficed to bring about a rupture, and in that case Germany would undoubtedly have sided with Austria. The origin of these differences lies in the rival interests and competition for preponderance in the Balkan Peninsula; but the more immediate cause of strife was that Austria and Germany endeavoured to strengthen the minor Balkan States and to render them as independent as possible, while Russia was persistently aiming at undermining their independence by meddling in their internal affairs. All over Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, Russian political agents were busy stirring dissension, and without the support of Germany and Austria Prince Alexander might have found the soil of Sophia too hot for him. Another sore point for Russia was the character of permanency given to the Austrian administration in Bosnia and the Herzegovina by the great progress which M. de Kallay achieved by the better organization of the government of those provinces. It was not to the taste of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg to find that by these improvements the internal troubles ceased, and the population became quiet and contented; for in this way Austria gained a commanding position in the Peninsula, and at the same time was considered by the Balkan States as their natural protector. Prince Bismarck, on the other hand, determined to support Austria in carrying out to the letter the mission entrusted to her *sine die* by the treaty of Berlin. The situation could not remain in this strained state, so the Emperor William addressed a repeated appeal to the Emperor Alexander, complaining of the concentration of Russian troops on the German frontier, and asking to aid him in re-establishing more satisfactory relations between the three Empires. It certainly needed the sincere persuasion of the Russian Emperor and of M. de Giers that peace was necessary for their country, to induce them to meet this step in a conciliatory spirit, for the Pan Slavist



party, hostile to Austria and Germany, is very powerful at St. Petersburg. All their intrigues, however, proved useless. M. de Giers went first to Varzin, and in the beginning of this year to Vienna, and the threatening clouds dispersed. It cannot, of course, be believed that either Russia or Austria have abandoned their respective policies in the Balkan Peninsula, and the only practical result to be aimed at could be an agreement to maintain the *status quo*, to avoid or to postpone all irritating questions, and consequently a tacit understanding to leave for the present the Balkan States to themselves. The good relations thus re-established were strengthened by the deputation of the Russian army, which, headed by the Grand Duke Michael, went to Berlin in the end of February in order to compliment the Emperor William at his seventieth anniversary as Knight of the Order of St. George. The habitual interview of the two Emperors of Austria and Germany, which this year took place at Ebensee (August 7), was closely followed by a visit of the Austrian Premier, Count Kalnoky, to Varzin (August 15), and thus the way was prepared for the meeting of the three Emperors at Skierniewice, near Warsaw (September 15). It is clear that the aim of this interview was not simply an exchange of courtesies and declarations of goodwill on the part of the Sovereigns; the presence of the three leading Ministers proved that business was meant, and it is quite sure that the present political situation will have been fully discussed. As to the questions which may have been transacted, it would be idle to indulge in conjectures, as none of the assembled distinguished personages is likely to have communicated anything about it to outsiders. We must be satisfied with stating the conditions under which the meeting took place, and which necessarily influenced the results. Now, looking at these conditions, it seems pretty clear that the meeting cannot mean the re-establishment of the so-called Three Emperors' League of September, 1872. That compact was avowedly directed against France, at least in this sense, that the three Sovereigns acknowledged the *status quo* created by the Treaty of Frankfurt, and agreed to uphold it against any other power. But that compact was shattered to pieces by the Eastern War of 1877 and the Treaty of Berlin; Russia withdrew offended from her two former allies, who, as she maintained, had, together with England, despoiled her of the legitimate reward of her victories, and Prince Bismark went to Vienna, where he not only established a complete understanding with Austria, but where a formal treaty of defensive alliance between the two Emperors was signed. This Austro-German alliance was joined by other States, and exercised such a paramount influence, that Russia at last found it necessary to give way and to draw nearer to her estranged neighbours. If now the agreement seems to be perfect, it does not follow that Russia has become a third contracting party to the Treaty of Vienna. She simply accedes to the aim of the Austro-German alliance of maintaining the *status quo*, as did other States before her. Certainly this accession has a greater importance than that of Italy, but the fact remains that for the present she simply joins her two neighbours in a common aim of peace, without such accession obtaining the character of the positive alliance between Austria and Germany, which gives certain defined rights and imposes corresponding obligations on both contracting parties. This

view has been confirmed by the Emperor Francis Joseph's speech at the opening of the Hungarian Diet. He says not a word of the meeting at Skierniewice, but declares only "our relations with Germany are the most intimate possible;" and then simply adds that the monarchy is also on the best terms of amity with all the other States.

On the other hand, it is evident that the agreement arrived at at Skierniewice can in no wise be directed against France; the political situation has much changed since 1872, and one of the most remarkable features is the change in the relations of France and Germany. We need not take seriously the projects of an alliance, launched by some French papers probably from hatred of England; we do not overlook the growing numbers of Mr. Deroulède's Patriotic League; but whatever the feelings of private individuals may be, we have the frank avowal recently made by M. Ferry that the relations between the two governments are excellent. Germany supported France at the London Conference, and has left her free play in the East, though the conflict with China is certainly injurious to Germany's trade. In order to consult Prince Bismarck as to the Chinese and the Egyptian questions, the French Ambassador at Berlin, Baron Courcel, has lately paid a visit at Varzin, and the Chancellor, after his return from the meeting, called at the French Embassy and had a long conversation with the Baron. The French yellow-book, just published, shows that at these interviews an understanding was also arrived at on the principles which henceforth are to govern European colonization in West Africa, and which are to be sanctioned by a conference of the interested parties to be invited by both powers.

It is very likely that measures of common defence against the revolutionary tendencies of Nihilists and Anarchists were discussed at the meeting, but such measures can only be directed against the criminal attempts of fanatics, bent upon overthrowing the existing social order by murder and dynamite, and it was certainly rash if the Liberal press of Vienna believed that the interview would be the signal of a period of general reaction. Prince Bismarck has never believed in the efficacy of petty police vexations, and the Austrian Government will be careful not to evoke the recollection of the ill-famed Karlsbad resolutions.

As to other questions, it is but natural that the state of affairs on the Nile should have occupied the attention of the statesmen assembled at Skierniewice, and the promptitude with which they, together with France, have protested against the decree of September 18, suspending the working of the Sinking Fund is a proof that an understanding has been arrived at. Prince Bismarck has shown by his past conduct that he has no wish whatever to embarrass the legitimate action of England in Egypt; but he maintains with the other Powers that England, by the very fact of convoking the Conference, having acknowledged, as she was bound to do in consequence of all her former declarations, that the settlement of the future of Egypt is a common affair of Europe, no one-sided and high-handed measures of one power can be allowed. The question is not whether the suspension of the Sinking Fund is a measure to be recommended in itself, but that the decree enacting it is a formal violation of the Law of Liquidation,

which having been sanctioned by the Powers, cannot be modified without their consent. From this point of view they will not swerve, and it is earnestly to be hoped that a compromise will be found which maintains the declaration of the famous protocol of January 17, 1871, signed by all Powers at the London Conference on the Black Sea: "Que c'est un principe essentiel du droit des gens, qu'aucune puissance ne peut se délier des engagements d'un traité ni en modifier les stipulations, qu'à la suite de l'assentiment des parties contractantes, au moyen d'une entente amicable."

It is not astonishing that the part which England evidently took in the decree should be the subject of severe commentary in the German press, but we decline to regard as serious the allegations of French papers speaking of a coalition against England headed by the German Chancellor. It cannot be doubted that Prince Bismarck never had a special tenderness for the British Premier, who reversed his predecessor's policy of cultivating a close understanding with Austria and Germany; but until lately he kept up a position of cool politeness and did not cross his path directly. The Chancellor knows that, after all, the life of a British Cabinet is short, but that national antipathies once roused are slow to disarm, and he therefore took care not to oppose the real interests of England. However, the position taken by the British Government at the Egyptian Conference, and the way in which Lord Granville cut short the German propositions for sanitary reform were keenly resented by the Berlin Cabinet, which had already complained of the manner in which the Colonial Office had treated the *Angra Pequena* question. It would be premature to conclude from such temporary dissensions that a real estrangement between Germany and England is at hand; both countries have no really antagonistic interests, no ill feeling whatever against England exists in Germany, and with a little good-will the above-named differences may be easily settled. As regards Egypt, Prince Bismarck only demands that it should not remain in a chaotic state, and thus prove a standing danger for the peace of the world; and in Africa there is ample room for the colonizing activity of both nations.

The relations between the two Cabinets are, however, such as to demand skilful management, and in this respect the sudden death of Lord Ampthill cannot be too much regretted. He was, indeed, a man predestined to be England's representative in Germany; by his education as well as by his long tenure of office, he knew our country thoroughly; he united with consummate diplomatic abilities a perfect temper and an unerring tact, and commanding the esteem of the Government and his colleagues, he was an excellent interpreter of his country's as well as of Germany's interests. For his successor, Sir Robert Morier, by his knowledge of Germany and his ability, would undoubtedly have been the fittest candidate, but unfortunately Prince Bismarck is unfavourably prepossessed against him, accusing him of having formerly had relations with his adversaries, and thus the British Government had to make another choice, which fell upon Sir E. Malet, who as yet is little known in Germany. At the same time it appeared that a change in the representation of Germany at the British Court was equally at hand; it is certain that Prince Bismarck was dissatisfied with Count Münster's rather lukewarm treatment of the nego-

tations on Angra Pequena; but according to the last reports it is still doubtful whether this variance will lead to the recall of the Ambassador. With that name we touch the question which has stood foremost in the public interest of Germany during the last few months, and which will exercise an ever-growing influence on future German policy. It is but natural that it should be so. Germany is growing fast a pre-eminently industrial country, for which the export of its productions is the condition of providing the population with food and raw materials, and at the same time her population is increasing more rapidly than that of any other country. The average yearly increase on 10,000 inhabitants since 1831 was in France 26, in Great Britain 101, in Germany 115, notwithstanding a large emigration. The population of the German Empire in its present limits was in round numbers 25 millions in 1816, it is now 45½ millions, while 3½ millions have emigrated. This increase results almost exclusively from the excess of births over deaths, while the feeble growth of the French population is still partly due to immigration, which proves that the increase of wealth is stronger than that of the people. In Germany it is the reverse, the amount of expenditure caused by the acceding numbers is not equalled by a correspondingly growing income. In Prussia the number of those exempt from all direct taxes—*i.e.*, whose income did not exceed £25 had risen within five years by 1½ million; it was more than 7 millions in 1882; the statistics of other German States show a similar result, the poor-rates have increased everywhere in an alarming proportion, and the number of vagrants and tramps have become a general plague. Our industrial production suffers from chronic plethora, its net produce does not correspond to its immense expansion, still less is a real amelioration of the situation of the working classes to be discerned. The supply of labour generally exceeds the demand; consequently wages do not rise, and the lower strata of the population can absorb comparatively little of the mass of products which are daily thrown upon the market, because the scantiness of their earnings does not allow them to satisfy correspondingly their wants. But in the higher classes also all the callings are overcrowded, the increase of academical students has been abnormal and far exceeding the demand, and a considerable part of this surplus of trained forces, finding no employment, perishes or launches into adventures. In short, everywhere we find an enhanced struggle for existence, which engenders dissatisfaction and hopelessness, and furnishes social democracy with fresh recruits.

It is this over-population which is the source of the large German emigration. True, without it the pressure would still be stronger, yet the opinion which would consider this outflow as an unmixed boon is erroneous. Germany has comparatively more children under 15 years than any other country—16,016,045 in a population of 45½ millions—and they represent unproductive elements to be sustained by the rest. With the emigration it is very different; 44·8 per cent. of it belong to persons of 20–40 years; thus the same number of emigrants represents a much larger sum of force of labour than the corresponding number of the average population. We educate at a great expense productive forces in order to lose them when they are grown to maturity, and the foreign countries to which they go reap what we have sown.

Besides, the emigrants take with them a vast amount of capital ; reckoning only £20 per head, this would amount for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of emigrants to 70 million pounds. These emigrating forces have contributed largely to develop the resources of other countries, but they are lost to Germany because they are unorganized, while the British emigration is for the most part a continued colonization.

It is true that until lately it was the habit in Germany to speak of colonization and colonial policy as of things of the past. Our economists ; the Manchester school pretended that the British colonial empire was only a source of embarrassments to the mother country, and warned Germany not to indulge in experiments which, as was shown by the example of France, would be dangerous and barren. But in the course of the last few years a series of eminent writers proved how baseless were these opinions ; they showed what enormous profits England derived from her colonies, that this was recognized by the staunchest free-traders, such as J. S. Mill and Torrens, that it is by its vast transatlantic possessions that the English society is able to employ all its available resources, that England, notwithstanding the liabilities which the colonies may place upon her, is far from being inclined to sever the links between them and the mother country, that they continue to consider themselves integral portions of the British power, entering, so to say, the old house, as partners, and by accession of fresh blood enabling a vast extension of business and a prospect of future increase, whose limits are at present unrecognizable. This view of the question was more and more gaining ground. Germany, it was said, had formerly colonized Prussia, the Baltic provinces, and Transylvania ; it was mainly the Thirty Years' War and the ensuing exhaustion which had prevented her from participating in the division of the New World, but being now a united and powerful commonwealth, able to protect her citizens abroad, who have all the conditions upon which the success of colonization depends, she ought to have colonies herself, which would receive at least part of her emigration and form a reliable basis for her export. In December, 1882, the Colonial Union was founded, which undertook an active propaganda for these ideas, and soon numbered 6,000 members ; it cannot be said that, until lately, this movement was favoured by Prince Bismarck, but when, with that keen feeling for popular currents which is peculiar to him, he saw that it was getting a power in the national life, he resolved upon quitting the reserve which he had hitherto maintained, and, on occasion presenting itself, he acted with that characteristic mixture of prudence and boldness of which his foreign policy has given so many proofs. A Bremen merchant, Herr Luederitz, had bought a considerable territory from a Hottentot chief at Angra Pequena Bay, and the Colonial Government of the Cape, seeming inclined to contest the title of this acquisition, he invoked the protection of the Empire. The Chancellor, as he observed somewhat later, was willing to grant every protection to German citizens, but, at the same time, had to ascertain whether in acknowledging Luederitz's claim we should not encroach upon vested rights of other nations ; he therefore asked at the Foreign Office whether England considered herself to have any claims upon Angra Pequena, and, if so, on what foundation such claims rested ? Nearly the whole winter passed without an answer being received, and Herr Luederitz

having in the meantime proved the validity of his title to the commander of the German gunboat *Nautilus*, which arrived at Angra Pequena Bay in January, the Chancellor charged his consul at Capetown (April 24) to declare officially that Luederitz's possessions were under German protection. On July 15 Lord Derby, by a telegram to the Governor of the Cape, stated that H.M.'s Government had determined that they were not in a position to oppose the intention of the German Ministry to extend protection to German subjects having acquired concessions, or formed settlements, where no British jurisdiction already existed. Germany has never asked for more; her proceedings in this question show that she had not the slightest wish of encroaching upon vested British rights, and she was equally decided not to do so, when some months later the German flag was hoisted at the Cameroons and Bageida where several Hamburg firms had long ago established factories. On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone's speech in Scotland on this question proves that the British Government looks without jealousy upon our exertions to acquire colonies by legitimate means, and thus we trust that all misunderstandings on this subject may be considered as removed. Germany has now entered the ranks of colonial powers, and this will be a turning point in our national development; true, the beginnings are but small, and it is perfectly clear that colonies in equatorial Africa can only serve the interests of commerce and industry, and are not a fit field for German emigration, but "il n'y a que le premier pas qui coute," the energy of the nation sees an outlet for the excess of its productive forces and will enlarge its field of activity in this direction.

In the meantime, Prince Bismarck has explained his ideas on colonization in the Reichstag (June 26). He categorically disclaimed the intention of founding colonies in the French way, by attack and conquest, but he asserted that when Germans have founded factories or settlements in uncivilized countries the Government will grant them a charter and protect them by its naval forces. The colonial question is now the order of the day; it has become wonderfully popular, and already, for that reason, will engross the special attention of the next session of the Reichstag. The Government, it is said, is preparing a detailed exposition of its views, and will reproduce in an enlarged form the Bill on subsidizing a series of transatlantic lines of postal steamers, which in the last session was only discussed in committee, but this time will certainly pass. Another plan in this direction, that of a colonial bank, destined to ensure direct financial relations between German commerce and transatlantic ports, seems more doubtful, as it is intended to be a sort of appendix of the Imperial Bank, and the Prussian bureaucracy is scarcely equal to directing from Berlin such transatlantic transactions.

Little remains to be said on the last Session of the Reichstag. The great question was whether the assembly would agree to the prolongation of the law against the Social Democrats, and curiously enough the Government would not have been dissatisfied at its rejection, because that would have furnished it with an excellent opportunity for a dissolution, and a good cry for the elections. But the majority saw this, as also part of the Progressists, and of the Centre-party, and therefore voted for the prolongation, which was carried by a majority of thirty-two voices. The debate on the law was remarkable for the active partici-

pation of the Chancellor, who spoke no less than five times in one sitting, always ending with a bitter "delenda Carthago" against the Progressist party. It was on this occasion that he acknowledged the right to labour. He said, "Give to the working man the right to labour, as long as he is in good health; secure him proper nursing when he is ill, provide for him in old age—if you do that, and are not afraid of the necessary sacrifices, if you do not cry at State-Socialism, as soon as the word, support of the invalid, is pronounced, and the State shows a little more Christian care for the working-man, then I believe that the gentlemen of the programme of Wyden (the Social Democrats) will play in vain their alluring pipe." And again: "I acknowledge a right to labour unconditionally, and will defend it as long as I am standing in this place." Now, we confess that we cannot conceive anything more mischievous than such assertions made by such a man. The Chancellor disclaimed that in making them he was on the soil of Socialism, and alleged that already the Prussian Code had acknowledged that right, but this in reality proves nothing for him. The said Code of 1794 was the expression of the regime of patriarchal despotism then in force in Prussia, and if it said in a vague way that it was the duty of the head of the State to provide labour for those who lack an opportunity to earn their bread, no practical consequences have ever been deduced from such platitudes. But to assert the right to labour in a sitting of the Reichstag, to acknowledge consequently the duty of the State to provide labour for those who have none, or pretend to have none, is indeed flat Socialism, for then the State must organize the labour, and that is what Socialists demand. It has been said by Conservative organs, that the Chancellor, just for this reason, cannot have understood the right to labour in this sense; but the ingenious explanations of what he meant, which they substitute, are mere subjective guesses, and the masses will certainly understand the word in the Socialist sense. True, it is but the logical consequence of the protectionist principle; if the State is to secure a fair rent to landed proprietors, and to industrial enterprise, it must needs also protect labour, and secure fair wages to the working-man. A remarkable instance of how strong this current has grown is to be found in a petition of certain Silesian peasants, who, in consequence of the low prices of sugar, ask that the State should grant them a fixed price of one mark per cwt. for their beetroots. It is sad to see all the old economical errors revived and recovering their ascendancy as a new gospel.

The reproach directed at the same time by the Chancellor against the legislative bodies, that they were lukewarm in seconding the Government's progress for social reform, proved not to be deserved, for, by a coalition of the Conservatives and the Centre-party, the Bill on working-men's insurance against accidents was carried with unexpected promptitude, and is now in its first stage of execution. It will require a vast apparatus, and yet it would be sanguine to expect that by such laws the masses will be converted from their Socialist leanings; the insurance against accidents touches only 7 per cent. of the working-classes; it would, according to our view, be much more effective to improve the factory laws, to regulate better the labour of women and children, and to enlarge the power of inspectors to interfere against arbitrary

proceedings on the part of the mill owners ; but of that we hear nothing. As regards the question of the reform of the direct taxes the Government and the Prussian House of Deputies have been unable to agree on the reform of the income-tax, and so likewise on the Bill respecting the duty to be imposed on the interest of securities, which was to supply the loss caused to the revenue by the exemption from the income-tax of all incomes below £60. It is, however, doubtful whether Prince Bismarck regrets this result, for he was only with difficulty persuaded by the Finance Minister to consent to these Bills, and adheres still to the belief that except an income-tax for the higher classes, the expenditure should be defrayed mainly by indirect taxation.

The Reichstag accepted for the second time Windthorst's resolution for repealing the law which permits the banishment of Catholic priests, and this time with a majority of 217 against 40; nevertheless the Federal Council has not as yet consented to remove this standing grievance. The interpellation addressed to the Minister of Public Worship in the House of Deputies, whether the Government, having revoked the stoppage of the ecclesiastical salaries in all dioceses, except Cologne and Posen, was willing to extend that measure to the two latter dioceses, and if not, for what reasons?—was met by the Minister's flat refusal to give any reasons. It is evident that with such dispositions no progress can be made towards re-establishing satisfactory relations between Church and State. The Pope had, in the beginning of the year, appointed Cardinal Ledochowski Secretary of the Memorials, an office, which if not *de jure* is yet *de facto* incompatible with the Archbishopric of Posen. He had hoped, that the Prussian Government, seeing him thus disposed to fulfil its wish, would in its turn make overtures for the revision of the May Laws. But M. de Schloezer remained mute. Then Leo XIII. went a step farther; he asked the Cardinal to choose one of the vacant suburbicarian bishoprics, and sending for the Prussian Minister, told him that, as his Government was so very anxious to obtain the resignation of the Archbishop, he might consider it as an accomplished fact. There remained only the question of the successor, and besides he (the Pope) was expecting overtures respecting the pending pecuniary questions. These declarations were confirmed by a short official note of Cardinal Jacobini, who proposed three candidates for Posen. The Intransigents were very much dissatisfied with this deference of the Pope to the Government's wishes. They said that he had abandoned the principle of the *pari passu* concessions, and would be content with vague promises. The Prussian Government, however, by its awkwardness, came to their rescue; after a long delay it rejected all the three candidates, and proposed in his turn a perfectly unknown country parson. As to the second point it was passed in silence, and when the Secretary of State insisted upon obtaining at least a general assurance, the answer from Berlin was at last, that the Government wanted to treat the question of the successor separately and without connection with the revision of the May Laws, of which for the moment there could be no question. The Pope felt highly offended, and signified to M. de Schloezer that he considered his overtures as if they had not been made. Since then the dead-lock to which by this turn the negotiation was condemned has continued. Moreover the feeling of the Curia must



have been considerably hurt by a letter from Rome published in the *Hamburg Correspondent*, and maintaining that M. de Schloezer had told the author that the Curia did not care to finish the ecclesiastical conflict because it promoted the intrigues which were constantly plotted against the German Empire and its Government at the Papal residence." The Catholic press, asking indignantly that this report should be contradicted, there came at last a very lame declaration in the *North German Gazette*, that the assertions of that letter were evidently inexact, but no one doubts their substantial authenticity. M. de Schloezer, after a long leave, has returned to Rome, but without a prospect of better progress in his negotiations; on the contrary, the Catholic organs show an increased bitterness in their tone. The Bishop of Münster, who last year re-entered his diocese after having received a free pardon, has recently published a pastoral letter, in which he states that the concessions made by the Government only touch minor points, and that the great grievances of the Catholics subsist in full force. The same tone prevailed at the general Catholic meeting at Amberg, and when the Emperor, on the occasion of the military manœuvres, came to Münster, the nobility of the province of Westphalia resolved upon presenting an address to His Majesty in which they complained in such outspoken terms of the sufferings inflicted by the ecclesiastical legislation that the Emperor refused to receive it.

These incidents cannot fail to influence the electoral campaign on which we have entered. During the last Session a strong Liberal party was formed by the fusion of the Secessionists representing the Free Trade element with the old party of Progress. This was, of course, most unpalatable to the Government; it had been obliged to rely on the coalition of the Centre party with the Conservatives; but if the support of the Centre had been useful, it had also been irksome. The Government, with the aid of the Conservatives, desire to place the social reorganization in the hands of the State; the Clericals regard the centralization of political power as dangerous to the Church, and wish to entrust the social mission to corporate bodies which may be influenced by the hierarchy. The avowed aim of the Chancellor is now not to remain exclusively dependent upon this coalition, but to have two strings to his bow, to have two majorities which shall enable him to lean, according to circumstances, either upon the old coalition or upon that of the Conservatives with the moderate Liberals. For this purpose he addressed some complimentary remarks to the National Liberals, who, in consequence of the secession, had dwindled into an insignificant force. This prospect of being readmitted to the goodwill of the Chancellor was hailed with delight by the leaders of the formerly powerful party, and at a meeting at Heidelberg they framed a programme, announcing that while remaining Liberal on all constitutional questions, the party was prepared to support the Chancellor in his social and economic policy. The success of this combination, which is favoured by all means at the disposal of the Government, is, of course, ardently combated by the Centre party. Not only is their political influence threatened, but the success of the National Liberals, who were the real leaders in the *Culturkampf*, would probably put a stop to all concessions in the ecclesiastical conflict, and lead to renewed harsher proceedings against the Catholics. Therefore,

knowing that there is no chance of the Radicals coming into office, but that these, notwithstanding their hostility to the Church, are opposed in principle to exceptional legislation, the Centre will rather vote for a Progressist in constituencies where they have no chance of seating a candidate of their own. The National Liberals are very active, and profess to have great hopes of succeeding. It is, however, significant that their former chief, Herr von Bennigsen, who a year ago retired from public life in dismay, declines to re-enter it, and has lately made a very elegiac speech, in which he says that the proposed co-operation of his party with the Conservatives at the elections and in the Reichstag has little prospect of success as long as the Prussian Ministry maintains its strongly Conservative tendencies. He must, however, be conscious that there is small chance of a reversal of the Prussian policy in the Liberal sense, and has therefore by his declaration scarcely promoted the success of his party. On the whole, it is very unlikely that the National Liberals will win a number of seats sufficient to form a coalition with the Conservatives upon which the Chancellor could rely. True, universal suffrage is an incalculable force, and it would be therefore premature to foretell the result of the elections, yet the most likely is that the relative force of parties will be but slightly changed; the Social Democrats are confident of mustering much stronger than before, but even if this should be the case it will not much affect the majority.

In the Evangelical Church the strife between the Positive and the Liberal elements continues. We have not as yet heard the last of Dr. Bender's aggressive speech at the Luther festival of October, 1883. The Rhenish Synod, under the leadership of its Bishop, Dr. Bauer, having protested against the accusation of the professor, that orthodoxy, pietism and hierarchy were alienating the people from the Church, Dr. Bender has now answered by an article in the *Deutsche Revue*, directed against what he styles "Synodal hierarchy." It is a remarkable feature that the Liberal party, having always and justly asked for representative organs of the Church, now that they have got them under Falk's régime in a form which seemed to fulfil their heart's desires, turn against them. The reason is, that curiously enough, notwithstanding a most liberal ecclesiastical constitution, the positive elements have obtained an overwhelming majority in all provincial synods, and the invented instrument thus not answering the purpose, it is attacked as obeying hierarchical tendencies. Another fact, which curiously contradicts Professor Bender's accusation, that it is the fault of orthodoxy if, as he maintains, religious life is at a low ebb in Germany, is the scarce attendance of students in the liberal theological faculties; thus, while that of Leipzig, which belongs to the more orthodox direction, numbers more than 700 pupils, the liberal faculty of Heidelberg has only forty-two followers, notwithstanding the rich stipends by which the Government tried to allure students; of seventy young Badish theologians, thirty only attend the lectures at Heidelberg. At a meeting of the Protestant Union at Kiel, Pastor Schrader, from Bremen, proposed to enlarge doctrinal liberty in the Evangelical Church in this way, that only by open proclamation of materialist, atheist, or Catholic doctrines a preacher should forfeit his office. Thus it would be forbidden to profess opinions which might be

taxed as Catholicizing, while it would be perfectly lawful to preach pantheism, and much more to deny any revelation at all. The Liberal Protestants, in order to refute the reproach of their barrenness in all practical works of charity, have founded a general Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society at Weimar. Very fine speeches were made on the necessity of uniting the different national Churches on the domain of the mission among heathens, of cultivating the elements of truth in the heathen religions, &c.; but the meeting has not yet found means for sending out a missionary, and thus it remains doubtful whether this new union will perform anything of practical value, while the Societies of Leipzig, Rhineland, and Basle can show the results of fifty years' practical labour. Thus it may be mentioned that the Rhenish Society spent on the mission among the Hereros and Namaquas alone more than £20,000 in the course of the last generation. Although we have as yet been preserved from any inroads of the Salvation Army, General Booth tries to prepare a campaign in Germany by causing cheap pamphlets to be circulated, in which he denies that the army tries to recruit itself among the existing Churches, and assures us that the Salvationists only strive to conquer those who care for no Church at all. Yet it is very likely that the General will find the German soil too hot for him, and that the Berlin police would probably make much shorter work with his revivals than that of Berne or Geneva. The reproach against which the General defends himself must certainly be made against the Methodists who, in carrying on a very active and successful propaganda in Germany, address themselves mainly to persons who are already living Christians, fishing thus, as it has been said, in the fishpond. Their aggressive propaganda has been the object of serious complaints, although it is difficult to stop it, as long as no unallowed means are resorted to.

The eighth Old Catholic Congress was assembled at Crefeld (September 29-31) but met with the general indifference which has long ago been shown to this still-born child, and it is quite useless of Protestant writers, such as Nippold and Beyschlag, to try to galvanize the interest in this movement.

The *belles lettres* are very unproductive just now in Germany, Spielhagen's last novel, "Uhlenhans," is a decided failure, and so is his drama, "Saved," which was refused both by the theatres of Vienna and Berlin. Frau von Hillern, the gifted author of the "Geier-Wally," has, after a long silence, produced a novel, "Friedhofsblume," which is not at all up to the level of her former productions. We know only of one new author who excited deserved interest, a lady writing under the pseudonym "Ossip Schubin;" she published last year a heart-rending tale, "The Story of a Genius," and has now come forward with a larger work, "Unter Uns" ("Amongst Us"), which certainly shows great talent. The scene of the novel is the colony of Austrian nobles at Rome, with which, of course, the international foreign society is mixed, the figures are full of life and force, the plot is cleverly drawn, and the reader follows its development with ever-growing interest, while the scenery of the eternal city forms an admirable background. It is a realistic social novel in the best sense, and we may rank the author as one of the best in this genre.

A very stringent criticism has been passed upon the fashionable historical novels of Ebers, Dahn, Hausrath and Eckstein, by Otto Kraus in a spirited pamphlet—"The Professorial Novel." The author shows that these novels do not deserve the name of historical in the sense due to Walter Scott or Scheffel, but that they simply clothe with the brilliant drapery of historical pictures, figures which are entirely modern in thought and feeling, and give not the remotest idea of the real men of the respective epochs. The author is perhaps a little overstating his case, but in the main he is certainly right, and it is no compliment to the taste of our readers that these novels should have obtained such vogue.

An interesting publication are the letters of Auerbach to a friend. The author of the "Village Stories" was not a great poet, he was too reflective; his peasants are for the most part idealized and speak in a strain totally different from that of real life, but he had a remarkable talent and an amiable character. The success which he obtained turned his head; he believed that everybody was occupied with him, and these letters show a vanity which is truly ingenuous. His last years were overshadowed with sorrow at the anti-Jewish agitation; himself a Jew, he saw in this movement a relapse into barbarism.

If Germany has at present few real poets, she must the more lament the loss of a man, who certainly was a poet by the grace of God and one of her best sons, Emanuel Geibel, who died April 6. Born in 1818, the son of a pious but tolerant pastor at Lübeck, he grew up in a healthy intellectual atmosphere, and thus avoided the error that thinks religious faith only justified on an inferior degree of intellectual development. After having studied at Bonn and Berlin, he went to Athens as tutor to the sons of the Russian Minister, became familiar with the Greek poets in their own land, and obtained the mastery of form for which he became justly renowned. Returning to Germany he published his first poems, shortly afterwards his "Zeitstimmen," in which he strongly opposed the Radical school of Herwegh and Prutz; he wrote the opera "Loreley" for Mendelssohn, who died after having only finished the first act. The "Juniuslieder" showed the full maturity of his talent. In 1852, following a call of the King of Bavaria, he established himself at Munich, where he remained till 1864. The last twenty years of his life he spent at Lübeck, sorely visited by physical sufferings of the most acute kind. What Geibel said at Uhland's death, "a high tree has fallen in the forest of German poetry, a bard has departed, faithful before all, who sing German song," may be said of himself. Geibel considered the vocation of the poet as a sacred and responsible one. He has never served the transitory demands of fashion, he has never flattered the tastes of the multitude, and yet he has achieved a signal success, such as is rare in Germany. Germans are apt to overlook the value of form, but Geibel had the power of moulding his language so as to make it the transparent frame for his deep thoughts; he exercised the quiet dominion of the master who knows how to handle the most rebellious matter without catching at originality. He was not an active politician like Uhland, not a professional scholar, but he had vast knowledge, and was a true patriot; and all his thinking and striving expanded in poetry. Moreover, he

was pre-eminently a lyrical poet ; his epical poems seldom went beyond the ballad ; his dramas treat exclusively of antagonistic feelings in the bosom of the same person ; his true element is the song in all its various forms and rhythms, the air, the lay, the hymn, the psalm, the elegy and the didactic poem, in this domain he reigned as sovereign lord, and has created songs which will last as long as the German language is spoken. He especially set an example of what the political song is to be, if it is to be effective ; he was an enthusiast for German unity ; in his youth he sang of the Emperor Barbarossa sleeping in the Kyffhaeuser ; he hoped in 1848 for the restoration of the Imperial dignity ; he welcomed in 1868 King William in Lübeck with the wish "that your eye may see your eagle striving over the empire from the rock to the sea," and he saw his wish accomplished three years after. Geibel was truly the herald of the German empire and of German honours. Yet he possessed in a high degree that literary universalism for which German poets are justly renowned ; we owe him excellent translations from Greek, Roman, Spanish, Italian, and French poets.

It was given to Geibel to find often the word for thoughts living in all, and even his death had a unifying power. On a Palm Sunday, a radiant spring day, such as seldom occurs in our misty north, and when the bells were chiming, his soul was relieved from the sick body, which he long had felt as a prison. And when the news spread the mourning was general ; from all parts of Germany came deputations to attend the burial ; the coffin, placed in St. Mary's Church, was overcrowded with wreaths from the most august as well as the most humble persons, and on it lay the hundredth edition of his poems just published. Members of the Soldier's Union bore the coffin through the dense crowd, standing in mournful silence ; all the shops were closed, and all the bells of the old Hansetown were ringing, an immense attendance following to the cemetery. It was a burial such as Germany has rarely seen, reminding one of that of the old Minnesinger Frauenlob, and we can only wish that our present and future poets may follow this noble example and walk in the paths of Emanuel Geibel.

H. GEFFCKEN.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

### I.—PHYSICS.

**T**HE total eclipse on October 4\* was remarkable on account of its extreme totality. Although the depth to which the moon was immersed in the earth's shadow was less than in 1877, the red light with which the moon was illuminated on that occasion during the whole of the totality, was altogether absent on October 4, and to the naked eye the moon appeared only as a faint star with no discernible outline. It has been suggested that the absence of the red light was due to the earth's atmosphere being specially opaque, on account of suspended solid matter, or for some other cause, and that this opacity may be associated with the sky glows with which we have now become familiar. The measurement at Parsonstown of the heat radiated by the moon, for some time before and after the totality of the eclipse, may lead to interesting results. It appears that after the eclipse the increase of the heat did not keep pace with that of the light, and when the totality commenced the heating effect showed signs of continuing after the disappearance of the light.

Lord Rayleigh, in his presidential address at the meeting of the British Association in Montreal, touched upon an important point. Speaking of the development of the dynamo-machine, Lord Rayleigh said :—

“ With regard to the main features of the problem, it would almost seem as if the difficulty lay in want of faith. Long ago it was recognized that electricity derived from chemical action is (on a large scale) too expensive a source of mechanical power, notwithstanding the fact that (as proved by Joule in 1846) the conversion of electrical into mechanical work can be effected with great economy. From this it is an evident consequence that electricity may advantageously be obtained from mechanical power; and one cannot help thinking that if the fact had been borne steadily in mind, the development of the dynamo might have been much more rapid. But discoveries and inventions are apt to appear obvious when regarded from the standpoint of accomplished facts; and I draw attention to the matter only to point the moral that we do well to push the attack persistently when we can be sure beforehand that the obstacles to be overcome are only difficulties of contrivance, and that we are not vainly fighting unawares against a law of Nature.”

In his address, as President of the Mathematical and Physical section of the British Association, Sir William Thomson showed that great progress had been made towards a dynamical theory of everything. He explained how the behaviour of an elastic solid might be imitated by means of rotating fly-wheels with their spindles linked together, and further showed how such a system might be modified, so that “ the direction of vibration of waves of rectilinear vibrations propagated through it shall turn round the line of propagation of the waves, just as Faraday's observation proves to be done by the line of

vibration of light in a dense medium between the poles of a powerful magnet." The vortex theory of matter promises to play an important part in the molecular physics of the future.

At the same meeting of the British Association, Prof. O. J. Lodge suggested a somewhat novel application of high tension electricity. The electricity developed by the old frictional machines, or even by the far more efficient modern machines of Holtz, Voss, and others, has not hitherto been much turned to practical account. Prof. Lodge proposes that large Holtz or Voss machines should be supplied to Atlantic steamers, and driven in foggy weather by their engines, the current generated being discharged from points attached to the masts, in order to clear away the fog. There can be no doubt of the clearance effected by the discharge when the fog is confined to a limited portion of space in the lecture-room. The only practical question at issue is the scale upon which such operations can be conducted.

While the public generally are supposed to be "clamouring" for a universally recognized meridian, there can be no doubt that electricians are in earnest in their desire to obtain a universally recognized unit of power common to them and to the mechanical engineer. It is more than ten years ago that the British Association finally adopted the C.G.S. system of units, a system in which the centimetre, gramme, and second are the fundamental units of length, mass, and time respectively, and all other units are based on these. The *dyne* is that force which, acting on a gramme for a second, communicates to it a velocity of a centimetre per second; and the *erg* is the work done in overcoming a dyne through a centimetre. A magnetic pole of unit strength is one which repels an equal pole at a distance of a centimetre in air with a force of a dyne, and an electric current of unit strength is one which, flowing in a centimetre of wire, bent into a circular arc of a centimetre radius, exerts a force of one dyne on a unit magnetic pole placed at the centre of the circle. The unit of electromotive force is that which does an erg of work in a second in driving the unit of current, and the unit of electric resistance is the resistance of a wire in which a unit current is produced by a unit of electromotive force. Of course, the unit of power is an erg per second, so that a unit current flowing through unit resistance requires unit of power to maintain it.

Now, the dyne is a very small unit of force, being little more than the weight of a milligramme, while the erg is so small that a foot pound is equal to about 13,560,000 ergs. The unit of electric current, however, is somewhat large, being very nearly equal to that which ordinarily flows through a 2,000 candle-power arc-lamp. This being so, it follows that the unit of resistance must be extremely small, or the unit power would not maintain such a current through it—in fact, the unit of resistance is far too small to be of any practical use, or even to admit of material representation. Hence, a resistance equal to 1,000,000,000 C.G.S. units was fixed upon as the practical unit, and a Committee of the British Association was appointed more than twenty years ago to construct a material standard which should represent this resistance.

The Report of this committee, explaining how the standard was determined by a method suggested by Sir Wm. Thomson, and discussing the best material for the construction of permanent standards of resistance belongs to the classics of electricity. The committee

did not cease its labours until several standards had been constructed, consisting of coils of wire of various metals and alloys, and the temperatures at which they were found to be correct were carefully registered. The unit of resistance thus determined was called an ohm.

But after twelve or thirteen years it was found that these coils, which originally all possessed the same resistance at their proper temperature, had altered so that no two of them agreed together. It also appeared that errors had crept into the original determination, so that the ohm did not accurately represent 1,000,000,000 units of resistance. Fresh determinations of the ohm were made by several different methods, and conspicuous among these measurements were those of Dr. Joule, Lord Rayleigh, and Professor H. A. Rowland. At the recent conference of electricians at Paris, it was decided to adopt as the standard ohm the resistance of a column of pure mercury one square millimetre in section, and 106 centimetres in length at 0°C. The researches of Lord Rayleigh, indicated that the length should be about 106.25 centimetres, while those of Professor Rowland, not yet published, indicate 106.28 centimetres as the proper length. The whole number, was however, preferred by the conference, and this resistance may be regarded as the starting-point for all electrical units.

The unit of current adopted in practice is the ampere, which is one-tenth of the C.G.S. unit, above referred to. Hence the electromotive force required to maintain an ampere through the resistance of an ohm is 100,000,000 C.G.S. units, and this electromotive force is called a volt. It differs very little from the electromotive force of an ordinary Daniell's cell.

The work required to maintain a current is the product of the current and the electromotive force required to drive it. Since the ampere is one-tenth of the C.G.S. unit, and the volt is 100,000,000 C.G.S. units, it follows that, when an ampere is driven by a volt, work is done at the rate of 10,000,000 ergs per second. This rate of doing work is called a *watt*, so that a watt is a quantity of the same kind as horse-power. The power required to drive any electric current is given at once in watts, by multiplying the current expressed in amperes by the electromotive force expressed in volts.

Now one-horse power is equivalent to 7,458,000,000 ergs per second, while the watt is 10,000,000 ergs per second. Hence the horse-power is 745.8 watts, and the rule for finding the horse-power required to maintain a current is to divide the product of the volts and amperes by 746. Arithmetic, however, is becoming daily more unpopular, and it is obvious to electricians that this number ought to be exchanged for some power of 10. Clearly there is only one way to accomplish this—viz., by changing the horse-power, which is already nearly 50 per cent. in excess of the power of ordinary horses. Consequently, at the recent conference of electricians at Philadelphia, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. W. H. Preece, that it is desirable to raise the horse-power so as to make it equal to 1,000 watts. The new horse-power so defined will be about double the power of an ordinary horse, and will be equal to nearly 44,250 foot-pounds per minute. We have yet to hear what the mechanical engineers have to say to this proposal, as they have by far the greatest vested interest in the old horse-power of James Watt.



But whatever may be thought of the practical suggestions of the conference, the inaugural address of the president, Professor H. A. Rowland, of John Hopkins University, contained many passages worth remembering. Having showed that electricity "is not energy, but is a property of matter and incapable of existing apart from matter," Professor Rowland said:—

"The theory of matter then includes electricity and magnetism, and hence light; it includes gravitation, heat, and chemical action: it forms the great problem of the universe. When we know what matter is, then the theories of light and heat will also be perfect, then and only then shall we know what is electricity and what is magnetism. . . . We have seen how the feeble spirit which was waked up by friction in the amber, and went forth to draw in light bodies, has grown until it now dazzles the world by its brilliancy, and carries our thoughts from one extremity of the world to the other. It is the genius of Aladdin's lamp, which, when thoroughly roused, goes forth into the world to do us service, and returns bearing us wealth, and honour, and riches. But it can never be the servant of an ignorant or lazy world. Like the genius of Aladdin's lamp, it appeared to the world when the amber was rubbed, but the world knew not the language in which to give it orders, and was too lazy to learn it. The spirit of the amber appeared before them to receive its orders, but was only gazed at in silly wonder, and retired in disgust. They had but to order it and it would have gone to the uttermost part of the earth with almost the velocity of light to do their bidding. But in their ignorance they knew not its language. For two thousand years they did not study it, and when they began to do so, it took them two hundred and fifty years to learn the language sufficiently to make a messenger of it. And even now we are but children studying its A B C. It is knowledge—more knowledge, that we want."

The domains of physics and physiology seem doomed to become more and more intimately associated. By means of a platinum wire passing through a glass tube, and surrounded by dilute sulphuric acid, or solution of zinc sulphate, Professor Hermann succeeded in reproducing many of the electric phenomena of living nerves. The electrodes connected with the battery, which is to stimulate the artificial nerve, as well as those connected with the galvanometer, which is to receive and measure the nerve current, are inserted in the liquid without touching the wire. The action appears to depend on the creeping of a state of polarization along the wire as the polarization opposite the electrodes opposes the passage of the current, and compels it to go out of its way to gain admission to the wire. The current in the galvanometer does not immediately succeed the introduction of the battery current, but it follows it at an interval, increasing with the distance of the galvanometer terminals from those of the battery. During the summer the phenomenon has been carefully investigated by Professor Hermann and Dr. Samways, and the velocity of the "wave" along the artificial nerve has been measured. It varies with different electrolytes, but in their experiments was always between ten and sixty metres per second, while in the first measurement made it was 28.3 metres per second. The velocity of the "action current" in a frog's nerve was found by Bernstein to vary between 25 and 32 metres per second.

WILLIAM GARNETT.

## II.—FICTION.

THESE narratives of fictitious joys and sorrows, which from time to time we are called on to bring before the notice of our readers have an interest in some degree independent of their artistic merit. They mirror the changing thoughts and interests which occupy the mind of large classes of men and women in a way which no other branch of literature can pretend to do. We do not mean that novels show what life is like. We would assure all such very young ladies and gentlemen as may not know it already, that fictitious experience is to real as New York, in the opinion of the traveller in "Martin Chuzzlewit," was to Old York; the American reminding him of the English city on account of its being so totally dissimilar in every respect. But novels shed light on the ideas of that large and increasing class who write novels, and on the way in which the larger and faster increasing class who read novels are being taught to think of life. They reflect the changing views of all that is interesting to average humanity, and exhibit on a convenient scale the varying aspects of social life, so far as it is revealed in the subjects which writers attempt to represent, and the interests which they try to satisfy, independently of their success in these aims. The fiction of our own day shows us its breach with the past, its distrust of authority, its craving for originality, its abhorrence of privilege, in some respects better than other literature does. The old landmarks we see are being obliterated, much that was taken for granted but yesterday is questioned, some of it is even denied. The relations of human beings to God, and of men to women, are alike investigated and scanned in a way that would have shocked our fathers.

What a landmark, for instance, in the history of religious thought is such a novel as "We Two."\* A saintly Atheist, whose daughter is converted to Christianity by a liberal clergyman, could hardly have been delineated in fiction much before the year 1884. The appositeness of such a conjunction to mark its own date is not impaired by the fact that as a picture of society the account of the persecution to which the Atheist is subjected is obsolete, and the moral which the writer urges unnecessary. When a large constituency chooses to be represented in Parliament by an eminent atheist, even though Parliament makes a difficulty of receiving him (which everybody knows will have to be done sooner or later); when it is not uncommon to find oneself in company where a good deal more courage is necessary to profess Christianity than Atheism, a warning against Christian bigotry if it is to be forcible should take a historic form. We should have liked the story made contemporary, say, with the burning of Priestley's house at Birmingham. But this is a mere criticism of detail; the book is not less accurate as an expression of contemporary feeling, because it is a gross anachronism as a description of contemporary society. It is valuable not only in the description of that influence

\* "We Two." By Edna Lyall. London: Hurst & Blackett. 3 vols.

in our time which imports the spirit of religion into what used to be considered irreligion, but for another reason, on which a critic of fiction has no excuse for touching otherwise than in the briefest possible fashion. It exhibits a mistake about religion and unbelief very common in our day. The Atheist is supposed to have been driven into his unbelief by the bigotry and intolerance of Christians. Surely it is a sufficient criticism on the suggested origin of contemporary unbelief to observe that as Christians have become more tolerant, Atheists have become more hostile to Christianity. The bigoted Ritualist, the bigoted Evangelical, are both more interesting to thoughtful unbelief than the devout Broad Churchman, and they are quite as sympathetic.

More light, perhaps, is shed on the problem here touched on by a painful and powerful study,\* which will, however, be less popular than "We Two." It is rather in the taste of French than English fiction, though we hasten to assure the reader that there never was a novel more penetrated with reverence for purity than "Foxglove Manor." It touches on that mysterious region in which the love of men to God is seen to have a deep and hidden connection with the mutual love of man and woman; and if we cannot pay it what would be the immense tribute of saying that it deals adequately with such a subject, we may at least declare that the attempt is marked by power and by a profound pathos, and associated with nothing unworthy. The reader will not at once be inclined to do it justice. It follows far too soon on Mr. Buchanan's last production, and the first few chapters suggest a mere repetition of the theme there treated—religion and love—with very slight variations. But the resemblance is superficial and misleading. The theme is indeed religion, and what we call love; but no one who is obliged to use the latter word in that sense can avoid regret that the best thing in the world, and almost the worst thing in the world, have to be called by the same name. The two are here set side by side with a keenness of contrast in the guilty man and the weak woman that makes one wonder why one needlessly undergoes the pain of contemplating such images; and yet one would hope, while the world continues what it is, the pain is not wasted. The seducer is a sincerely religious man, a High Church clergyman, and Mr. Buchanan has associated his religious and his earthly emotions so as to convey a warning as to the possible adulteration with sensuous feelings of both. Religion, he seems to urge, is no guarantee for the excellence of the emotions which it awakens, that part of the nature which we shrink from contemplating may find its place here as well as elsewhere. And he has brought out the warning by painting side by side with his sensuous priest an Agnostic man of science, whose wife is very near falling a victim to the mixture of pastoral warning and guilty passion with which the clergyman tries to corrupt her life and preserve her faith. The warning, apparently suggested by this painful study, would take some such form as the following: May not the present wave of unbelief which is passing over Christendom be a heaven-sent influence, tending to preserve the germs of a purer faith through a wholesome winter that shall kill all its noxious parasites? That is Mr. Buchanan's suspicion it seems; his critic must not be supposed responsible for it.

\* "Foxglove Manor." By Robert Buchanan. London: Chatto & Windus. 3 vols.

But so far as it expresses a conviction that life in the invisible has its own dangers, which many escape by absorbing themselves in the outward, it is an important truth. Bigotry and intolerance are the temptations of Christians as they are the temptations of human beings; there is no soil of belief or unbelief on which these weeds will not flourish. But there are poisonous plants which thrive best on the soil of Christianity, and of which those should most earnestly beware whose home is in the Unseen. As an illustration of this principle, we would earnestly recommend "Foxglove Manor" to all who desire to face the dark problems of our civilization.

"Lucia, Hugh, and Another,"\* lies on the borderland between that class of novels of which we have just noticed specimens and the mere tale of the day. Part of it is very interesting, and there is great originality in the conception, but it deals with subjects which demand forcible treatment, and that the author cannot give, while some parts show a strange ignorance of the thing she aims at describing. But the book is a good illustration of what has been noticed as the enlarged scope of the fiction of our day. There is an aim—not very happily conceived, and carried out with a good deal of vacillation, but still not without some originality—to represent the lover, whose own romantic generosity has prevented him becoming the husband of his love, as a mixture of the profligate and the saint. Any hesitation as to the depth of the mire in which the hero is supposed to have fallen is objectionable from every point of view; allusions to vice should be as distinct as they should be rapid. But, nevertheless, the reflection from the moral confusion of an age which, having had to reconsider the meaning of the words true and false, is beginning to reconsider the meaning of the words right and wrong, has a certain interest of its own.

As a picture of life that throws any light on its problems, "The Baby's Grandmother"† would stand low indeed. But judged by the test according to which novels are mostly judged (we have to notice the first and second edition together), it has a right to head our list. It will probably be the most popular of all the novels mentioned here. It is a bright lively picture of contemporary life, with some wit, with a good deal of character painting, with one original character, and, above all, with a great power of construction. To a few readers these merits will be overborne by a latent vulgarity that comes out definitely in the picture of middle-class society in a cathedral town, and haunts subtly the picture of genteel life in the mansion of an earl, or rather seems to us implied in the way the two pictures are contrasted. We are shown what is vulgar in the middle-class and shown nothing else in it whatever. Alas for our future, if this is to be the lesson of fiction for the democracy! Vulgarity to the lowest class is impossible. In the highest class it is not likely to be obvious. In the intermediate region it is the quality most easy to see and to paint, and what we need is to be shown something else by its side. But "The Baby's Grandmother" keeps us in the region where this something

\* "Lucia, Hugh, and Another." By Mrs. J. H. Needell. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 3 vols.

† "The Baby's Grandmother." By L. B. Walford. New edition. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1 vol.

else is least visible. We are always on the surface of life. The robust person and bad manners of Lady Matilda's love are depicted with much cleverness; but we do not hear a remark from his lips, showing one touch of feeling or thought, from the first page to the last. To her own portrait this criticism is less applicable, and to that of one of her brothers—the really original conception of the book—it does not apply at all; but we must seek an explanation of her charm in what is merely superficial. Almost all that we learn of her feelings or relations is unpleasant; she speaks with bitter contempt of her dead husband, she amuses herself with throwing her plain daughter into the shade, and hankers after lovers, though hating the thoughts of marriage. She learns that two men are coming to stay with her son-in-law to be godfathers to his baby; the only fact she knows about them being that they are friends of a man she despises, and remembers that, "She had felt now and then the fascination, the thrill of being first with some one, the loadstar of one pair of eyes, the magnet for one pair of feet. She knew what it felt to be like that. It felt nice." And these are not the meditations of a school-girl, but of a grandmother! But the one exception to this hard flippant strain is so graciously and forcibly touched, that it almost makes us forget the rest. Her relation to her brothers, especially her motherly bond with the weak and winning junior—a sort of glorified Toots—is painted with a sympathy that makes the hardness elsewhere rather surprising. The story has some of Miss Austen's merits, as well as some which she lacks; but the passages in the style of Miss Austen—Lady Matilda's daughter and son-in-law strongly recall her—are chiefly interesting as exhibiting the subtle difference between those pictures of what is tedious in reality which do and do not reproduce its tedium.

A story centring in an unpleasing character cannot be itself attractive, but "*Jill*"\* has one rare merit, which makes us augur well of the future productions of the writer. It is an autobiography in spirit and not merely in form. Most novels of this class are autobiographical only so far as they use the first person instead of the third. They avoid narrating what the hero or heroine could not know, they try to throw everything into the perspective which it would take from a single point of view, but they rarely attempt more, and hardly achieve so much. The author of "*Jill*," on the other hand, does not merely tell us what one pair of eyes saw and one pair of ears heard, but she gives it all as it would be coloured by the feelings of a single character. It is curious to note how this attempt brings in the element of art. There is a great deal that is very disagreeable in the book. It is the autobiography of a young lady who, in order to escape from a hated stepmother, runs away from home, steals a purse, forges a series of characters, and gets a place as lady's maid. Her adventures are not very interesting, and her character is most unamiable; and yet from the mere fact that what is given is made everywhere consistent with itself, there is something harmonious, something pleasing in the colouring of the picture. If we contrast this novel with a work of genius, by the side of which, as far as the matter goes, it has no claim to be mentioned—"Jane Eyre"—we see the difference between conceiving life as seen from a single point of

\* "*Jill*." By E. A. Tillyarn. London: Macmillan & Co. 2 vols.

view, and describing it in the name of a single individual. "Jane Eyre" is full of what are virtually descriptions of Jane Eyre. Jill never once alludes to the effect she makes on other people. There is just that vacuum in the conception of the story which is made for each one of us by his own personality. Let the reader only ask himself how curiously, when he turns from the dealings of other persons to his own, there comes an absolute blank in the centre in place of a definite image. Somebody did this—I know the effect of his personality on others; how they feel when he comes in, how they feel when he goes out. But the somebody who observed him—here each of us comes to a pause. Who could even describe his own personal appearance? Who, still more, could attempt to give any notion of that subtle influence of one personality on other personalities, be it stimulus or torpedo touch, which is the thing we are all surest of about other people? The nearest approach to it is generally a vague and disagreeable speculation. "I am afraid the world thinks me a dull sort of fellow;" or, "What can it be that people find formidable in such a coward as me?" "Jill" is the only work of fiction known to us in which this hiatus of observation is faithfully preserved, and every critic must augur highly of the originality of a writer of whom he can say so much.

Miss Tytler's penultimate story shows the influence of our time in a way somewhat different from any novel we have mentioned. It is penetrated by one of the best characteristics of the generation of its readers—a thorough respect for work. It takes us to the atmosphere of a busy, stirring life, to the fresh breezy hillside and river-bank, not the less picturesque, and so much the more dramatic, that tall chimneys stand like pillars to the dark cloud that shades "St. Mungo's City"—*i.e.*, the busy town of Glasgow. The book is full of power; it enlarges the circle of the reader's acquaintance, instead of merely giving him the opportunity of criticizing the delineation of what is entirely familiar as most novels do; its picture of the genteel and half-starving old ladies in St. Mungo's Square is at once pathetic and ludicrous, and the Scotch dialect of the book gives it a vernacular flavour refreshing after so much common-place, and yet, with all this, we are obliged to own that, as a whole, the book is disappointing. It has no centre. It is a series of sketches, some of them bright and vigorous, none of them wanting in some kind of merit, but all equally unfinished. All the figures are at an equal distance from the eye. We have to take an interest in three pair of lovers, and are just as much or just as little concerned about the happiness of any individual young gentleman or lady as about that of the other five. Then there is the most intolerably tiresome will that we ever remember to have met with, even in the pages of a novel. Nevertheless, if the reader, believing our assurance that the course of true love runs smooth, not to say flat, with all three pair of lovers, would stop resolutely at the end of the second volume, he would make acquaintance with a new set of friends, all full of life and character, and get tired of hardly any of them. But no novel-reader is ever so temperate. All will insist on taking more than is good for them, whatever the critic may say, and every criticism runs naturally into the form, necessitated by their

\* "St. Mungo's City." By Sarah Tytler. London: Chatto & Windus. 3 vols.

intemperance, of beseeching the writers to help them less liberally. If only Miss Tytler had consented to be ruled by this warning, "St. Mungo's City" might have been a very charming novel, but she is so much in need of it that our quarterly notice has to include two stories from her fluent pen. "Beauty and the Beast"\* has appeared in a popular form, and bears traces of the disadvantages of such an origin; the whole of the third volume, and a good deal of the others, being mere padding. It is not a very happy essay after Miss Thackeray, but there are some scenes of great pathos, and the character of the Beast (a sergeant first degraded to the ranks and afterwards dismissed the service with ignominy) is a very interesting and consistent one. Why will one gifted with the rare power of bringing the pathos of humble life before the reader spend her energies on vapid sketches of contemporary society which dozens can make better than she does, and which when they are pretty good seem to us not worthy of a place beside her pictures of the washerwoman's death-bed or the poacher's cottage? She finds, no doubt, that the majority of her audience cares for fashionable society most, and we are living under the rule of the majority.

The same cause comes in to damage a novel† by the author of "Ginx's Baby," which we heartily recommend to all readers old-fashioned enough to care for an exciting plot, a predilection to which we plead guilty ourselves. When the author gets into high life he makes a few blunders and is out of his element; but it is quite possible to skip all that, and the rest of the story is told with great dash and movement, its only defect from this point of view being that the mystery is unveiled rather too soon. The reader who demands character-painting or probability must look elsewhere; but Sontag, the chief of the detective force, has some individuality, and the ghastly incident with which the story opens is not, we believe (as far as physical circumstances go), without some parallel in fact. If merely for the rarity of the species, so good a specimen of the novel of incident as a "A Week of Passion" ought not to pass without mention.

"St. Mungo's City" occasionally reminds the reader of that writer who has made the lowland Scotch dialect for ever dear and poetic to the lovers of romance. Mr. Black's last novel sometimes recalls Scott for other reasons. The resemblance is a disadvantage. We are led at the opening to expect a kind of interest that the story does not possess. It has no plot, and we fancy, at first, that there is to be an elaborate plot. But a reminiscence of Scott is not entirely misleading in connection with this delightful picture of English life in the past. "Judith Shakespeare"‡ calls the reader into a far-away world of bright vivid imagery, and lets him return to the every-day world as from refreshing travel. It is in a far more ambitious strain than Mr. Black has tried before. The heroine has no less illustrious parentage than her name suggests: the reader is indeed called upon to make acquaintance with a daughter of Shakespeare. But not a sentence in the story betrays effort or arduous preparation; it is told in

\* "Beauty and the Beast." By Sarah Tytler. London: Chatto & Windus. 3 vols.

† "A Week of Passion." By Edward Jenkins, Author of "Ginx's Baby," &c. London: Remington & Co.

‡ "Judith Shakespeare." By William Black. London: Macmillan & Co. 3 vols.

a strain of lucid English, well-suited to a narrative of Elizabethan England, never sinking below the dignity of its theme and yet with something of the homely directness of a story told to a child. All that history tells us of Judith Shakespeare is that she was the twin sister of that Hamlet Shakespeare—the poet's only son—who died at twelve years old, and the wife of a vintner whose father wrote the only letter addressed to Shakespeare in existence. From these meagre materials Mr. Black has worked out a charming character, consistent, original, probable; he has represented in this daughter of Shakespeare's, a nature endowed with the dramatic temperament as distinguished from the dramatic genius, and we are made to feel that Shakespeare's intellect might have translated itself into just this wide-reaching many-sided sympathy, this rich motherly care for weakness and misfortune, this freakish waywardness of mood, this imaginative view of all relations, this recoil from all austerity of moral claim. We are shown pretty little glimpses of the fanciful way in which this daughter of Shakespeare weaves her own small adventures into an inchoate drama, and are made to feel how strongly the dramatic opposes itself to the moral nature, how abhorrent to the keen appreciation of varying mood and picturesque characteristic is any Puritan austerity, while yet Puritanism appears in a portrait so lovely and delicate that the relation of the two maidens—the Puritan and the player's daughter—seems but to symbolize the relation of a true art to a true moral life. Its harsher form, expressed in the Puritan pastor, who seeks to make Judith his wife, is less happy, though there is a certain originality in his relation to the impetuous girl swayed by the vehement impulses of which he can take no cognizance. But what is powerful in the story is the sense kept up everywhere through it of the neighbourhood of a great genius. It would have been still more powerful if Mr. Black had never brought Shakespeare on the scene; but he appears so seldom, and his utterances are almost all so slight, that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that his personality affects the whole as the hidden sun affects the landscape that glows with sunset radiance. A rich, mighty, tolerant character is felt near at hand in all the moral colouring of the picture, and there is something impressive in the very fact that it is never described or allowed any characteristic expression: the one scene which is an exception to this seems to us a failure. Part of the interest of the story lies in an idea which we hope is more and more dawning on the writers of fiction—that the love which ends in marriage is not the only, nor always even the strongest, emotion that exercises the heart of man or woman. Of course, no writer can introduce Shakespeare into fiction and make his influence subordinate; and all the interest of the volume lies in Judith's love for her father. She wants no lover, all the romance and enthusiasm of love is wrought up in the fervour of her devotion to the kindred but larger soul who surrounds her life with an atmosphere of magical influence. There is some satisfaction in knowing that the letter already alluded to—a sadly disappointing document as the only bit of manuscript on which we are sure that Shakespeare's eyes have glanced and his fingers touched—was an application for a loan of thirty pounds which seems to have been granted, and that we may think of Shakespeare's daughter as united to the son of Shakespeare's grateful old friend. If Judith Shakespeare were



such as she is represented here, her relation to her father was always the keynote of her life, and all the sorrow and agitation of the story are wrought up with her love and fear of him. It must be confessed that in proportion as the story grows emotional we lose the refreshing sense of escape from our own atmosphere. Judith's remorse for the rash exhibition of the sheets of "The Tempest" to a wild youth in hiding from his creditors, which results in their independent publication, and the illness which it brings on, are pure nineteenth century, and we feel the antique dialect almost an affectation in the utterance of sentiments so purely modern. One wonders why any attempt to paint emotions which have nothing essentially modern about them in the experience of the past should bring in a sense of incongruity, a feeling as of a wrong colour in a painting, but so it is. Most readers must have felt this in George Eliot's "Romola," and all readers must have felt that the satisfying harmony of any of the Waverley Novels is due to their consistent avoidance of any but the broadest and simplest emotions of which our nature is capable. It is not that we know how a fifteenth-century Italian or sixteenth-century English girl would have felt, and decide that it is not well described, we are willing enough to take our author's word for that. It is that we must not hear the dialect of our own day, and that no genius is strong enough to recover the emotional dialect of the past when once we desert those emotions and relations which belong to all humanity and even extend beyond it. Mr. Black does not sin in this respect as George Eliot does; he never analyzes, he only describes. But still, the situation he describes, or rather the emotion it gives rise to, is somehow wanting in the simplicity that lends itself to a translation into the dialect of the past. This criticism only applies to the third volume, and does not prevent our closing the volume with the sense of a changed atmosphere which is the peculiar charm of fiction, and which Mr. Black has never bestowed on his readers more graciously.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

### III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—Mr. Froude has profited so far by the criticism provoked by his previous contributions to the biography of Carlyle, that in the two concluding volumes, which have just appeared,\* he has prudently suppressed the proper names in passages that might give reasonable offence to living people; but he observes no more measure than before in his exposure of his friend's infirmities of temper and the troubles of his domestic life. Absolute concealment on some at least of these matters may not have been required, but they are all here obtruded on us *ad nauseam*, and out of proportion to their real significance in Carlyle's history. Mr. Froude shelters himself under inconsistent excuses, for he first argues that justice forbade him from

\* "Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life in London, 1834-1881." By James Anthony Froude, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

withholding damaging disclosures, and then in the same breath alleges that the disclosures are less damaging than a reticence, which, in his curious judgment, would only have led people to suspect that there was something still more damaging to hide. People who would suspect that may suspect it yet, if they like; but the world generally would willingly have a decent veil over the transitory quarrels of what was at bottom a deeply affectionate domestic life. Still, Mr. Froude must be credited with a profound and honest admiration for the great and noble qualities of Carlyle's nature, and he has not forgotten to unfold these to us with his whole unrivalled literary skill. With all the faults attributed to him in Mr. Froude's pages, the Carlyle there portrayed will remain one of the most impressive figures in our literature; and with all Mr. Froude's own faults as a biographer, the work he has now finished will live as one of the most important and greatest biographies in our language.—Lord Malmesbury, who had dropped out of public sight for some time, comes before the world again with a work that will probably increase the world's interest in him. His "Memoirs of an Ex-Minister"\* is one of the most entertaining books of the season. He saw much of the men and affairs of his generation, and has many a good story and many a bit of interesting gossip to tell us about them. He is an excellent *raconteur*, and sketches off people and incidents in a lively and easy way. One of his main objects in writing the book was to give his reminiscences of Napoleon III., whom he knew well long before he had to deal with him as Foreign Secretary; and of the late Lord Derby, in whose two Administrations he served, and for whom he shows all through a devoted admiration. He often throws out valuable lights on the party politics of the time, and his work will be sought by the historian for the sake of that kind of information; but whether he speaks of political personages or of his experiences in travel or sport, he is always eminently readable and amusing.—Mr. James Payn,† who also favours us this month with some autobiographic sketches, is an author of whom it is superfluous to make a similar remark. He is nothing if not readable and amusing, and the recollections which he has now reprinted, with some improvements, from the *Cornhill*, are no exception to his ordinary agreeable rule. The stories are all well told, and the spirit is throughout sweet and genial. Not a trace of literary jealousy infects these reminiscences of literary people.—Anything written about the brilliant band of Byron's "Scotch Reviewers," of whom Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Macaulay, and Carlyle were the prominent figures, must have a certain amount of literary and general attraction. It does not follow that authors have a right to shelter their insufficiency under such prestige. The worshipper of heroes is often weak of hand if strong of heart. That Mr. Stuart J. Reid, in his addition‡ to the biographic literature connected with the name of Sydney Smith, clerical wit and political writer, has produced a readable volume in spite of a prosy and turgid style, must with some quite reasonable demur be granted. As gleaner in a field that had

\* "Memoirs of an Ex-Minister: An autobiography." By the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury, G.C.B. London: Longmans & Co.

† "Some Literary Recollections." By James Payn. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

‡ "A Sketch of the Life and Times of the Rev. Sydney Smith, Rector of Combe-Florey, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. Based on Family Documents and the Recollections of Personal Friends." By Stuart J. Reid. London: Sampson Low & Co.

already been reaped, in the memoir by Lady Holland, Sydney's daughter, in Lord Houghton's monograph, and in dozens of related books, Mr. Reid has laboured with considerable success. But it has to be questioned whether what little of new he has found entitled him to write a Life of 400 rather badly printed pages, padded with loose discussion, from his own point of view, of the general politics of the time. Literary purpose would have been better served by a booklet containing the few not very important or characteristic letters and writings hitherto unknown to the public. The patient devotion which induced him to visit the scenes of his hero's pilgrimage, to get hearsay details and really valuable pictorial illustrations, deserves all sympathy. But why should he write to notable men in 1883 for certificates as to the character of the Rev. Sydney Smith? Let no one assume, however, that the book is without interest. On the contrary, with all its faults, it entraps and holds the attention to the last page.—Bersier's monograph on the earlier life of Coligny has just been translated into English.\* It is not a work of original investigation, but an endeavour to present certain sides of Coligny's life, especially its religious side, in a clearer and more adequate light than they have hitherto received. The admiral's work as a pioneer of French colonization, which also had a religious side, gets prominent attention. The author writes a lucid and vigorous style, and the book is a useful addition to our available literature on the subject.—Among the many books that have been evoked by the Wycliffe quincentenary, none deserves a better welcome than the revised edition Professor Montagu Burrows has just issued of his Oxford Lectures on the Reformer's place in history.† Mr. Burrows differs from current views on some points, but hitherto so little had been accurately known about much of Wycliffe's life, that current views were often little better than traditional assumptions. Mr. Burrows has sought by honest inquiry to get as far as possible at the bottom of things, and he has a sound judgment and always a reason for the faith that is in him. His clear and instructive little volume may be commended to any one who wishes to understand the nature and effects of the work of Wycliffe. Mr. Austin Dobson's "Thomas Bewick and his Pupils"‡ is written with all the author's delicacy and finish of style. It gives us some simple and interesting accounts of the Bewicks, Nesbit, Clennell, and others of our earlier wood-engravers, and it is embellished by excellent illustrations of their work.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Sir Spenser St. John gives a very dark account of the republic of Hayti.§ His information is unusually full and exact, for he lived long in Hayti as H.M. Minister-Resident, and he evidently studied the country and its people very closely. He goes over its history, the character of its people, its government, education, law, police, agriculture, commerce, and sees signs of rapid decadence everywhere. With the forms of a modern republic and the presence of a

\* "Coligny: the Earlier Life of the Great Huguenot." By Eugene Bersier, D.D. Translated by Annie Harwood Holmden. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

† "Wicliffe's Place in History." By Montagu Burrows, M.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History. London: William Isbister.

‡ London: Chatto & Windus.

§ "Hayti, or the Black Republic." By Sir Spenser St. John, K.C.M.G. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Christian hierarchy, the country is lapsing into anarchy and barbarism. Especially startling is the growing prevalence of human sacrifice and cannibalism, of which the author produces many only too plain proofs. Though saddening, the book is uncommonly full of interest, and of valuable and well-tested knowledge.—The season has as yet produced no more charming book than Mr. Hamerton's "Human Intercourse."\* It is a series of social essays of the old *Spectator* sort, abounding in thoughtful and wise observation of life and all its ways, and breathing a spirit of genial but thoroughly manly reflection. The style is quiet, graceful, often felicitous, every way suiting the matter. The subjects dealt with are various and attractive; among others, Independence, the Rights of the Guest; Companionship in Marriage; Genteel Ignorance; Noble Bohemianism; Why we are Apparently becoming less Religious; Why we are Really becoming less Religious; and so on. And whatever the subject, his remarks are always interesting and suggestive.—Mr. Charles Bird's "Higher Education in Germany and England,"†, is a brief practical account of the organization and curriculum of the German higher schools, with critical remarks and suggestions with reference to those of England, and it will be found very useful by those who are interested in the increasingly important question of secondary education in this country. The book is written by a schoolmaster who knows his business, and his descriptions of things as his practised eye saw them naturally contain observations and hints worthy of attention.—Mr. Wingfield, to whose knowledge of the history of costume we are indebted for that reproduction of English costumes since the Conquest which forms so effective and popular a feature in the Health Exhibition at South Kensington, has now published an attractive essay on the changes and development of civil costume in this country, together with a number of coloured illustrations of its various phases at different epochs, and explanatory notes upon the same.‡ The handsome volume will be of especial interest to the numerous visitors to the Exhibition; but will have a permanent value besides, as a careful and painstaking record of the varying forms of English attire. Mr. Wingfield's authorities have been the illuminators of early MSS. and books, the ladies who worked the old tapestry, the sculptors of old monumental effigies in churches, all of whom arrayed their figures very carefully in contemporary costumes, and the portrait-painters of later times, who, however, are less trustworthy for the purpose, as they had a habit of often clothing their sitters in a purely fancy dress. From these sources Mr. Wingfield has been able to give us a very good idea of the types of dress that prevailed at each successive epoch, when fashions changed more slowly than they do now, and to produce a work at once interesting to the general reader and useful for the more exact student.—Schoolcraft's life-long researches into the Indian tribes of America have supplied us with one of the most valuable bodies of anthropological data ever collected, but they have not hitherto been placed before the public in so convenient and accessible a form

\* "Human Intercourse." By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. London: Macmillan & Co.

† London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

‡ "Notes on Civil Costume in England from the Conquest to the Regency." By the Hon. Lewis Wingfield. London: William Clowes & Sons.

as their great importance and interest deserved. Messrs. Lippincott were therefore well advised in undertaking to condense the six bulky quartos in which Schoolcraft's rich materials were buried into the two portable and well-printed volumes that are now before us.\* The task has been committed to Mr. Francis Drake, son of one of the pioneers of Indian investigation, and he has done his work with excellent judgment and conscientious care. His duty was not confined to condensation, for omissions have been supplied, and the fruits of investigations made since the time of Schoolcraft into the origin, language, and antiquities of the Indian tribes, have been incorporated. With this view, some sections of Schoolcraft's book have been rewritten rather than condensed, and some entirely new chapters have been contributed by the editor, describing the present condition of the tribes, their history during the last thirty years, and their present status as compared with their past. We have here, therefore, a most important and valuable work, giving us as complete and exact an account of the American Indians as it is possible to furnish in the existing state of our knowledge. It may be added, that it is embellished with excellent steel engravings.

\* "The Indian Tribes of the United States." Edited by Francis S. Drake. London: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF BERLIN.

THE proposed reform of the administration of the great metropolis of the British Empire has elicited counsels and criticisms from various quarters. The Bill now before the country gives *prima facie* the impression of being a well-considered and carefully prepared measure. But it is not easy to pass judgment on laws of administrative organization. The critic has generally only *one* principal side of the comprehensive work before his eyes, and his practical experience is restricted to but a few sides of it altogether, though he may believe himself able to survey the whole. The position of a foreigner is in this respect even less favourable than that of a native. In fact, all practical experience becomes an unsafe guide where existing abuses force the legislator to devise quite new combinations in a living organism.

Safer and more successful appears the *method of comparison*, when it is possible to give a complete idea of the working of a new system. The municipal reform in the direction of unity, which is at the present moment under consideration for the English metropolis, has been long since carried out in the towns of Germany. The difficulties which modern cities of monstrous proportions have to encounter, have made themselves severely felt in the German metropolis, as well as the English, but they have been overcome.

It will therefore be interesting, at the present juncture, to give a comprehensive idea of the administration of the city of Berlin. The author of this essay will be able to do so, because he has been since the year 1848 an active member of that administration, and has taken part in its most important transactions and in its attempts at reform. To make the comparison useful to the English reader, it is necessary, of course, to have an acquaintance with the constitution of the City of London, with the Municipal Corporation Acts, and with the working

of the various newly appointed Boards in England. The author hopes, however, that the English reader of the following sketch will have no difficulty in understanding the manner in which in Germany the functions of the borough Justices of the Peace and of the various Boards are united in one homogeneous corporation. There is no part of the municipal institutions of English boroughs which will be altogether left out of sight in the following sketch.

For a mutual understanding there is, however, still need of a *historical* sketch, be it ever so slight.

After the days of the Crusades we find the burghs of Germany entering into a successful competition with the nobility. The land-owners and residents around the episcopal palaces, the citizens of the ancient Roman colonies, the settlers of the newly founded burghs, are rich enough to bear the public burdens like the nobles, and they increase their wealth by privileges of market, of trade, and commerce, and similar profitable rights, which they generally buy by large donations from the Emperor or a territorial lord. By these means they lay the foundation of their municipal or *financial* self-government, as I may be allowed to call it.

These wealthy townships were gradually endowed with the administration of justice, of police, and other royal rights, on the same principle as the landed nobility—viz., they undertake the burdens of royalty in return for the privilege of exercising so much of royal authority through persons of their own number. They form an essential part of the army, they have their own courts of judicature, their own police, their own *Stadtrecht*; and thus obtain their *magistratical* self-government. On the other hand, the later statutes of the German Empire imposed upon them the financial burdens of maintaining the poor, the highways, and the bridges.

There is a considerable difference in the way in which these two elements have developed themselves in German and English municipalities; the latter taking their origin in the grant of a court-leet and of a *firma burgi*. But in progress of time both these elements take a parallel course of development. The German burghs were conspicuous for their high degree of military efficiency and of independence, and flourished by commerce and trade; a happy condition, which continued to the time of the Reformation.

The decay of the *magistratical* side of municipal self-government was brought about by a complete change in the functions of the State. The town and country militia was supplanted by standing armies of professional soldiers; the *judicium parium* of the municipal *Schöffengerichte* was supplanted by learned judges. Soldiers were quartered by-and-by on the towns, and the citizens had to bear heavy burdens to maintain them by local taxes. The municipal court of law was changed into a right of appointing local judges.

The duties of the police were exercised through officers according to the laws of the empire and to the edicts of the territorial sovereign. State commissaries and State boards undertake the supreme control over these functions.

The *financial* side of municipal self-government decayed through the change that took place in the great routes of commerce and of international traffic, in consequence partly of the incredible devastations of the Thirty Years' War (which had carried off more than one-half of the population), and partly, and in quite as great measure, in consequence of the narrow-minded jealousy of the trades guilds and the abuse of profitable privileges. The towns as well as the landed gentry devoted their whole thought and energy to the maintenance of their privileges and immunities. The territorial princes looked on the towns as only convenient bodies of taxpayers who enabled them to keep up their standing armies—consequently their chief endeavour was constantly to raise the local excise; whilst at the same time the village communes had become for them the chief recruiting depôts, and the bearers of the land tax and of countless contributions in kind for the army. In the year 1806, when the kingdom of Prussia broke down under the blows of the French Emperor, the entire landed gentry in the Mark Brandenburg, paid to the State the scanty sum of 20,700 thaler (the thaler at 3s.) a year, the peasantry had to raise 630,000 thaler, whilst the boroughs (most of them small and poor) had to raise 2,500,000 thaler by means of a local excise; a state of things which reveals the glaring misplacement of all State burdens, and which provoked the great reforms of the famous Freiherr von Stein, now known also in England through the excellent work of Mr. Seeley.

In the meantime a degeneration of the municipal corporations had set in, analogous to that of English boroughs. Mayor and aldermen generally filled up their places by co-optation from a small number of hereditary freemen, or they were appointed by the State authorities. These patricians of the German townships monopolized influence, patronage, and sometimes even the contraction of debts in the name of the town. The taxes for the expenses of the borough appeared so insignificant in comparison with those paid to the State, that instead of regular representation of the tax-payers, only a few privileged guilds or select burgesses took part in the administration, or the citizens were not represented at all. The mass of the urban population was absolutely passive in the same manner as the rural peasantry had degenerated into serfs. Poverty, sloth, and want of public spirit had quickly undermined the vitality of the State of Frederic the Great.

After great disasters the State revived through the *laws of Stein and Hardenberg*, one of the most important of which is the organiza-



tion of the Prussian municipalities (*Städteordnung*) of November 19, 1808.

The *magistratical* self-government was revived in the Court of Mayor and Aldermen (*Magistrat*). The ancient city court of jurisdiction was transferred to judges appointed by the king. The police functions were administered by the mayor or a competent alderman in the name of, and under responsibility to, the State authorities. To these State functions were added some supplementary duties of the military administration and of the assessment of taxes.

The *financial* self-government was now placed under the control of a *Town Council*, elected by the citizens, which managed the administration of the town property and revenues, of the relief of the poor, the maintenance of streets, highways, schools, and of town improvements, in great independence, through the Court of Mayor and Aldermen—their executive—subject to the superior control of the State authorities.

Before 1808 the *community of burgesses* consisted of the house-owners and the tradesmen of the town; henceforth every honest inhabitant was entitled to obtain the rights of burgess-ship (*Bürgerbrief*) for a moderate fee. Houseowners and tradesmen were *obliged* to obtain this right. The franchise in the municipal elections was restricted to a personal income of 200 thaler (£30); in lesser towns to an income of 150 thaler. This municipal reform of 1808 was also introduced into *Berlin*, which had in former centuries coalesced from the townships of Berlin, Köln, and Friedrichswerder.

The subsequent alterations in the body of citizens (*Bürgerschaft*) were the necessary consequences of the introduction of freedom of trade, and of freedom of change of residence (*Freizügigkeit*). Nowadays the right of burgess-ship is no longer acquired through a "*Bürgerbrief*," but the resident inhabitant becomes a burgess by virtue of the *law*, bearing the burdens and exercising the rights of such, and he obtains the electoral franchise after a year's residence. In the meantime the increase of the poor-rate, of the school-rate, and of the expenditure on municipal improvements, has raised the urban taxation so high that the "three-class system" of the franchise which has obtained in the Prussian Constitution since 1849, has been adopted also for municipal elections. According to this system the tax-payers of the city are grouped into three classes in proportion to the amount of the direct urban taxes they pay: the most highly rated citizens, who pay among themselves one-third of the entire sum levied, form the *first* class of electors; a larger body of middle-class ratepayers, contributing by themselves another third of the municipal taxes, form the *second* class; the small taxpayers, paying among themselves the last third, form the *third* class. Each class elects one-third of the town councillors by an open vote. Con-

sidering the infinite variety of systems of direct taxation resulting from the excessive autonomy of German towns, there was scarcely another practical system to be adopted than this—a system, distinguished by its elastic proportionality between burdens and electoral franchise, easily adapting itself everywhere to the different modes of property and of taxation, and to the relative value of money—a system which has hitherto held its ground in spite of repeated attacks.

The favourable results of this system spring from the leading principles which distinguish the German system from the French and its imitations.

The *first* leading principle is the formation of a *permanent Court of Aldermen*, apart from the Town Council. On account of the important magistratical functions which this body performs, it cannot dispense with professional officials. These paid members, trained in the school of the administration of justice and of the higher civil service of the State, are chosen for a period of twelve years—the mayor may even be elected for life, a right which is, however, seldom used. But to keep the balance in favour of the non-professional citizen element, the law prescribes that the *greater* number of aldermen must consist of unpaid honorary members, chosen for a term of six years; so that every third year one-third of the members resigns. It is the continuity of this court that has given to the municipality a consistency, and that steadiness of rule which is so desirable for all communities.

The *second* principle is the proportionate *gradation of the franchise* according to the measure of the *duties* performed for the community—the only principle in the history of States and of communes that has proved strong enough to resist the constant agitations for the extension of the franchise. The assembly thus formed has, as such, only the power of deliberation and of resolution, especially in regard to the framing of the budget.

The *third principle* is to carry out as much as possible the *personal union* between the executive and the legislative organs of the administration. The Court of Mayor and Aldermen is the executive organ of the *central* administration only; but all its important branches are decentralized under the direction of aldermen with a strong assistance of town councillors and of other select citizens; and for the details of the most laborious business local committees have been formed in the wards. Already in the “*Städteordnung*” of 1808 the principle has been carried through, that the citizens obtain the franchise after a year’s residence, but that they are also obliged to accept election to the Town Council and every other honorary office in the commune, on penalty of forfeiting the franchise, and of having their taxes raised by one-sixth or even one-third in case of refusal.

This last clause contains the vital principle which has been carried

out, and has been maintained with iron consistency in all the municipal constitutions (urban and rural) of the kingdom of Prussia since the reforms of 1808. On the bases of this keystone of self-government, a total reform of the constitution of provinces, departments, and districts was executed in the years 1872 to 1875, having for its object the introduction of self-government by justices of the peace in the rural districts, and the introduction of administrative courts of justice analogous to the Quarter and Special Sessions of England. It is this principle that has saved the German communes from the shipwreck which municipal institutions suffer, if in the party strife of social classes those reform bills are nothing but the offerings made by the highest bidder to "public opinion," with a constant widening of the franchise and a constant abatement of the personal duties of citizenship. Thus the German communes continue to be real "communitates," and a proper basis for a House of Commons.

From these main characteristics of the system I hope that the following sketch of the administration of Berlin will become intelligible. The dates referring to the special questions of organization are taken from the "*Personalnachweisung der Berliner Gemeindeverwaltung*," Berlin, 1881 (570 pages), this being the last official publication on the subject; whilst for the practical results of the administration I refer to the "*Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin*," herausgegeben von Richard Böckh, Director des Statistischen Amtes der Stadt Berlin, 1883. At the end of the present year a new division of the metropolis into 326 wards will be put in force, but this is not yet completed, and could therefore not be made use of for my present purpose. Occasionally, however, the *latest* dates are given from the archives of the city authorities or from other publications.

"A. *The Central Administration of Berlin* is in the hands of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen (*Magistrat*) and the Town Council (*Stadtverordneten-Versammlung*), assisted by a moderate number of select citizens (*Bürgerdeputirte*) and a numerous staff of clerks and lower officers.

I. *The Court of Mayor and Aldermen* consists of the mayor and thirty-two aldermen (*Stadträthe*), fifteen of whom are paid, whilst seventeen receive no salary whatever.

The mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*, at present Herr von Forckenberg, late President of the German Diet) is chosen for a period of twelve years by the Town Council, whereupon he is presented to the king for approval. He enjoys an income of £1,500 (30,000 marks; 1 mark=1s.) but no official residence. He exercises a general control and direction over the members of the Court of Aldermen, and an extensive authority over the clerks and servants, and is almost absolute in the disposal and distribution of business.

The *fifteen paid aldermen* comprise the deputy-mayor, two legal advisers (*Stadtsyndici*), a treasurer (*Stadtkämmerer*), two school councillors, two architects, and seven ordinary aldermen. All are elected for twelve years by the Town Council, but must be approved by the Government. As their salaries (varying from 6,000 to 15,000 marks) are higher than those of the judges of local courts and of the higher civil servants, it is not to be wondered at that the administration of the city attracts a number of capable men carefully trained in that excellent school of public servants, the Prussian Civil Service. Moreover, the continuity and moral independence of this board is secured by the practice of either re-electing these aldermen at the expiration of their twelve years' service, or of allowing them to retire on a liberal pension secured by law.

The *seventeen unpaid aldermen* (*unbesoldete Stadträtbe*) are chosen for six years by the Town Council. They are generally taken from the higher class of citizens (the same class which supplies English boroughs with their justices of the peace), and chiefly from the members of the Town Council who have distinguished themselves for years in the different departments of the administration. The office is considered highly honourable; the man who undertakes it must be of considerable wealth and intelligence, as he holds in every way the same position and takes upon himself the same duties as the paid alderman. These men, too, may be, and generally are re-elected at the end of six years; so that the continuity of administrative experience is by no means impaired by this honorary element; whilst these unpaid members impart to the whole body of aldermen that spirit of manly independence which has proved most beneficial in stormy times.

The Council of Aldermen is indeed the soul of the government of the city. That this board has been able to control the wide range of the important interests of a community of about 1,300,000 inhabitants is due to an excellent division of labour, which has gradually developed itself in the management of the business.

The royal sanction for the election of members was retained in the municipal reforms of 1808, because mayor and aldermen exercised the police and other important functions of government in the name of the king and under responsibility to the laws of the land. But this royal sanction is under ordinary circumstances almost a matter of form: it is only in times of violent political conflicts that the Ministry has attempted to consult the interests of a political party in the exercise of this power, but always under vehement protest and without success. The practical object of this prerogative of the Crown is seen in the smaller boroughs, where, for the badly paid posts of mayor and aldermen inferior persons are sometimes elected, unqualified to exercise functions of magistrate. But even here instances of rejec-

tion are rare, and the circumstance that the majority of the aldermen must be honorary members of independent means proves a strong obstacle to making this body subservient to political party interests. The same holds true, even in a higher degree, of the committees of the administration of the town which are composed almost exclusively of unpaid functionaries.

In the metropolis, with its wide range of business, mayor and aldermen as a body are satisfied with a *general control* of affairs, the exercise of the patronage to the *paid* offices, the control of the treasury and accounts, the representation of the city in its various relations to the outer world, the correspondence with the departments of the Government, and the transaction of business with the Town Council; whilst the vast amount of special business is divided among the special committees (*Deputations*) to be mentioned lower down. One ordinary sitting a week (sometimes supplemented by a second extraordinary meeting) suffices therefore for the transaction of the general business. The tendency has been in general towards a decentralization for which the law has left free scope. In spite of the enormous increase of the population, which has doubled in twenty-five years, the Magistracy of Berlin has hitherto been able to bear the heavy weight of public business.

II. *The Town Council (Die Stadtverordneten-Versammlung)* forms a separate body of 126, with its freely chosen chairman and deputy-chairman. The Town Council is supreme in the drawing up of the ordinary budget of the year and in allowing extraordinary expenses. It exercises an important patronage through the election of the mayor and aldermen and of numerous *unpaid* functionaries. There is a standing committee of fifteen councillors for auditing accounts, a committee of ten for the exercise of patronage of the unpaid offices, a committee of five for considering if there is any reasonable legal objection to be made against the patronage of the Court of Aldermen. Long public debates usually take place in the Town Council with the chamberlain and other members of the Court of Aldermen, before the budget for the services of the next year is balanced and settled. As a body, the Council has no share in the executive, but individually its members take part in all administrative Committees for which they are considered to be qualified. The special branches of administration mentioned below are, as a rule, composed of a considerable number of town councillors, whilst the aldermen appear in the position of chairmen and as principal members. Besides these functions, the councillor has to take an especial interest in the affairs of the ward which he represents, where he is *ex officio* member of the ward committee for the relief of the poor. It is a result of the serious work expected from town councillors that political agitators feel little inclination to

enter that body, and that the few political wire-pullers chosen to represent a party, in a short time either assimilate themselves to this spirit of self-government or disappear from the assembly. It is true that in a period of great political excitement party spirit runs high in the elections for the Town Council; and during the last election Social Democrats and Conservatives did all in their power to influence the elections. But such agitations have no success except among taxpayers of the third class, and the comparatively few members who owe their election entirely to such manoeuvres get assimilated by a pretty regular process of digestion. Demagogues have as yet not found a favourable soil for their activity in a commune which governs its own affairs through *more than 10,000 men* belonging to the wealthier part of the middle classes.

The three-class system mentioned above exhibits a somewhat anomalous inequality in the metropolis, where many large incomes are crowded together. In consequence of this accumulation, the number of electors of the higher classes is very small in comparison with that of the third class.

The *first* class of electors (which pays altogether one-third of the local taxes) comprised at the last election 3,196 members; the *second* consisted of 15,905 members; the *third* class, the small taxpayers, numbered 166,094 members. In the elections of 1860, before the introduction of a high income-tax, the numbers had been—first, 2,000; second, 6,000; third, 32,000. Each of these three classes chooses now 42 town councillors. The total number has risen very little since 1808, because a larger number is found impracticable for the discussion of questions of *administration*. As the meetings of the Town Council are public (with the exception of those in which purely personal questions are transacted), and as the discussions are published in the newspapers, it is feared that Town Councils of some hundred members would be too much inclined to imitate the tone of parliamentary debates—a tendency which even now makes itself felt in large towns, though the subjects discussed seem little fitted for a display of oratorical powers.

The three-class system has usually this effect on the elections in large towns, that the first and the second class vote in a Liberal, partly even in a "Progressist" sense; whilst in the third class, Conservative, Radical, and Socialistic tendencies make themselves felt. But the endeavours of the present Conservative Government to back up the Liberal majority have had exactly the opposite effect.

III. A supplementary element to the two bodies hitherto described is formed by 70 *select citizens* (*Bürgerdeputirte*), who are "co-opted" by the Town Council from distinguished citizens, to help in the general committees for the relief of the poor, for the administration.

Under this ruling staff of 230 aldermen, town councillors, and select citizens—who, with the exception of the 15 professional aldermen, are *honorary* officials and persons of independent means, and who in all committees work and vote side by side without any difference of rank—stands a numerous staff of clerks and servants, viz.:—

182 City sergeants and servants.

*B. The Departments of Magistratical Self-Government* correspond in general to the chief functions of the justices of the peace in an English borough, though with a different distribution of business and various extensions of those functions. They may be considered as *assistant* organs of the administration of justice, as *principal* organs of the police, as *supplementary* organs of the administration of the army and of the finances of the State.

The *Courts of Assizes*, consisting of three judges and twelve jurymen, pass sentence in capital cases and felonies of the higher class. The annual list of jurors is drawn up by a commission formed by the local judge as chairman, one commissioner of the civil administration, and seven citizens chosen by the Town Council. There is no property clause, but some classes of society are exempt from the duty of serving on a jury—namely, all persons under thirty, menial servants, and by reason of profession, judges, clergymen,

schoolmasters are excused ; men above sixty-five, physicians, chemists, and such people as protest "that they are unable to bear the expenses a juror is liable to." In conformity with this clause, the commission chiefly selects persons of the first and second class of ratepayers. The lot decides which of the men in the annual list are to serve in each single session, and their appearance is enforced by heavy fines.

For the trial of *minor criminal cases*—corresponding to the English summary convictions—small courts are formed (*Schöffengerichte*), consisting of the local judge and two citizen assessors (law-men, *Echévins*, *Schöffen*), with a full and equal vote. The lists of jurors serve at the same time as *Schöffensliste*. From these lesser courts there lies an appeal to the superior courts ; from the assizes, a writ of error to the Imperial High Tribunal.

A civil jury is not adopted in Germany ; but in lawsuits on commercial questions a peculiar formation of the court takes place in the larger commercial towns, the divisions of the court in such cases consisting of a judge and two merchant assessors, each with a full vote. There are seven such commercial divisions in the County Court of the capital.

Another supplement to the administration of justice are the arbitrators (*Schiedsmänner*), one of whom, aided by a deputy, is elected for every ward. In every civil lawsuit the plaintiff may summon his opponent before this co-arbitrator, and the agreements here entered are as valid as the judgments of the law courts. Common actions for slander (*Injurienklagen*) are not admitted by the law courts before the parties are summoned to appear before the arbitrator. It is just in these cases that this institution proves most efficient.

There were in the last year 402 citizens summoned to do active service as jurors, 1,478 citizens as *Schöffen* ; add to these a number of commercial assessors, and about 400 arbitrators.

In a wider sense the law courts are connected with the guardians of orphans (*Gemeinde-Waisenrülhe*), who assist the courts as mediators in the selection and control of guardians, in the education of fatherless orphans and of illegitimate children. The small committees formed for this purpose in the wards of the city are composed of 171 chairmen, 636 citizens, and some hundred resident ladies.

At last we have to add the offices of *registrars* of civil marriages, births, and deaths. There are thirteen such offices in the metropolis. The registrar receives a considerable salary, and is a man of higher education and social standing. The entire cost (167,000 marks) is defrayed by the town treasury.

II. The *administration of the police* is in German towns the core of the magistratical self-government. The German system,



however, rests on a systematic separation of justice and administration.

So far as justice is administered by summary *conviction*, the jurisdiction (even in the most trifling cases) is exercised by the ordinary law courts, and in all cases an appeal is open to the superior courts. The police authorities play in this case only the part of prosecutor (*Polizeianwaltschaft*). The police magistrates are restricted, therefore, to the *administrative* police in its full and vast extent. In the large majority of towns this power of issuing orders is exercised by the mayor, under the authority of the State, with full responsibility of a State officer. But in the case of the metropolis and a few other large towns, there is reserved a direct administration of the police by the State authorities, for which a commissioner is appointed by the king. The exceptional position of Berlin in this respect has been justified on the ground that the person of the Sovereign, the highest governing bodies of the State, the Parliament, &c., could not safely be entrusted to the protection of a single municipality. The metropolitan police accordingly is committed to a Chief Commissioner (*Polizeipräsident*), assisted by a body of legal advisers in six divisions, the first of which decides certain questions, like a court of law "in banco." Under the control of the Chief Commissioner stands a paid constabulary of about 3,000 men, with their sergeants, inspectors, and a colonel-commandant. The personal pay of the administrative and executive officers in the metropolis is defrayed by the State, the other working expenses (amounting annually to 1,100,000 marks) are borne by the town. It is true that in former times the people had reason to complain of the arbitrary exercise of power by the police; but the complaint is no longer heard now.

As far as orders of removal of nuisances and analogous orders are concerned, the police is (in Berlin at least) in the hands of the Chief Commissioner; but after the late law reforms, against any order of this kind an appeal lies to the administrative courts of law (*Verwaltungsgerichte*). The highest instance is represented by a Supreme Court (*Oberverwaltungsgericht*) the thirteen members of which enjoy the same independence as those of the Imperial Supreme Court. In Berlin a complaint against the Chief Commissioner is lodged with a district court, four members of which are chosen by the Town Council; an appeal lies from this to the Supreme Court.

Finally, the higher and highest State authorities exercise a *general control* over the administrative police, with the power of annulling police measures and regulations, on the ground of equity and utility, in cases where the legality of those measures cannot be contested.

But even in the metropolis certain branches of the police service

which do not concern the proper preservation of the place, but the welfare of the public in general (*Wohlfahrtspolizei*), are detached from the domain of the Chief Commissioner and entrusted to the mayor and aldermen.

In the first place the *trade police* (*Gewerbepolizei*) is exercised as a control over the trade guilds, apprentices, friendly societies, provident societies, widows' funds, and similar institutions, by the city authorities. For these purposes a *Gewerbedeputation* is formed, consisting of five aldermen (including the chairman), eight town councillors, and eight select citizens (masters of trade and other competent men), who meet regularly twice a month for the transaction of business.

Another important branch of the police—in the hands of the city authorities—is the *street building police* (*Strassenbaupolizei*), concerning the approval of building projects, of streets, bridges, railways, the paving of streets and squares, &c.; a control exercised by the mayor personally and five aldermen as substitutes. Within the last ten years a great change has been effected in this respect. When the neighbouring towns of Berlin and Cöln an der Spree, were joined into one municipality as the residence of the Electors of Brandenburg, and developed into a town of European importance as residence of the kings of Prussia, the extension and improvement of the town were principally due to the Sovereigns, who as lords of the adjoining manors, bestowed gifts from the ancient demesne and various privileges on this their pet child. Streets and bridges especially were built according to the taste and desire of the Sovereign. So the anomalous practice had arisen of considering the maintenance of the streets and bridges of Berlin as the duty of the State. But when the town grew more and more rapidly, the State authorities, and in constitutional times the Parliament, were reluctant to grant the heavy sums required for the purpose. This was the principal reason of the wretched state of the pavements, the sewers, the bridges, the public conveyances, &c., which astonished the foreign visitor in former times. At length, in 1874, an agreement was arrived at between the city and the State, according to which the former should herself, for a compensation paid by the latter, undertake this her natural duty. At last, freed from the shackles of State assistance, the municipality has, with great energy and huge expenditure, set itself to the task of reforming, and has with astonishing rapidity provided Berlin with an excellent pavement, with new and handsome bridges, with improved hackney carriages, and the most complete system of tramways in Europe; has carried through a gigantic plan of canalization, and has secured a cheap and abundant supply of pure water. The foreigner who revisits Berlin after an absence of ten years finds that, under a united and energetic muni-

cipal administration, Berlin has risen to the rank of one of the splendid capitals of modern Europe.

In consequence of the introduction of an administrative jurisdiction in 1872, the Chief Commissioner of Police has been deprived of another important privilege. The granting of licenses for *beer and refreshment houses*, for the *retail sale* of spirits, and for several other trades, has been transferred from the Chief Commissioner to the *Stadtausschuss*—i.e., a committee consisting of the mayor and four aldermen, who in a public meeting decide whether the license should be granted, from which decision, however, an appeal may be taken to a higher court.

In a nearer connection with the police functions of the communal authorities stands, finally, the office of *ward provosts* (*Bezirksvorsteher*). The central government of the town requires some permanent local officers for its police functions, in the drawing up of the lists of the citizens for the elections, &c. Thus arose the office of the ward provosts, of whom there have existed hitherto 211, and as many deputies—all of them unpaid officers—which number will, in consequence of a redistribution of the wards, be increased to 326 at the end of this year.

III. The *military department of the public service* requires the co-operation of the communes in order to carry out the system of universal conscription, and to superintend the service in the militia (*Landwehr*). The task of enlisting is entrusted to enlisting commissions (*Ersatzcommissionen*), consisting of a civil commissioner, a staff officer, an army surgeon, and a considerable number of citizens; in Berlin at present an alderman and eighteen members of the Town Council and select citizens. The most rigorous conscientiousness in the performance of these responsible duties is required in order to maintain the strict principle of universal conscription.

Even more extensive is the business of the sixteen *militia commissions*, to which are entrusted the keeping of the lists and the control of the reserve forces and militiamen; 325 town councillors, select citizens, and other members, chosen for this purpose, are engaged on the militia commissions.

IV. The *financial department* of the State requires the co-operation of the communes in the assessment of the income-tax, which could not be properly levied without the assistance of communal assessment committees. The State income-tax is levied at present at the rate of three per cent. of the net income: the lower classes pay at a reduced rate; incomes below 900 marks remain untaxed. As the law gives only a certain number of rules in regard to this assessment, and as there is no obligation of making any special declarations, the task of assessing requires so accurate a knowledge of the affairs of one's neighbours as can only be procured in smaller communes

and wards. In Berlin not less than 3,396 commissioners are appointed in more than 200 divisions, corresponding to the wards of the town, presided over by commissioners and deputy-commissioners appointed by the Government. These ward commissions assess at the same time the communal income-tax, under the presidency of a city commissioner. For the assessment of joint-stock companies and other corporations, there exists a special commission, presided over by an alderman and consisting of six town councillors and about as many bankers, &c. As there are a great many appeals against the assessments, a court of review has been formed—a revising commission of citizens—who decide finally—in matters of the State income-tax under the presidency of a State commissary.

On account of the close connection of both assessments we will speak at once of those municipal taxes.

V. Since the year 1815, in Berlin a *house and rent tax* has been levied as the ordinary direct municipal tax, whilst the other towns of the monarchy exhibit a bewildering variety of systems of taxation, arising from the excessive autonomy of the German communes. This house and rent tax is levied, like the English poor-rate, in proportion to the amount of actual rent, or a rent at which the tenement is reasonably expected to be let. Of this annual rent the owner of the property pays at present  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., a very low rate indeed; but it must be borne in mind that the State claims a house tax of 4 per cent. The occupier pays at present a tax of  $6\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. of his rent. A compounding of rates is *not* allowed; but the tax of the smallest dwellings is often remitted. The assessment of this rate is made by a large assessment committee, called *Servisverordnete*,\* a name due to the fact that its members (310 at present) have to superintend the billeting or quartering of soldiers; although the practice of quartering the soldiers on the citizens is now rarely resorted to, as the barracks suffice for the standing garrisons. In regard to these taxes, too, cases of appeal are frequent; they are brought before four revising commissions, presided over by a town councillor. The decision of these commissions is final.

This ordinary city tax used in former times to be raised from time to time when the other sources of revenue did not prove sufficient. For this, other sources were restrained to a modest share in a State tax on malt liquors, to a local tax on dogs, and to several fees and duties. The excise, which used to be levied on *meat* and *breadstuffs* (*Mahl und Schlachtsteuer*) had in modern times to be abandoned according to the modern principles of taxation, and on account of an impossibility of levying it. So it became at last unavoidable to supply the budget by a direct urban income tax, introduced by bye-laws of the city, and raised according to the principles of the

State income tax. The rate of this municipal income tax is at present in Berlin quite as high as the State income tax (3 per cent. of the income), and the assessment combined with that of the latter. For a general control of the levying of all municipal taxes a central-board (*Steuer- und Einquartierungs-Deputation*) has been formed, consisting of five aldermen, twenty-two town councillors, and seven select citizens, divided into three divisions, with a numerous staff of clerks and 230 paid tax collectors.

C. *The different branches of the Financial Self-Government* correspond in general to the functions which the old English law laid upon the *parishes*, or which, under the new system, are performed by the boards of guardians, sanitary boards, highway boards, school boards, and by the town councils as administrators of the property of the borough. Whilst, in the magistratical self-government, functions of the State are performed by municipal organs: in the following section, the original functions of the communes are performed under the control of the State authorities. It is to the praise of the German communes that they have preserved to the citizens a high degree of constant and independent activity in this department.

I. *The relief of the poor* is in Germany independent of a central poor-law board, nor does it rest upon a system of poor-law unions, workhouses, and relieving officers; nor upon any such organization as prevails in the English Local Government Board. Legislation has been satisfied with a plain law of settlement, which charges the town and village communes with the maintenance of their poor (among whom, also, those casual poor are included who do not belong to the parish). In certain cases, the provincial communities are under obligation to aid the small communes; but all the detail of the administration is left to the judgment of the self-governing communes, reserving the right of the State authority to interfere in case of abuses which occur in small boroughs or villages. However, it must be borne in mind that in Germany poverty and distress have not yet assumed so acute a form as in many parts of Great Britain.

For the administration of the relief given to the poor, Berlin forms one united local and provincial district, and defrays the necessary expenses out of the *general* revenue of the town. The supreme direction is entrusted to a central committee (the *Armen-Directiön*), consisting of an alderman as chairman, eight other aldermen (among these one of the two legal advisers, the treasurer, and one of the two school councillors), seventeen town councillors, and ten select citizens, with a staff of clerks and servants. This body exercises a general direction, corresponding with other public offices, controlling bills and accounts, &c. The special work of relief is performed by 223 local poor commissions, corresponding with the wards of the

metropolis, presided over by a chairman, who receives 180 marks a year for his clerk, and must be in his office one hour every morning to give audience to applicants. The commission is formed of between four and twelve citizens as honorary members, and the town councillor of the district as *ex officio* member. 1594 citizens are thus employed, conscientiously and thoroughly performing the duties of relieving officers. Pecuniary aid is generally granted in monthly instalments, from three marks to thirty marks and more, according to the requirements of the case. For children under fourteen, extra assistance, from four to ten marks monthly, is granted. For temporary distress, temporary assistance. In winter, fuel is distributed and soup-kitchens are established, for the use of which tickets are issued. Moreover, certain lands belonging to the city are let out to the poor, who plant potatoes on them. Medical assistance and medicines are given gratuitously: the sick are nursed in hospitals, the dead are buried at the public expense. Idiots deaf and dumb, and neglected children of poor parents are taken care of in institutions maintained by the municipality (a workhouse exists only for vagabonds or for altogether *unworthy* persons). Eighty-one physicians for the poor are employed by this board, twenty-three of whom give their special services gratis. 182 men (*Stadt-Sergeanten*) are engaged by this board to go on errands and to watch the people in the workhouse. The board of guardians for the poor takes also care of the neglected children, who are to be placed in private families or in private industrial schools. There are special boards of trustees for the great City Orphan Asylum, for the Friedrich-Wilhelm Hospital, for the workhouse, and for the instruction of blind children. A number of hospitals (eight) exist for poor people invalided by age, under boards of guardians. Add to these a number of foundation hospitals for invalids, which, however, no longer suffice for the purpose, owing to the rapid growth of the town. For the homeless poor and homeless families two asylums are maintained by the town with the co-operation of private charity. The whole cost of the relief of the poor amounted in the year 1881-82 to 5,204,648 marks, from which sum 635,711 marks must be deducted as a revenue derived from this source. The pay of the physicians for the poor amounted to 45,503 marks; the cost of the administration itself to 46,617 marks.

II. *The building and the sanitary departments* of the metropolis have to meet the same wants which have made the administration of London and Paris so enormously expensive. In Berlin, too, these departments have to maintain costly institutions and a large number of paid officers.

For the execution of the numerous municipal buildings (offices, schools, bridges, &c.), a municipal *building committee* (*Baucom-*

*mission*) has been formed, under an (unpaid) alderman, as chairman, of eight other aldermen (two of whom are the city architects), and sixteen town councillors, meeting in two divisions, one for buildings *above* ground, the other for those *below* ground. For both, fourteen building inspectors are at work, with their clerks.

A municipal *fire brigade* was founded in 1851, and is maintained (1882 = 1,428,000 marks) at the expense of the municipality. It has gradually become a model institution of the kind. This force, in a military formation, consists of a director, nine officers, twenty-three telegraph clerks, 750 men, under the supreme government of the Chief Commissioner of the Police.

For the *cleaning and watering* of the streets a special board has been appointed, consisting of four aldermen, eight town councillors, ten inspectors. The surface of streets to be cleaned is calculated at 6,078,000 square mètres. The removal of dirt and of snow, as well as the watering of the streets in summer, has been let to private undertakers.

The great network of the streets of Berlin has been covered within the last fifteen years with a vast *system of tramways*, the working of which has been abandoned to a joint-stock company, with the obligation of providing all the streets in which tramways are laid down with the *best* pavement, and of paying over to the municipality a certain percentage of its gains—a source of revenue for the town which will in a few years amount to a million marks a year.

The surface of the streets of Berlin, the *paving* of which has been undertaken by the municipality, is calculated at 4,281,845 square mètres. According to the importance of the neighbourhood, a scale of pavement has been fixed upon—*asphalt, wood, iron*; for the most part, however, *stone pavement* of eight different classes.

The streets of Berlin are in general *lighted with gas*; a few of the leading thoroughfares with electric light. Originally an English company obtained a monopoly for the manufacture of gas for twenty-five years. At the expiration of that time the town itself undertook the making of gas, without, however, excluding the English company from competing. The Board of Control (*Curatorium der Gaswerke*) consists at present of two aldermen, five town councillors, two select citizens, with an executive staff of directors, clerks, and bookkeepers, for the five chief establishments, and of nine district inspectors. The municipal gasworks produced in 1882, 65,000,000 cubic mètres of gas; the English company, in 1881, 27,075,000 cubic mètres. These establishments furnish at present an excellent gas at a low price (1*s.* 5*d.* the cubic mètre); the revenue derived from this source amounts to 13,317,702 marks; the annual cost to 9,331,400 marks.

The *water supply*, also, is in the hands of the municipal

authorities. There are two enormous conduits, which provide the town with a sufficient quantity of water for a moderate water-rate. This institution is controlled by a board of two aldermen, four town councillors, two select citizens, under the direction of two first-rate engineers and five inspectors. The revenue derived from this item amounted in 1881-82 to 4,134,924 marks; the expenditure to 3,098,557 marks.

A work of even vaster dimensions is a *complete system of sewerage (Canalisation)*. The whole city is divided into seven districts (radial systems), in each of which a central pump-work has been established, by which the sewage is forced into the sewers. The valuable material is spread by a network of pipes over large fields (*Rieselfelder*), which produce rich harvests of vegetables and fruit. Several manors had to be bought in the neighbourhood of the city, and more will have to be purchased, in proportion as the work advances, which will soon be completed. The whole work is executed by one chief engineer, a man highly eminent in his profession. The completed divisions are managed by an inspector and a machinist; the farms by a staff of inspectors, gardeners, and drain-masters. It is difficult to say whether this system will suffice for ever; but it has effectually stopped the serious complaints formerly heard about the Berlin sewers. The work is maintained by an annual sewerage-rate of one per cent. of the annual rent.

The *Sanitary Department* of the administration has been slower to attain its due importance in Berlin than in other capitals; the comparatively healthy situation of the town, and the wide and open streets prevented for some time a full appreciation of the dangers of so vast an accumulation of human beings. But the city authorities are now fully alive to these dangers, as appears from the reform of the sewerage system spoken of above. Two commissions have been formed for the control of health; one, *The General Board of Health*, under the Chief Commissioner of Police as chairman, consisting of aldermen, town councillors, physicians, and other experts; another, *The Municipal Board of Health*, chiefly for the control of the city hospitals and public health institutions, formed of the mayor, six aldermen, twelve town councillors, four select citizens.

A model institution, provided with all the newest improvements, is the great *City Hospital* in the *Friedrichs-Hain*, finished in 1874. Besides this, there is the flying hospital at Moabit, a suburb of Berlin, two hospitals for sick invalids, and the recently built magnificent lunatic asylum at Dalldorf, which is considered a model institution. An even larger sphere of action, it is true, is that of the great Royal Hospital (*Charité*), to which we must add a number of foundation hospitals. There are also baths and washhouses and public river-baths, established by the municipality.



In order to guarantee the sound condition of butchers' meat, and in the interest of cleanliness, a central *cattle yard* was opened in 1881. This vast establishment stands under a board of three aldermen, six town councillors, two select citizens, and a large staff of inspectors. Since October 1, 1882, slaughtering in private houses is prohibited, all slaughtering and microscopic inspection now being concentrated in this vast establishment.

To assure instantaneous medical attendance in case of accidents, so-called "sanitary watches" have been founded in different parts of the town, chiefly by private charity. All sanitary establishments are greatly fostered by the circumstance that the number of physicians who have received a thorough and uniform medical training is very large at Berlin.

III. The *maintenance of elementary schools* has always been a task laid on the communes, in a higher degree since the introduction of compulsory education by Frederick William I. in Prussia. The communes may charge school pence to defray the heavy cost of the institution, but Berlin has, for about twenty years, made no use of this concession and charges no school fees in the elementary schools. All separate elementary schools for the children of the poor are abolished; in consequence of this reform, 118 large communal schools existed in 1881, and every year adds to the number. There are now about 2,000 elementary classes for boys and 2,000 for girls. The School Board (*Schul-Deputation*), which exercises a supreme control over these schools, consists of six aldermen, ten town councillors, eleven select citizens, the four superintendents of the Evangelical dioceses, and the dean of the Catholic churches. Eighty-seven school commissions are formed to control the attendance at school, each of which consists of a chairman and some distinguished inhabitants of the ward—1,258 citizens being thus employed. The technical direction of these schools is in the hands of one alderman "school councillor," assisted by six paid inspectors of schools. The teaching staff consists at present of 142 rectors (head-masters), 1,471 teachers, 734 schoolmistresses, 515 technical instructors. The cost of the elementary schools amounted in 1881–2 to 5,052,948 marks.

But the autonomy and the wealth of the older German cities had already in former centuries encouraged the foundation of *grammar schools*, and in modern times the system of higher education has made rapid progress in the towns of Germany. The municipality of Berlin maintains at present ten *gymnasiums* (grammar schools with Latin and Greek), seven *Realschulen* (modern side), two *Gewerbeschulen* (technical schools), and four high schools for girls—all very full (an attendance of 800 at each being the average). These schools occupy a staff of 487 graduated masters, fifty technical teachers, and thirty-eight schoolmistresses, all of whom receive a somewhat higher

salary than the teachers employed by the Government schools. Of the latter there are at Berlin now only six—viz., four *gymnasiums*, one *Realschule*, and one high school for girls. Those higher municipal schools are under the immediate control of the Court of Aldermen, and (like the Government schools) under a higher control of the royal *Provinzial-Schulcollegium*, which watches over the general efficiency of these schools without interfering more than is absolutely necessary with the arrangements of the city authorities.

A number of *middle-class* and *special schools* have been added of late. The former try to give a sound practical education, with the exclusion of the classical tongues.

A pet child of the city authorities is an institution to allow apprentices and clerks to keep up and to enlarge the knowledge obtained at school after they have left it. Twelve such *Fortbildungsschulen* have been founded of late under the control of a special Curatorium. There exist also *Sunday classes* for young people of both sexes, which are doing a great deal of good among the lower classes; these, too, though they depend chiefly on private subscription, are under the control of members of the Town Council.

An important supplement of the public education in Germany are gymnastic exercises (*das Turnen*); a large gymnasium, in the English sense of the word, is attached to each municipal school, and besides these there is a great model *Turn-Halle*. This branch, too, is under a special board of aldermen, town councillors, and select citizens.

Besides these municipal schools there still exist some ninety *private schools* for the higher and middle classes of the population. But they find it more and more difficult to compete with the well-organized and well-endowed public schools. Most of them are high schools for girls. But they too must submit to a control exercised by a special board, consisting of a city inspector of schools and a number of select citizens.

In the *higher* schools maintained by the town a moderate fee has to be paid (about £4 a year), which covers part of the expenses; the total contribution of the city for these higher schools amounted in 1880-81 to 1,088,752 marks; for gymnastic instruction, 115,752 marks; for the *Nachhülfschulen*, 61,588 marks.

Finally, it should be mentioned that there are twenty-two public libraries, generally entrusted to rectors of schools, which lend out instructive books free of any charge.

IV. *The administration of the old town property*, which was the original object of the municipal institutions, has gradually dwindled down into a supplementary part, since the chief source of revenue in modern times is derived from the taxes of the inhabitants. However, even now the property of many German municipalities is of

considerable importance, and it has augmented of late by a creation of invested funds. 'In the year 1878 the property of Berlin was estimated at 45,970,000 marks in buildings; 61,542,000 marks in land; 35,244,500 marks in the movables of municipal institutes; 4,597,400 marks in stores; 2,009,600 marks value of ground-rents; 5,075,750 marks in shares and stocks. This property is balanced by a municipal debt of 129,345,917 marks (in 1882); of which sum, however, 112,864,360 marks are mortgaged on gas- and water-works and other remunerative establishments, the revenue derived from which more than covers the annual interest of that debt. Of municipal debts, properly speaking, there are not more than 16,783,933 marks, and these are so safely covered by the tenfold amount of the active property that the obligations of the city maintain the same course as the Prussian national debt.

It is true that the annual revenue derived from the town property is comparatively small, as the buildings are mostly used for administrative purposes, and as a considerable part of the land is utilized for pleasure-grounds and public parks. Still, the public income from the town property was in the year 1881-82: from buildings, 286,580 marks (minus 78,064 for expenses of administration); 106,645 marks from ground let out for fuel-yards and for warehousing goods; 72,377 marks for land let out to be farmed (minus 27,202 marks for administrative expenses); 62,578 marks from the stone-quarries of Rüdersdorf; about 140,000 marks from the letting of tradesmen's stalls in the markets, and from other duties and fees;—total, 559,605 marks net revenue. The landed property of the town is extremely valuable when sold for building purposes; but, on the other hand, the city is often obliged to pay enormous sums for sites of schools and other institutions. The intricate management of these sales and purchases is entrusted to a special board (*Grundeigentumsdeputation*) of five aldermen and ten town councillors.

An immense benefit has been bestowed on the population of Berlin by the laying out of large and beautiful *parks*, public *gardens*, and *squares*, and by the planting of a great number of streets with trees. For this purpose a special board has been formed of six aldermen, ten town councillors, and four select citizens, which has also undertaken the care of the public monuments. The munificence of the municipality is, however, surpassed by that of the kings, who have from of old devoted to the benefit of the inhabitants the royal park (*Thiergarten*), which is now almost surrounded by buildings: this park has an area of about 600 acres, representing (as building ground) a capital of between 200 and 300 million marks.

The excellent condition of the finances has enabled the metropolis to found a number of *institutions of credit* on the security of the wealth of the town.

One of the most important is the municipal *savings bank*, which is authorized by law to receive deposits from one mark upward, and manages the investment of these deposits (now amounting to 50,000,000 marks usually), paying an interest of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., under the control of a *curatorium* of two aldermen, three town councillors, one select citizen. There are thirty-nine offices, in which deposits are received from the public in the different parts of the town.

Another institute of this kind is the municipal *fire insurance office*, which the houseowners of Berlin are obliged to join. The value of the buildings insured in the City Insurance Office was in 1881-2=2,010,306,000 marks. A board of six aldermen, assisted by a number of certified master masons and carpenters, are entrusted with the assessment of the buildings, and the estimating of the indemnities to be awarded. Insurance in this municipal office is very cheap, owing to the solid character of the buildings and the excellency of the fire brigade—the annual premium amounting to five or six pfennings ( $\frac{1}{2}$ d.) per 100 marks.

In the interests of the credit of real property, the municipality keeps up an institute of *letters of mortgage* (*Pfandbriefamt*), under the guarantee of the commune, which issues, on varying terms, letters of mortgage at 4,  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , and 5 per cent. Up to the end of the year 1881 loans had been obtained from this institute on 1,224 houses, to an amount of 110,262,784 marks. This banking institute is managed by a municipal commissary and some paid directors.

For the management of the financial operations in connection with the contraction of loans by the municipality a consultative board of finances (*Finanzdeputation*) has been appointed, under the presidency of the town treasurer, consisting of five aldermen and eleven town councillors.

V. Finally, we add here the exercise of *Church patronage* by the town, a right which lays upon the municipality a considerable burden of expenses. The permanent courts of aldermen of the German municipalities have always appeared to be most appropriate representatives of church advowsons, which, according to the constitution of the German Church, are charged with heavy contributions to the building of churches and parsonages. For this very reason these rights have been preserved unimpaired, like all honours which entail heavy expenses. Of the thirty large Evangelical parishes of the metropolis, almost one-half (the older ones) stand under the patronage of the municipality; the newer ones under that of the king. Each parish has, according to the new Church laws, a numerous council of churchwardens, and a still more numerous body of church representatives. In the former of these bodies the mayor and aldermen are represented by one of their number (*Patronatsvertreter*). The right of nomination to the Church livings has

always been exercised by the Court of Aldermen in a proper manner. The town spent for Church purposes in the year 1881-82 the sum of 55,556 marks. In connection with the exercise of this patronage is the administration of the burial-places belonging to the churches.

If we, finally, sum up the manifold branches of this intricate system—

*D. The comprehensive Unity of the Municipal Administration* will become apparent in the unity of the *budget*, which has been thus stated in the statistical Jahrbuch of the year 1883 (according to a scheme agreed upon in international statistics):—

*A.—Budget of the Municipality of Berlin for 1881-82.*

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
I.—1.	Direct taxes . . . 23,133,468 m.	I.—1.	Local police . . . 1,099,811 m.
2.	Indirect taxes . . . 646,884 „	2.	Cleaning of streets . 1,431,429 „
II.—1.	From real property . 642,871 „	3.	Lighting „ . . . 1,283,547 „
2.	„ chattels . . . 592,037 „	4.	Night watch and fire brigade . 1,710,158 „
3.	„ establishments ( <i>vide B.</i> ) . . . 4,373,158 „	II.—1.	Maintaining of streets . . . 401,184 „
4.	Rent from public places, &c. . . 460,018 „	2.	Laying out of new streets . . . 1,063,203 „
5.	Sale of Activa . . . 205,724 „	III.—1.	School buildings . . 1,518,767 „
6.	Loans . . . 1,383,989 „	2.	Public instruction . 7,889,356 „
7.	Grants and presents . . . 2,373,676 „	3.	Relief of the poor . . 5,024,434 „
8.	Profit from street paving . . . 983,081 „	4.	Hospitals . . . 1,979,946 „
9.	School fees . . . 1,451,468 „	IV.—1.	Salaries . . . 3,041,688 „
	Miscellaneous . . . 1,833,477 „	2.	Other costs of administration . 1,519,778 „
Total . . . 38,079,851 m.		V.—1.	Amortization of debts . . . 1,341,933 „
		2.	Interest on loans . 1,401,955 „
		3.	Miscellaneous . . . 6,884,949 „
		Total . . . 37,652,140 m.	

*B.—Remunerative Establishments, 1881-82.*

	Income.		Expenses.
1. Gasworks . . . .	13,317,702 m. ...		9,331,400 m.
2. Waterworks . . . .	4,134,924 „ ...		3,098,557 „
3. Canalization . . . .	10,843,634 „ ...		9,466,184 „
4. Central Cattle Yard . .	1,776,673 „ ...		1,419,074 „
5. Purchase and sale of land .	1,928,361 „ ...		1,728,837 „

It cannot be denied that the machinery of this administration is rather complicated; but the result is a practical, economical, and honest application of the public means. Instances of embezzlement are quite as rare among the clerks and cashiers of the city as of the State. Among the *honorary* officials embezzlement or malversation of any kind is out of the question. As to the general result, it will be sufficient to mention one fact. In the period from 1861 to 1881 the expenses for national education were increased from 9½ to 19½ per cent., the cost of the poor law administration decreased from 18 to 14½ per cent. of municipal budget.

It is true that many important measures have been delayed by

the protracted deliberations of these hypercritical Berlin people: the sewerage, canalization, the supplying of the town with drinking water, the foundation of covered markets, are instances of the dilatory tendency of such discussions. But this tendency certainly makes the community inclined to listen to the counsels of prudence; nor has it hitherto prevented the authorities from taking a bold initiative since the time when the municipality obtained the free control over its streets and public places.

Again, it cannot be denied that the periodical elections of representatives, and the public debates in the Town Council, rouse party agitation, which has of late assumed an odious form, but still not so violent as to deter the respectable part of the citizens from devoting themselves to the unpaid offices. There is also a party patronage, but not to so short-sighted an extent as to appoint persons unfit for the offices. This element of party gets soon smoothed in the intimate deliberations of the Court of Aldermen, in the great committees, and in the numerous committees of wards. These animosities of party get gradually blurred and finally blotted out altogether in the common toil of daily work for the interests of the community. The result of this activity teaches every day that it has been the aim and object of the *communitates* to smooth down and to obliterate social hostilities.

More important certainly than the good financial results of this constitution is the neighbourly feeling and the local patriotism fostered by it. This feeling of *personal coherence* between the wealthy classes and the small taxpayers has given the community energy to resist extravagant demands for the extension of the franchise, for a mechanical division into equal election districts, and for capricious inventions of new modes of voting. The wealthy classes not only pay higher taxes, but even in a higher degree their *personal* activity for the benefit of the community exceeds that of the smaller taxpayers. The writer of these lines in the year 1860 undertook the somewhat laborious (and therefore, unfortunately, not repeated) task of inquiring in what proportion the higher classes took a personal share in the administration of the city. The result of the inquiry was, that in a group of 1,976 persons who undertook honorary duties in the service of the town or served on a jury, there were no less than 1,831 house-owners or greater tenants, paying a rent of more than 300 marks; whilst only 145 persons belonged to the middle class of lesser tenants, paying a rental of less than 300 marks; and only twelve belonged to the class of tenants paying less than 150 marks. Dividing the resident electors into three classes, each of about 25,000 heads, I found that the first class (of houseowners and tenants above 300 marks) bore no less than 82½ per cent. of the entire taxes.

of Berlin, and performed 92 per cent. of the honorary functions; that the second class (of tenants paying a rent of between 150 and 300 marks) bore 12 per cent. of the taxes, and performed  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the honorary functions; whilst the third class (of tenants paying less than 150 marks) contributed only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to the taxes, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to the performance of personal functions. The value of personal service and of taxes is, it is true, not commensurable in themselves; but, adding them up as items of about equal value, it appeared at that time that, if *equal* suffrage were introduced into the municipal administration, the higher class, who bore nine-tenths of the entire burden, would only command over one-third of the votes; that the smaller taxpayers, who bore in their aggregate number one-tenth of that burden, would enjoy two-thirds of the votes. It appeared at the same time that the higher contribution of taxes corresponded exactly to the higher share of personal service in the administration of municipal offices.

It is the consciousness of this state of things that encourages the wealthy and the middle classes to resist the introduction of an equal suffrage into the municipal administration, not only with a good conscience, but also with success, although it is the favourite aim to which a Radical, a Social Democrat, an Ultramontane, and a pseudo-Conservative agitation unanimously tend.

A consideration of this condition of things will perhaps in England also make a number of politicians understand that in the society of our days, in which the rural and the urban elements of the population are fluctuating to and fro, in which capital and labour are in increasing enmity, in which the possession of land, of capital, and of industry seem to clash in vital interests, in which hostility of churches and of nationalities are more strongly accentuated—that in such a society, I say, the *personal* bond of communal life and of the parochial mind is the only foundation on which a House of Commons can exist, just as in former times it grew up as an alliance of the *communitates*.

RUD. GNEIST.

## A FAITHLESS WORLD.

A LITTLE somnolence seems to have overtaken religious controversy of late. We are either weary of it or have grown so tolerant of our differences that we find it scarcely worth while to discuss them. By dint of rubbing against each other in the pages of the Reviews, in the clubs, and at dinner parties, the sharp angles of our opinions have been smoothed down. Ideas remain in a fluid state in this temperate season of sentiment, and do not, as in old days, crystallize into sects. We have become almost as conciliatory respecting our views as the Chinese whom Huc describes as carrying courtesy so far as to praise the religion of their neighbours and depreciate their own. "You, honoured sir," they were wont to say, "are of the noble and lofty religion of Confucius. I am of the poor and insignificant religion of Lao-tze." Only now and then some fierce controversialist, hailing usually from India or the colonies where London amenities seem not yet to have penetrated, startles us by the desperate earnestness wherewith he disproves what we had almost forgotten that anybody seriously believes.

As a result of the general "*laissez croire*" of our day, it has come to pass that a question has been mooted which, to our fathers, would have seemed preposterous: "Is it of any consequence what we believe, or whether we believe anything? Suppose that by-and-by we all arrive at the conclusion that Religion has been altogether a mistake, and renounce with one accord the ideas of God and Heaven, having (as M. Comte assures us) outgrown the theological stage of human progress; what then? Will it make any serious difference to anybody?"

Hitherto, thinkers of Mr. Bradlaugh's type have sung pæans of



welcome for the expected golden years of Atheism, when "faiths and empires" will

"Gleam

Like wrecks of a dissolving dream."

Christians and Theists of all schools, on the other hand, have naturally deprecated with horror and dread such a cataclysm of faith as sure to prove a veritable Ragnarok of universal ruin. In either case it has been taken for granted that the change from a world of little faith, like that in which we live, to a world wholly destitute of faith, would be immensely great and far-reaching; and that at the downfall of religion not only would the thrones and temples of the earth, but every homestead in every land, be shaken to its foundation. It is certainly a step beyond any yet taken in the direction of scepticism to question this conclusion, and maintain that such a revolution would be of trivial import, since things would go on with mankind almost as well without a God as with one.

The man who, with characteristic downrightness, has blurted out most openly this last doubt of all—the doubt whether doubt be an evil—is, as my readers will have recognized, Mr. Justice Stephen. In the concluding pages of one of his sledge-hammerings on the heads of his adversaries, in the *Nineteenth Century* for last June, he rung the changes upon the idea (with some reservations, to be presently noted) as follows :—

"If human life is in the course of being fully described by science, I do not see what materials there are for any religion, or, indeed, what would be the use of one, or why it is wanted. We can get on very well without one, for though the view of life which science is opening to us gives us nothing to worship, it gives us an infinite number of things to enjoy. . . . The world seems to me a very good world, if it would only last. It is full of pleasant people and curious things, and I think that most men find no great difficulty in turning their minds away from its transient character. Love, friendship, ambition, science, literature, art, politics, commerce, professions, trades, and a thousand other matters, will go equally well, as far as I can see, whether there is, or is not, a God or a future state."—*Nineteenth Century*, No. 88, p. 917.

Had these noteworthy words been written by an obscure individual, small weight would have attached to them. We might have observed on reading them that the—not wise—person who three thousand years ago "said in his heart, there is no God," had in the interval plucked up courage to say in the magazines that it does not signify whether there be one or not. But the dictum comes to us from a gentleman, who happens to be the very antithesis of the object of Solomon's detestation, a man of distinguished ability and unsullied character, of great knowledge of the world (as revealed to successful lawyers), of almost abnormal clear-headedness; and lastly, strangest anomaly of all! who is the representative of a family in which the tenderest and purest type of Protestant piety has long been hereditary. It is the last utterance of the devout "Clapham School," of Venn,

Stephen, Hannah More and Wilberforce, which we hear saying: "I think we could do very well without religion."

As it is a widely received idea just now that the Evolution theory is destined to coil about religion till it strangle it, and as it has become the practice with the scientific party to talk of religion as politicians twenty years ago talked of Turkey, as a Sick Man destined to a speedy dissolution, it seems every way desirable that we should pay the opinion of Sir James Stephen on this head that careful attention to which, indeed, everything from his pen has a claim. Those amongst us who have held that Religion is of priceless value should bring their prepossessions in its favour to the bar of sober judgment, and fairly face this novel view of it as neither precious Truth nor yet disastrous Error, but as an unimportant matter of opinion which Science may be left to settle without anxiety as to the issue. We ought to bring our Treasure to assay, and satisfy ourselves once for all whether it be really pure gold or only a fairy substitute for gold, to be transformed some day into a handful of autumn leaves and scattered to the winds.

To estimate the part played by Religion in the past history of the human race would be a gigantic undertaking immeasurably above my ambition.\* A very much simpler inquiry is that which I propose to pursue: namely, one into the chief consequences which might be anticipated to follow the downfall of such Religion, as at present prevails in civilized Europe and America. When these consequences have been, however imperfectly, set in array we shall be in a position to form some opinion whether we "can do very well without religion." Let me premise:—

1. That by the word Religion I mean definite faith in a Living and Righteous God; and, as a corollary therefrom, in the survival of the human soul after death. In other words, I mean by "religion" that nucleus of simple Theism which is common to every form of natural religion, of Christianity and Judaism; and, of course, in a measure also to remoter creeds, which will not be included in the present purview. Further, I do *not* mean Positivism, or Agnosticism, or Buddhism, exoteric or esoteric; or the recognition of the "Unknown and Unknowable," or of a "Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness." These may, or may not, be fitly termed "religions;" but it is not the results of their triumph or extinction which we are here concerned to estimate. I shall even permit myself generally to refer to all such phases of non-belief as involve denial of the dogmas of Theism above-stated as "Atheism;"

\* The best summary of the benefits which the Christian religion has historically wrought for mankind is, I think, to be found in that eloquent book "*Gesta Christi*," by the great American philanthropist, Mr. Charles Brace. The author has made no attempt to delineate the shadowy side of the glowing picture, the evils of superstition, and persecution wherewith men have marred those benefits.

not from discourtesy, but because it would be impossible at every point to distinguish them, and because, for the purposes of the present argument, they are tantamount to Atheism.

2. That I absolve myself from weighing against the advantages of Religion the evils which have followed its manifold corruptions. Those evils, in the case even of the Christian religion, I recognize to have been so great, so hideous, that during their prevalence it might have been plausibly—though even then, I think, not truly—contended that they out-balanced its benefits. But the days of the worst distortions of Christianity have long gone by. The Christianity of our day tends, as it appears to me, more and more to resume the character of the *Religion of Christ*, i.e., the religion which Christ believed and lived; and to reject that other and very different religion which men have taught in Christ's name. As this deep and silent but vast change comes over the spirit of the Christianity of modern Europe, it becomes better and better qualified to meet fearlessly the challenge, "Should we do well without religion in its Christian shape?" But it is not my task here to analyze the results of any one type of religion, Christian, Jewish, or simply Theistic; but only to register those of *Religion itself*, as I have defined it above, namely, faith in God and in immortality.

I confess, at starting on this inquiry, that the problem "Is religion of use, or can we do as well without it?" seems to me almost as grotesque as the old story of the woman who said that we owe vast obligation to the Moon, which affords us light on dark nights, whereas we are under no such debt to the Sun, who only shines by day, *when there is always light*. Religion has been to us so diffused a light that it is quite possible to forget how we came by the general illumination, save when now and then it has blazed out with special brightness. On the other hand, all the moon-like things which are proposed to us as substitutes for Religion,—friendship, science, art, commerce, and politics,—have a very limited area wherein they shine at all, and leave the darkness around much as they found it. It is the special and unique character of Religion to deal with the whole of human nature *all* our pleasures and pains and duties and affections and hopes and fears, here and hereafter. It offers to the Intellect an explanation of the universe (true or false we need not now consider); and, pointing to Heaven, it responds to the most eager of its questions. It offers to the Conscience a law claiming authority to regulate every act and every word. And it offers to the Heart an absolutely love-worthy Being as the object of its adoration. Whether these immense offers of Religion are all genuine, or all accepted by us individually, they are quite unmatched by anything which science, or art, or politics, or commerce, or even friendship, has to bestow. The relation of religion to us is not one-sided like

theirs, but universal, ubiquitous; not moon-like, appearing at intervals, but sun-like, forming the source, seen or unseen, of all our light and heat, even of the warmth of our household fires. Strong or weak as may be its influence on us as individuals, it is the greatest thing with which we have to do, from the cradle to the grave. And this holds good whether we give ourselves up to it or reject it. It is the one great acceptance, or "*il gran rifiuto*." Nothing equally great can come in our way again.

In an estimate of the consequences which would follow a general rejection of religion, we are bound to take into view the two classes of men—those who are devout and those who are not so—who would, of course, be diversely affected by such a revolution of opinion. As regards the first, every one will concede that the loss of so important a factor in their lives would alter those lives radically. As regards the second, after noting the orderly and estimable conduct of many of them, the observer might, *per contra*, not unfairly surmise that they would continue to act just as they do at present were religion universally exploded. But ere such a conclusion could be legitimately drawn from the meritorious lives of non-religious men in the present order of society, we should be allowed (it is a familiar remark) to see the behaviour of a whole nation of Atheists. Our contemporaries are no more fair samples of the outcome of Atheism than a little party of English youths who had lived for a few years in Central Africa would be samples of Negroes. It would take several thousand years to make a full-blooded Atheist out of the scion of forty generations of Christians. Our whole mental constitutions have been built up on food of religious ideas. A man on a mountain top, might as well resolve not to breathe the ozone in the air, as to live in the intellectual atmosphere of England and inhale no Christianity.

As, then, it is impossible to forecast what would be the consequences of universal Atheism hereafter by observing the conduct of individual Atheists to-day, all that can be done is to study bit by bit the changes which must take place should this planet ever become, as is threatened, a *Faithless World*. In pursuing this line of inquiry it will be well to remember that every ill result of loss of faith and hope which we may now observe will be *cumulative* as a larger and yet larger number of persons, and at last the whole community, reject religion together. Atheists have been hitherto like children playing at the mouth of a cavern of unknown depth. They have run in and out, and explored it a little way, but always within sight of the daylight outside, where have stood their parents and friends calling on them to return. Not till the way back to the sunshine has been lost will the darkness of that cave be fully revealed.

I shall now register very briefly the more obvious and tangible changes which would follow the downfall of religion in Europe and

America, and then devote my available space to a rather closer examination of those which are less manifest ; the drying up of those hidden rills which now irrigate the whole subsoil of our civilization.

The first visible change in the Faithless World, of course, would be the suppression of Public and Private Worship and of Preaching ; the secularization or destruction everywhere of Cathedrals, Churches, and Chapels ; and the extinction of the Clerical Profession. A considerable *hiatus* would undoubtedly be thus made in the present order of things. Public Worship and Preaching, however much weariness of the flesh has proverbially attended them, have, to say the least, done much to calm, to purify, and to elevate the minds of millions ; nor does it seem that any multiplication of scientific Lectures or Penny Readings would form a substitute for them. The effacement from each landscape of the towers and spires of the churches would be a somewhat painful symbol of the simultaneous disappearance from human life of heavenly hope and aspiration. The extinction of the Ministry of Religion, though it would be hailed even now by many as a great reformation, would be found practically, I apprehend, to reduce by many perceptible degrees the common moral level ; and to suppress many highly-aimed activities with which we could ill dispense. The severity of the strictures always passed on the faults of clergymen testifies to the general expectation, not wholly disappointed, that they should exhibit a loftier standard of life than other men ; and the hortative and philanthropic work accomplished by the forty or fifty thousand ministers of the various sects and churches in England alone, must form, after all deductions, a sum of beneficence which it would sorely tax any conceivable secular organization to replace in the interests of public morality.

Probably the Seventh Day Rest would survive every other religious institution in virtue of its popularity among the working classes, soon to be everywhere masters of legislation. The failure of the Tenth Day holiday in the first French Revolution would also forestal any further experiments in varying the hebdomadal interval so marvellously adapted to our mental and physical constitution. As, however, all religious meaning of the day would be lost, and all church-going stopped, nothing would hinder the employment of its hours from morning to night as Easter Monday and Whit Monday are now employed by the millions in our great cities. The nation would, therefore, enjoy the somewhat doubtful privilege of keeping fifty-six Bank Holidays instead of four in the year. Judicial and official oaths of all sorts, and Marriage and Burial rites, would, of course, be entirely abolished. A gentleman pronouncing the *Oraison Funébre* outside the crematorium would replace the old white-robed parson telling the mourners ;—

"Beneath the churchyard tree,  
 "In solemn tones, and yet not sad,  
 Of what man is, what man shall be."

Another change more important than any of these, in Protestant countries, would be the reduction of the Bible to the rank of an historical and literary curiosity. Nothing (as we all recognize) but the supreme religious importance attached to the Hebrew Scriptures could have forced any book into the unique position which the Bible has now held for three centuries in English and Scottish education. Even that held by the Koran throughout Islam is far less remarkable, inasmuch as the latter (immeasurably inferior though it be) is the supreme work of the national literature, whereas we have adopted the literature of an alien race. All the golden fruit which the English intellect has borne from Shakespeare downwards may be said to have grown on this priceless Semitic graft upon the Aryan stem.

But as nothing but its religious interest, over and above its historical and poetical value, could have given the Bible its present place amongst us, so the rejection of religion must quickly lower its popularity by a hundred degrees. Notwithstanding anything which the Matthew Arnolds of the future may plead on behalf of its glorious poetry and mines of wisdom, the youth of the future "Faithless World" will spare very little time from their scientific studies to read a book brimming over with religious sentiments which to them will be nauseous. Could everything else remain unchanged after the extinction of religion in England, it seems to me that the unravelling of this Syrian thread from the very tissue of our minds will altogether alter their texture.

Whether the above obvious and tangible results of a general relinquishment of religion would all be *disadvantageous* may, possibly, be an open question. That they would be *trifling*, and that things would go on much as they have done after they had taken place, seems to me, I confess, altogether incredible.

I now turn to those less obvious consequences of the expected downfall of religion which would take place silently.

The first of these would be the *belittling* of life. Religion has been to us hitherto (to rank it at its lowest), like a great mountain in a beautiful land. When the clouds descend and hide the mountain, the grandeur of the scene is gone. A stranger entering that land at such a time will commend the sweetness of the vales and woods; but those who know it best will say, "Ichabod!—The glory has departed." To do justice to the eminent man whose opinion concerning the practical unimportance of religion I am endeavouring to combat, he has seen clearly and frankly avowed this.

ennobling influence of religion, and, as a corollary, would, I presume, admit the *minifying* consequences of its general abandonment.\* If the window which Religion opens out on the infinite expanse of God and Heaven, immeasurably enlarges and lightens our abode of clay, the walling of it up cannot fail to narrow and darken it beyond all telling. Human nature, ever pulled two ways by downward and by aspiring tendencies, cannot afford to lose all the aid which religious ideas offer to its upward flight. Only when they disappear will men perceive how the two thoughts—of this world as *God's world*, and of ourselves as Immortal beings,—have, between them, lighted up in rainbow hues the dull plains of earth. When they fade away, all things, Nature, Art, Duty, Love, and Death, will seem to grow grey and cold. Everything which casts a glamour over life will be gone.

Even from the point of view of Art (of which in these days perhaps too much is made), life will lose *poetry* if it lose religion. Nothing ever stirs our sympathies like it, or like a glimpse into the inner self of our brother man, as affected by repentance, hope, and prayer. The great genius of George Eliot revealed this to her; and, Agnostic as she was, she rarely failed to strike this resonant string of human nature, as in "Adam Bede," "Silas Marner," and "Janet's Repentance." French novelists who have no knowledge of it, and who describe the death of a man as they might do that of an ox, while they galvanize our imaginations, rarely touch the outer hem of our sympathies. Religion in its old anthropomorphic forms was the great inspirer of sculpture, painting, poetry, science, and almost the creator of architecture. Phidias, Dante, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Milton, Handel, and the builders of the Egyptian temples and mediæval cathedrals, were all filled with the religious spirit, nor can we imagine what they would have been without it. In the purer modern types of religion, while music and architecture would still remain in its direct service, we should expect painting and sculpture to be less immediately concerned with it than in old days, because unable to touch such purely spiritual ideas. But the elevation, aspiration, and reverence which have their root in religion must continue to inspire those arts likewise, or they will fall into triviality on one side (as there seems danger in England), or into obscene materialism on the other, as is already annually exemplified on the walls of the Paris *Salon*.

\* He says: "The leading doctrines of theology are noble and glorious;" and he acknowledges that people who were able to accept them are "ennobled by their creed." They are "carried above and beyond the petty side of life; and if the virtue of propositions depended, not upon the evidence by which they may be supported, but their intrinsic beauty and utility, they might vindicate their creed against all others" (p. 917). To some of us the notion of "noble and glorious" *fictions* is difficult to accept. The highest thought of our poor minds, whatever it be, has surely as *such* some presumption in favour of its truth.

Again, it will not merely belittle life, it will *carnalize* it to take Religion out of it. The lump without the leaven will be grosser and heavier than we have dreamed. Civilization, as we all know, bore under Imperial Rome, and may assume again any day, the hateful type in which luxury and cruelty, art and sensuality, go hand in hand. That it ever changed its character and has come to mean with us refinement, self-restraint, chivalry, and freedom from the coarser vices, is surely due to the fact that it has grown up *pari passu* with Christianity. In truth it needs no argument to prove that, as the bestial tendencies in us have scarcely been kept down while we believed ourselves to be immortal souls, they will have it still more their own way when we feel assured we are only mortal bodies.

And the life thus belittled and carnalized will be a more cowardly life than men have been wont to lead while they had a Providence over them and a heaven waiting for them. Already, I fear, we may see some signs of this new poltroonery of reflective prudence, which holds that death is the greatest of all evils, and disease the next greatest; and teaches men to prefer a "whole skin" to honour and patriotism, and health to duty. Writing of this Hygeiolatry elsewhere, I have remarked that it has almost come to be accepted as a canon of morals that any practice which, in the opinion of experts, conduces to bodily health, or tends to the cure of disease, becomes *ipso facto* lawful; and that there are signs apparent that this principle is bearing fruit, and that men and women are beginning to be systematically selfish and self-indulgent where their health is concerned, in modes not hitherto witnessed. In public life it is notorious that whenever a Bill comes before Parliament concerning itself with sanitary matters there is exhibited by many of the speakers, and by the journalists who discuss it, a readiness to trample on personal and parental rights in a way forming a new feature in English legislation, and well deserving of the rebuke it has received from Mr. Herbert Spencer. As to military courage, I fear it will also wane amongst us, as it seemed to have waned among the French atheistic soldiery at Metz and Sedan. Great as are the evils of war, those of a peace only maintained by the nations because it had become no longer possible to raise troops who would stand fire, would be immeasurably worse.

From the general results on the community, I now pass to consider those on the life of the individual which may be expected to follow the collapse of Religion.

Mr. Mallock in his "New Republic," made the original and droll remark that even Vice would lose much of its savour were there no longer any morality against which it might sin. As Morality will probably not expire—though its vigour must be considerably reduced.



—by the demise of its Siamese twin, Religion, it would seem that Vice need not fear, even in such a contingency, the entire loss of the pleasures of disobedience. Nevertheless (to speak seriously), it is pretty certain that the temperature of all moral sentiments will fall so considerably when the sun of religion ceases to warm them that not a few will perish of cold. The "Faithless World" will pass through a moral Glacial Period, wherein much of our present fauna and flora will disappear. What, for example, can become, in that frigid epoch of godlessness, of *Aspiration*, the sacred passion, the *ambition sainte* to become perfect and holy, which has stirred at one time or other in the breast of every son of God; the longing to attain the crowning heights of truth, goodness, and purity? This is surely not a sentiment which can live without faith in a Divine Perfection, existing somewhere in the universe, and an Immortal Life wherein the infinite progress may be carried on. Even the man whose opinions on the general unimportance of religion I am venturing to question in these pages, admits frankly enough that it is not the heroic or saintly character which will be cultivated after the extinction of faith. Among the changes which he anticipates, one will be that "the respectable man of the world, the *lukewarm*, *nominal Christian*, who believed as much of his creed as happened to suit him, and *led an easy life*, will turn out to have been right after all." Precisely so. The *easy life* will be the ideal life in the "Faithless World;" and the life of *Aspiration*, the life which is a prayer, will be lived no more. And the "lukewarm" men of the world, in their "easy lives," will be all the easier and more lukewarm for leading them thenceforth unrebuked by any higher example.

Again, Repentance as well as aspiration will disappear under the snows of atheism. I have written before on this subject in this REVIEW,\* and will now briefly say that Mr. Darwin's almost ludicrously false definition of Repentance is an illustration of the inability of the modern scientific mind to comprehend spiritual phenomena; much less to be the subject of them. In his *Descent of Man*, this great thinker and most amiable man describes Repentance as a natural return, after the satisfaction of selfish passions, to "the instinct of sympathy and goodwill to his fellows which is still present and ever in some degree active" in a man's mind. . . . "And then, a sense of dissatisfaction will inevitably be felt" (*Descent of Man*, p. 90). Thus even on the showing of the great philosopher of evolution himself, Repentance (or rather the "dissatisfaction" he confounds with that awful convulsion of the soul) is only to be looked for under the very exceptional circumstances of men in whom the "instinct of sympathy and good will to their fellows" is ever present, and more-

\* "Agnostic Morality," CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1883.

over reasserts itself after they have injured them—in flat opposition to ordinary human experience as noted by Tacitus, *Humani generis proprium est odire quem læseris*.

The results of the real spiritual phenomenon of Repentance (not Mr. Darwin's child's-play) are so profound and far-reaching that it cannot but happen that striking them out of human experience will leave life more shallow. No soul will survive with the deeper and riper character which comes out of that ordeal. As Hawthorne illustrated it in his exquisite parable of *Transformation*, men, till they become conscious of sin, are morally little more than animals. Out of hearts ploughed by contrition spring flowers fairer than ever grow on the hard ground of unbroken self-content. There bloom in them Sympathy and Charity for other erring mortals; and Patience under suffering which is acknowledged to be merited; and lastly, sweetest blossom of all! tender Gratitude for earthly and heavenly blessings felt to be free gifts of Divine love. Not a little, perhaps, of the prevalent disease of pessimism is owing to the fact that these flowers of charity, patience, and thankfulness are becoming more and more rare as cultivated men cease to feel what old theologians used to call "the exceeding sinfulness of sin;" or to pass through any vivid experiences of penitence and restoration. As a necessary consequence they never see the true proportions of good and evil, joy and grief, sin and retribution. They weigh jealously human Pain; they never place human Guilt in the opposite scale. There is little chance that any man will ever feel how sinful is sin, who has not seen it in the white light of the holiness of God.

The abrogation of Public Worship was mentioned above as one of the visible consequences of the general rejection of religion. To it must here be added a still direr and deeper loss, that of the use of Private Prayer—whether for spiritual or other good, either on behalf of ourselves or of others; all Confession, all Thanksgiving, in one word all effort at communion of the finite spirit with the Infinite. This is not the place in which this subject can be treated as it would require to be were the full consequences of such a cessation of the highest function of our nature to be defined. It may be enough now to say that the Positivists in their fantastic device of addresses to the *grand être* of Humanity as a substitute for real prayer to the Living God, have themselves testified to the smaller—the subjective—part of the value of the practice. Alas for our poor human race if ever the day should arrive when to Him who now "heareth prayer," flesh shall no longer come!

With Aspiration, Repentance, and Prayer renounced and forgotten, and the inner life made as "easy" as the outward, we may next

inquire whether in the "Faithless World" the relations between man and man will either remain what they have been, improve or deteriorate? I have heard a secularist lecturer argue that the love of God has been a great hindrance to the love of man; and I believe it is the universal opinion of Agnostics and Comtists that the "enthusiasm of Humanity" will flourish and form the crowning glory of the future after religion is dead. It is obvious, indeed, that the social virtues are rapidly eclipsing in public opinion those which are personal and religious; and if Philanthropy is not to be enthroned in the "Faithless World," there is no chance for Veracity, Piety, or Purity.

But, not to go over ground which I have traversed already in this REVIEW, it will be enough now to remark that Mr. Justice Stephen, with his usual perspicacity, has found out that there is here a "rift within the lute," and frankly tells us that we must not expect to see Christian Charity after the departure of Christianity. He thinks that temperance, fortitude, benevolence, and justice will always be honoured and rewarded, but—

"If a purely human morality takes the place of Christian morals, self-command and self-denial, force of character shown in postponing the present to the future (*qy.*, selfish prudence?) will take the place of self-sacrifice as an object of admiration. Love, friendship, good-nature, kindness, carried to the height of sincere and devoted affection will always be the chief pleasures of life, whether Christianity is true or false; but Christian charity is not the same as any of these or of all of them put together, and I think, if Christian theology were exploded, Christian charity would not survive it."

Even if the same sentiment of charity were kept alive in a "Faithless World," I do not think its ministrations would be continued on the same lines as hitherto. The more kind-hearted an atheist may be (and many have the kindest of hearts) the less, I fancy, he could endure to go about as a comforter among the wretched and dying, bringing with him only such cold consolation as may be afforded by the doctrine of the "Survival of the Fittest." Every one who has tried to lighten the sorrows of this sad world, or to reclaim the criminal and the vicious, knows how immense is the advantage of being able to speak of God's love and pity, and of a life where the bereaved shall be reunited to their beloved ones. It would break, I should think, a compassionate atheist's heart to go from one to another death-bed in cottage or workhouse or hospital, meet the yearning looks of the dying, and watch the anguish of wife or husband or mother, and be unable honestly to say: "This is not the end. There is Heaven in store." But Mr. Justice Stephen speaks, I apprehend, of another reason than this why Christian charity must not be expected to survive Christianity. The truth is (though he does not say it) that the charity of Science is not merely *different* from the charity of Religion; it is an *opposite* thing altogether. Its softest word is *Vae Victis!*

Christianity (and like it I should hope every possible form of future religion) says, "The strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak. Blessed are the merciful, the unselfish, the tender-hearted, the humble-minded." Science says, "The supreme law of Nature is the Survival of the Fittest; and that law, applied to human morals, means the remorseless crushing down of the unfit. The strong and the gifted shall inherit the earth, and the weak and simple go to the wall. Blessed are the merciless, for they shall obtain useful knowledge. Blessed are the self-asserting, for theirs is the kingdom of this world, and there is no world after it."

These Morals of Evolution are beginning gradually to make their way, and to be stated (of course in veiled and modest language) frequently by those priests of science, the physiologists. Should they ever obtain general acceptance, and Darwinian morality take the place of the Sermon on the Mount, the old *droit du plus fort* of barbarous ages will be revived with more deliberate oppression, and the last state of our civilization will be worse than the first.

Behind all these changes of public and general concern, lies the deepest change of all for each man's own heart. We are told that in a "Faithless World" we may interest ourselves in friendship, and politics, and commerce, and literature, science, and art, and that "a man who cannot occupy every waking moment of a long life with some or other of these things must be either very unfortunate in regard to his health, or circumstances, or else must be a 'poor creature.'"

But it is not necessary to be either unfortunate oneself or a very "poor creature" to feel that the wrongs and agonies of this world of pain are absolutely intolerable unless we can be assured that they will be righted hereafter; that "there is a God who judgeth the earth," and that all the oppressed and miserable of our race, aye, and even the tortured brutes, are beheld by Him. It is, I think, on the contrary, to be a "poor creature" to be able to satisfy the hunger of the soul after justice, the yearning of the heart for mercy, with such pursuits as money-getting, and scientific research, and the writing of clever books, and painting of pretty pictures. Not that which is "poorest" in us, but that which is richest and noblest, refuses to "occupy every moment of a long life" with our own ambitions and amusements, or to shut out deliberately from our minds the "Riddle of the painful Earth." A curse would be on us in our "lordly pleasure-house" were we to do it.

Even if it be possible to enjoy our own good fortune regardless of the woes of others, is it not rather a pitiful wreck and remnant of merely selfish happiness which it is proposed to leave to us? "The world," we are told, "is full of pleasant people and curious

things," and "most men find no difficulty in turning their minds away from its transient character." Even our enjoyment of "pleasant people and curious things" must be held, then, on the condition of reducing ourselves—philosophers that we are, or shall be—to the humble level of the hares and rabbits!—

"Regardless of their doom the little victims play."

Surely the happiness of any creature, deserving to be called Rational, depends on the circumstance whether he can look on Good as "the final goal of ill," or believe Ill to be the final goal of any good he has obtained or hopes for;—whether he walk on a firm, even if it be a thorny road, or tread on thin, albeit glittering ice, destined ere long to break beneath his feet? The faith that there is an ORDER tending everywhere to good, and that JUSTICE sooner or later will be done to all,—this, almost universal, faith to which the whole literature of the world bears testimony, seems to me no less indispensable for our selfish happiness than it is for any unselfish satisfaction in the aspect of human life at large. If it be finally baulked, and we are compelled to relinquish it for ever at the bidding of science, existence alike on our own account and that of others will become unendurable.

In all I have said hitherto, I have confined myself to discussing the probable results of the downfall of religion on men in general, and have not attempted to define what they would be to those who have been fervently religious; and who we must suppose (on the hypothesis of such a revolution) to be forcibly driven by scientific arguments out of their faith in God and the life to come. To such persons (and there are, alas! many already who think they have been so driven, and to whom the sad result is therefore the same) the loss must needs be like that of the darkening of the sun. Of all human sorrows the bitterest is to discover that we have misplaced our love; laboured and suffered in vain; thrown away our heart's devotion. All this, and much more, must it be to *lose God*. Among those who have endured it there are, of course, as we all know, many who have reconciled themselves to the loss, and some tell us they are the happier. Yet, I think to the very last hour of life there must remain in every heart which has once *loved God* (not merely believed in or feared Him) an infinite regret if it can love Him no more; and the universe, were it crowded with a million friends, must seem empty when that Friend is gone.

As to human Love and Friendship, to which we are often bidden to turn, as the best substitutes for religion, I feel persuaded that, above all other things they must deteriorate in a "Faithless World." To apples of Sodom must all their sweetness turn, from the hour in which men recognize their transitory nature. The warmer and more tender and

reverential the affection, the more intolerable must become the idea of eternal separation; and the more beautiful and admirable the character of our friend, the more maddening the belief that in a few years, or days, he will vanish into nothingness. Sooner than endure the agony of these thoughts, I feel sure that men will check themselves from entering into the purer and holier relations of the heart. Affection, predestined to be cast adrift, will throw out no more anchors, but will float on every wave of passion or caprice. The day in which it becomes impossible for men to vow that they will love *for ever* will almost be the last in which they will love nobly and purely at all.

But if these things hold good as regard the prosperous and healthy, and those still in the noon of life, what is to be said of the prospects in the "Faithless World," of the diseased, the poverty-stricken, the bereaved, the aged? There is no need to strain our eyes to look into the dark corners of the earth. We all know (though while we ourselves stand in the sunshine we do not often *feel*) what hundreds of thousands of our fellow-mortals are enduring at all times, in the way of bodily and mental anguish. When these overtake us, or when Old Age creeps on, and

"First our pleasures die, and then  
Our hopes; and then our fears,"

is it possible to suppose it will make "little difference" what we believe as to the existence of some loving Power in whose arms our feebleness may find support; or of another life wherein our winter may be turned once more to spring? If we live long enough, the day must come to each of us when we shall find our chief interest in our daily newspaper most often in the obituary columns, till, one after another nearly all the friends of our youth and prime have "gone over to the majority," and we begin to live in a world peopled with spectres. Our talk with those who travel still beside us is continually referring to the dead, and our very jests end in a sigh for the sweet old laughter which we shall never hear again. If in these solemn years we yet have faith in God and Immortality, and as we recall one dear one after another,—father, mother, brother, friend,—we can say to ourselves, "They are all gone into the world of light; they are all safe and rejoicing in the smile of God;" then our grief is only mourning; it is not despair. Our sad hearts are cheered and softened, not turned to stone by the memories of the dead. Let us, however, on the other hand, be driven by our new guide, Science, to abandon this faith and the hope of eternal reunion, then, indeed, must our old age be utterly, utterly desolate. O! the mockery of saying that it would make "no great difference!"

We have been told that in the event of the fall of religion, "life would remain in most particulars and to most people much what it is at present." It appears to me, on the contrary, that there is actually *nothing* in life which would be left unchanged after such a catastrophe.

But I have only conjured up the nightmare of a "Faithless World." God LIVES ; and in His light we shall see light.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

## WÜRZBURG AND VIENNA:

SCRAPS FROM A DIARY.

### II.

I ARRIVE at Vienna at 10 o'clock and alight at the "Münsch" hotel, a very old-established one, and very preferable, in my opinion, to those gigantic and sumptuous "Ring" establishments where one is a mere number. I find awaiting me a letter from the Baron de Neumann, my colleague of the University of Vienna, and a member of the *Institut de Droit International*. He informs me that the Minister Taaffe will await me at 11 o'clock, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. de Kálnoky, at 3 p.m. It is always well to make the acquaintance of Ministers when visiting foreign countries. It is the means of obtaining the key to doors generally closed, to consulting documents otherwise inaccessible, and to getting out of prison if by mistake you happen to be one day thrown therein.

The Home Office is a sombre-looking palace, situated in the Judenplatz, a dark and narrow street in old Vienna; the apartments are spacious, correct but bare; the furniture severe, simple but pure eighteenth century style. It resembles the abode of an ancient family who must live carefully to keep out of debt. How different to the Government Offices in Paris, where luxury is displayed everywhere in gilt panellings, Lyons velvets, painted ceilings and magnificent staircases—as, for instance, at the Financial and Foreign Offices. I prefer the simplicity of the official buildings of Vienna and Berlin. The State ought not to set an example of prodigality. The Comte Taaffe is in evening dress, as he is going to a conference with the Emperor. He, nevertheless, receives my letter of introduction from one of his cousins most amiably, and also the little note I bring him from my friend Neumann, who was his professor of public law. The present policy of the Prime Minister, which gives satisfaction to the Tscheks and irritates the Germans so much, is not unjustifiable. He



reasons thus:—What is the best means to ensure the comfort and contentment of several persons living together in the same house? Is it not to leave them perfectly free to regulate their lives just as they think well? Force them to live all in the same way, to take their meals and amuse themselves together, and they will be certain, very shortly, to quarrel and separate. How is it that the Italians of the Canton of Tesino never think of uniting with Italy? Because they are perfectly satisfied to belong to Switzerland. Remember that Austria's motto is *Viribus unitis*. True union would be born of general contentment. The sure way to satisfy all is to sacrifice the rights of none. "Yes," I said, "if unity could be made to spring from liberty and autonomy it would be indestructible."

Count Taaffe has long been in favour of federalism. Under the Taaffe-Potocki Ministry, in 1869, he had sketched a plan of reforms with the object of extending the sway of provincial governments.\* In some articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1868–9 I tried to show that this was the best solution of the question. Count Taaffe is still young; he was born in 1833, Feb. 24. He is descended from an Irish family and is a peer of that country, with the title of Viscount Taaffe of Correw and Baron of Ballymote; but his ancestors left their home and lost their Irish estates on account of their attachment to the Stuarts. They took service, then, under the Dukes of Lorraine, and one of them distinguished himself at the siege of Vienna in 1683. Count Edward, the present Minister, was born at Prague. His father was President of the Supreme Court of Justice. He himself commenced his career in the Hungarian Administration under the Baron Bach, who, seeing his great aptitudes and his perseverance, procured him rapid advancement. Taaffe became successively Vice-Governor of Bohemia, Governor of Salzburg, and finally Governor of Upper Austria. Called to the Ministry of the Interior in 1867, he signed the famous "Ausgleich" of December 21, which forms the basis of the present Dual Empire. After the fall of the Ministry, he was appointed Governor of the Tyrol, and held that post to general satisfaction for a space of seven years. On his return to power he again took up the portfolio of the Interior, and was also appointed President of the Council. He continued to pursue his federalist policy, but with more success than in 1869. The concessions he makes to the Tschechs are a subject of both grief and wonder in Vienna. It is said that he does it to secure their votes for the revision of the law of primary education in favour of reactionary clericalism. Those who are of this opinion must forget that he has clearly shown his leaning to federalism for more than sixteen years.

\* I give a brief sketch of this in my book, "La Prusse et l'Autriche depuis Sadowa," vol. i., p. 265.

What is more astonishing is the contradiction between Austria's home and foreign policy. At home the Slav movement is encouraged. All is conceded to it, with the exception of the re-establishment of the realm of St. Wenceslas, the road to which is, however, being prepared. Abroad, on the contrary, and especially beyond the Danube, this movement is opposed and suppressed as much as possible, even at the risk of dangerously increasing Russia's influence and popularity. This contradiction may be explained after this wise. The "Common" Ministry of the Empire is entirely independent of the Ministry of Cis-Leithania. This "Common" Ministry, presided over by the Chancellor, is composed of three Ministers—viz., those of Foreign Affairs, Finances, and War; it alone settles foreign policy, and the Hungarian element is dominant here. Count Taaffe's principal residence is at Ellisham in Bohemia. "Bailli" of the Order of Malta, he possesses the Golden Fleece. He is, in fact, in every respect, an important personage. In 1860 he married the Countess Irma de Czaky of Kefesztzegk, by whom he has had a son and five daughters. He has, thus, one foot in Bohemia and the other in Hungary. All unanimously admit his extraordinary aptitudes, his indefatigable energy, and his clever administration; but in Vienna they complain that he is too aristocratic, and has too great a weakness for the clergy. Probably a statue as high as the Hradsin Cathedral will be raised in his honour at Prague, if he persuades the Emperor to be crowned there.

At three o'clock I proceeded to see Count Kálnoky at the Foreign Office in the Ballplatz. It is very well situated, near to the Imperial residence, in a wide street, and in sight of the Ring. Large reception rooms, solemn-looking and cold; gilded chairs and white and gold panellings, red curtains, polished floorings, and no carpets. On the walls portraits of the Imperial family. While waiting to be announced, I think of Metternich. It was here he resided. In 1812 Austria decided the fall of Napoleon. Now, again, she holds in her hands the destinies of Europe; for the balance changes as she moves towards the north, the east, or the west; and I am about to see the Minister who directs her foreign policy. I expected to find myself in the presence of an imposing-looking person, with white hair, and very stiff; so I was agreeably surprised on being most affably received by a man of about forty, dressed in a brown morning suit, with a blue cravat. An open and very pleasing expression, and eyes brimming over with wit. All the Kálnoky family have this particularity, it appears. He possesses the quiet, refined, yet simple and modest distinction of manner of an English nobleman. Like many Austrians of the upper class, he speaks French like a Parisian. I think this is due to their speaking six or seven languages equally well, so that the particular accent

of each becomes neutralized. The English and the Germans, even when they know French thoroughly, have still a foreign accent when speaking it; not so the Austrians. Count Kálnoky asks what are my plans for my journey. When he hears that I intend studying the question of the Eastern railways, he says :

"That is our great preoccupation at the present moment. In the West they pretend that we are anxious for conquest. This is absurd. It would be very difficult for us to make any which would satisfy the two parties in the Empire, and it is in fact greatly to our interest that peace should be maintained. But we are dreaming of different sorts of conquests, which, as an economist, you can but approve. I speak of conquests we are desirous of making for our industries, trade, and civilization. For this to be possible, we want railways in Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Macedonia; and, above all, a connection with the Ottoman lines. Engineers and diplomatists are already at work, and will soon succeed, I hope. I do not think any one will complain or throw blame on us when a Pullman car takes him comfortably from Paris to Constantinople in three days. We are working for the benefit of the Western world."

It has been said that speech was given to diplomatists to conceal their thoughts. I believe, though, that when Austrian statesmen deny any ideas of conquest and annexation in the East, they are expressing the true intentions of the Imperial Government. The late Chancellor de Haymerlé expressed similar opinions when I saw him in Rome in 1879, and in a letter which I received from him shortly before his death. Baron Haymerlé was better acquainted with the East and the Balkan Peninsula than any one. He had lived there many years, first as dragoman of the Austrian Embassy, and afterwards as a Government envoy, and he was a perfect master of all the different languages of the East.

The present Chancellor, Count Kálnoky, of Körospatak, is of Hungarian origin, as his name indicates; but he was born at Littowitz, in Moravia, December 29, 1832. Most of his landed estates are in that province, amongst others Prödlitz, Ottaslawitz and Szabatta. He has several brothers, and a very lovely sister who has been twice married, first to Count Jean Waldstein, the widower of a Zichy, who was already 62 years of age, and, secondly, to the Duke of Sabran. Chancellor Kálnoky's career has been very extraordinary. He left the army in 1879, with the grade of Colonel, and took up diplomacy. He obtained a post at Copenhagen, where he appeared destined to play a very insignificant part in political affairs. Shortly after, however, he was appointed to St. Petersburg, the most important of all diplomatic posts, and, on the death of Haymerlé, he was called to Vienna as Foreign Minister, and thus in three years he advanced from the position of a cavalry officer, brilliant and elegant

it is true, but with no political influence, to be the arbiter of the destinies of the Austrian Empire, and consequently of those of Europe. How may this marvellously rapid advancement, reminding one of the tales of the Grand Viziers in the "Arabian Nights," be accounted for? It is generally considered to be due to Andrassy's friendship. But the real truth is very little known. Count Kálnoky is even cleverer as a writer than as a speaker. His despatches from foreign Courts were really finished models. The Emperor, a most indefatigable and conscientious worker, reads all the despatches from the Ambassadors, and was much struck with those from St. Petersburg, noting Kálnoky as destined to fill high functions in the State. At St. Petersburg he charmed every one by his wit and amiability, and in spite of the distrust felt for his country became *persona grata* at the Court there. When he became Chancellor, the Emperor gave him the rank of Major-General.

It was thought in the beginning that his friendship for Russia might lead him to come to terms with that Power, and perhaps also with France, and to break off the alliance with Germany; but Kálnoky does not forget that he is Hungarian and the friend of Andrassy, and that the pivot of Hungarian policy, since 1866, has been a close alliance with Berlin. In the summer of 1883 the German papers more than once expressed vague doubts as to Austria's fidelity, and public opinion at Vienna, and more especially at Pesth, was rather astir on the subject. Kálnoky's visit to Gastein, where the Emperor Wilhelm showed him every mark of affection, and his interview with M. de Bismarck, where everything was satisfactorily explained, completely silenced these rumours. At the present, the young Minister's position is exceedingly secure. He enjoys the Emperor's full confidence, and, apparently, that of the nation also, for, in the last session of the Trans- and Cis-Leithanian Delegations he was acclaimed by all parties, even by the Tscheks who are just now dominant in Cis-Leithania. Count Kálnoky is hitherto unmarried, which fact, it is said, renders Vienna mothers despairing and husbands uneasy.

I pass my evenings at the Salm-Lichtensteins'. I had already the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the Altgräfin in Florence, and I am very glad to have an opportunity of meeting her husband, a member of Parliament very deeply interested in the Tscheko-German question. He belongs to the Austrian Liberal party, and severely blames Taaffe's policy, and the alliance that the Feudal party, and especially members of his own and of his wife's families, have concluded with the ultra-Tscheks. "Their aim is," he says, "to obtain the same situation for Bohemia as for Hungary. The Emperor would go to Prague to receive the crown of St. Wenceslas. An autonomous government would be re-established in Bohemia under the direction of a Diet, as in Hungary. The

Empire would become triune instead of dual. Save for questions common to all, the three States would be independent of each other, united only in the person of the Sovereign. Such an arrangement answered admirably in the Middle Ages, when it was usual; but at the present day, when we are surrounded on all sides by great united Powers, as France, Russia, Prussia and Italy, it is senseless to advocate it. I admit of federation for small neutral States like Switzerland, or for a large country embracing an entire Continent, like the United States; but I consider that for Austria, situated, as she is, in the heart of Europe, exposed on all sides to complications and to the greed and envyings of her many neighbours, it would be absolute perdition. My good friends of the Feudal party, supported by the clergy, hope that when autonomy is established in Bohemia, and the country is completely withdrawn from the influence of the Liberals of the Central Parliament, they themselves will be the masters there, and the former order of things will be reset on foot. I think they make a very great mistake. I believe that when the Tscheks have attained the end they have in view, they will turn against their present allies. They are at heart all democrats, varying in shade from pale pink to bright scarlet; but all will band together against the aristocracy and the clergy, and will make common cause with the German population of our towns, who are almost all Liberals. The country inhabitants would also in a great measure join them, and thus the aristocracy and the clergy would be inevitably vanquished. If necessary the ultra-Tscheks would call up the memories of John Huss and of Ziska, to ensure the triumph of their party.

"Strange to say," he continues, "the majority of the old families heading the national movement in Bohemia are of German origin, and do not even speak the language they wish to be made official. The Hapsburg dynasty, our capital, our civilization, the initiative and persistent perseverance to which Austria owes its creation—are not all these Germanic? In Hungary, German, the language of our Emperor, is forbidden; it is excluded also in Galicia, in Croatia, and will soon be so also in Carinthia, in Transylvania, and in Bohemia. The present policy is perilous in every respect. It is deeply wounding to the German element, which is nothing less than the enlightened classes, commerce, money—the power, in fact, of modern times. If autonomy is established in Bohemia, it will deliver over the clergy and the aristocracy to the Tschek democrats and Hussites."

"All that you say," I answer, "is perfectly clear. I can offer but one objection, which is: that from time to time in the affairs of humanity certain irresistible currents are to be met with. They are so irresistible that nothing subdues them, and any impediment

in their way merely serves to increase their force. The nationality movement is one of these. See what a prodigious re-awakening! One might almost compare it to the resurrection of the dead. Idioms buried hitherto in darkness spring forth into light and glory. What was the German language in the eighteenth century, when Frederick boasted that he ignored it, and prided himself on writing French as perfectly as Voltaire? True, it was Luther's language; yet it was not spoken by the upper and educated classes. Forty years ago, what was the Hungarian tongue? The despised dialect of the pastors of the Puzta. German was the only language spoken in good society and in Government offices, and, at the Diet, Latin. At the present day the Magyar dialect is the language of the press, of the parliament, of the theatre, of science, of academies, of the university, of poetry, and of fiction; henceforth the recognized and exclusive official language, it is imposed even upon the inhabitants of Croatia or Transylvania, who have no wish for it. Tschek is gradually securing for itself the same place in Bohemia as Magyar has attained in Hungary. A similar phenomenon is taking place in Croatia, the dialect there, formerly merely a popular *patois*, now possesses a university at Agram, poets and philologists, a national press, and a theatre. The Servian tongue, which is merely Croatian written in Cyrillic characters, has become the official, literary, parliamentary, and scientific language of Servia. It is in precisely the same position as its elder brothers, French and German, in their respective countries. It is the same for the Bulgarian idiom in Bulgaria and Roumelia, for the Roumanian in Roumania, for Polish in Galicia, for Finn in Finland, and soon also in Flanders, where, as elsewhere, the literary reawakening precedes political claims. With a constitutional government, the nationality party is sure to triumph, because there is a constant struggle between the political opponents as to which shall make the most concessions in order to secure votes for themselves. This has been also the case in Ireland. Tell me, do you think it possible that any Government would be able to suppress so deeply grounded, so universal a movement, whose root is in the very heart of long-enslaved races, and which must fatally develop as what is called modern civilization progresses? What is to be done, then, to quell this irresistible pressing forward of races all claiming their place in the sunshine? Centralize and compress them, as Schmerling and Bach tried to do? It is too late for that now. The only thing is to make compromises with these divers nationalities, as Count Taaffe is trying to do, being careful, at the same time, to protect the rights of the minority."

"But," answers the Altgraf, "in Bohemia we Germans are in a minority, the Tscheks could crush us mercilessly."

The following day I call on M. de V., an influential Conservative

member of Parliament. He appears to me even more distressed than Count Salm. "An Austrian of the old school, a sincere black and yellow, I am, and even, says M. de V., what you call in your extraordinary Liberal jargon, a Reactionist. My attachment to the Imperial family is absolute, as being the common centre of all parties in the State. I am attached to Count Taaffe, because he is the representative of Conservative principles; but I deplore his federalistic policy, which, if pursued, will certainly lead to the disintegration of the Empire. My audacity even goes so far as to declare that Metternich was a clever man. Our good friends, the Italians, reproach him with having said that Italy is a mere geographical expression. But of our Empire, which he made so powerful, and, on the whole, so happy, not even that will be left, if this system of chopping it into pieces be followed much longer. It will become a kaleidoscope instead of a State, a mere collection of dissolving views.' Do you recollect Dante's lines?

' Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai  
Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle.  
Diverse lingue, orribile favelle,  
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,  
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle.'

"This is the state of things that is being prepared for us. You would hardly, perhaps, believe that this mania is now so violently raging that the Germans in Bohemia, dreading the future power of the Tscheks, have requested autonomy for that portion of the country where they are in a majority. On the other hand, the Tscheks would never suffer the division of their realm of St. Wenceslas, so this is another cause of quarrel. This struggle of races is but a return to barbarous ages. You are a Belgian and I an Austrian; could we not therefore agree to manage a business or direct an institution together?" "Of course," I reply. "When a certain degree of culture is attained, the important point is conformity of feeling rather than a common language, but at the outset, language is the means of arriving at intellectual culture. The motto of one of our Flemish societies affirms this most energetically: *De taal is gauseh het volk* ('Language is everything for a people'). In my opinion, reason and virtue are the important points, but without language and letters there can be no progress in civilization."

I take note of a curious little incident, which shows how exceedingly bitter this animosity of races has become. The Tscheks of Vienna, who number about 30,000, requested a grant from the town council to assist them to found a school, where the instruction would be given in their language. The Rector of the University of that city spoke in favour of this request at the meeting of the council. The students of the Tschek University of Prague, apprised of this, forwarded him a vote of thanks; but in what language? Not in

Tschek, the Rector would not have understood a word ; nor in German, the language of the oppressors ; in French, as being a foreign idiom and neutral everywhere. The vote—certainly very justifiable—of the Rector in favour of a Tschek school in Vienna, was so highly disapproved of by his colleagues that he was forced to resign his post.

I go next to see Baron von Neumann, one of the pillars of our Institute of International Law. Besides his vast legal knowledge he possesses the precious faculty of speaking all European languages with equal facility, and has also at his disposal a treasure of quotations from the most varied literature. In the different towns in which the Institute has met, he has replied to the authorities appointed to receive us in their own language, and generally as fluently as a native. Baron Neumann takes me to the University of which he is one of the chief ornaments. It is situated quite near the Cathedral, and is a very ancient building, which will shortly be abandoned for the sumptuous edifice in course of construction on the Ring. I am introduced to Professor Lorenz von Stein, author of the best work that has ever been written on Socialism, "*Der Socialismus in Frankreich*," and also of several works on public law and political economy, which are very highly considered in Germany. I am also very pleased to make the acquaintance of my youthful colleague, M. Schleinitz, who has just published an important work on the development of landed property. Baron Neuman transmits me a letter from Baron Kállay, the Financial Minister, appointing an interview with me before I leave ; but I see first M. de Serres, the director of the Austrian railways, who will be able to give me some details as to the connection between the Hungarian and Servian and the Ottoman lines : a question of the very first importance for the future of the East, and which I had promised myself to study.

The Austrian Railway Companies' offices are in a palace on the Place Schwarzenberg, the finest part of the Ring. Their interior arrangements are quite in keeping with the outside appearance. Immense white marble staircases, spacious and comfortable offices, and the furniture in the reception-rooms all velvet and gold. What a contrast between this modern luxury and the simplicity of the Ministerial offices ! It is the symbol of a serious economic revolution. Industry takes priority of politics. M. de Serres spreads out a map of the railway system on the table. "See," he says, "this is the direct line from Pesth to Belgrade ; it crosses the Danube at Peterwardein and the Save at Semlin ; it was necessary therefore to construct two immense bridges, the piles of which have been constructed by the Fives-Lille Company. The Belgrade-Nisch section will be very soon inaugurated. At Nisch there will be a bifurcation of two lines, one continues to Sofia and the other, branching off, joins the Salonica-Nitrovitz branch at Uskub or at Varosch.



The line is to run along the Upper Morava by Lescovatz and Vrainia. The latter town can then be easily connected with Varosch on the Salonica line, the distance between these two places being quite trifling. This branch line, which will be quickly terminated, is of capital importance. It will be the nearest route to Athens, and even to Egypt and the extreme East; and will ultimately, in all probability, beat not only Marseilles but Brindisi. The other section of the line, from Nisch to Sofia and Constantinople, presents great difficulties. In the first place, the Pass through which the Nischava flows before reaching Pirot is so wild, narrow, and savage, as to challenge the skill of our engineers. Then, after leaving Pirot, the line must rise over some of the last heights of the Balkans to reach the plain of Sofia; the rocks here, too, are very bad. Beyond, on the high plateau, there will be no difficulty, and a line was half completed by the Turks ten years ago, between Sofia and Saranbay (the terminus of their system); fifteen or sixteen months would suffice to finish it. To be brief, this year we shall be able to go by rail all through Servia as far as Nisch. A year later, if no time be lost, we shall reach Salonica, and, two years afterwards, Constantinople."

I thanked M. de Serres for all these interesting details. "The completion of these lines," I said, "will be an event of capital interest for the Eastern world. It will be the signal for an economic transformation far otherwise important than political combinations, and will hasten the accomplishment of an inevitable result—the development and the supremacy of the dominant races. Your Austrian railways and Hungary will be the first to benefit, but very soon the whole of Europe will share the advantages which will accrue from the civilizing of the Balkan peninsula."

I call after this on Baron Kállay. I am very pleased to have an opportunity of seeing him, for I am told on all sides that he is one of the most distinguished statesmen of the empire. He is a pure Magyar, descended from one of Arpad's companions, who came to Hungary towards the close of the ninth century. They must have been a careful and thrifty family, for they have been successful in retaining their fortune, an excellent precedent for a Financial Minister! When quite young, Kállay displayed an extraordinary taste for learning, and he was anxious to know everything; he worked very hard at the Slav and Eastern languages and translated Stuart Mill's "*Liberty*" into Magyar, and for his literary labour he obtained the honour of being nominated a member of the Hungarian Academy.

Having failed to be elected deputy in 1866, he was appointed Consul-General at Belgrade, which post he held for eight years. This period was not lost to science, for he spent it in collecting matter for a history of Servia. In 1874 he was elected deputy in the Hungarian Diet and took his place on the Conservative benches;

now the Moderate Left. He started a newspaper, the *Kelet Nepe*, (The People of the East), in which he depicted the part Hungary ought to play in Eastern Europe.

It will be remembered that when the Turko-Russian war broke out, followed by the occupation of Bosnia in 1876, the Magyars were most vehement in their manifestations of sympathy with the Turks, and the opposition was most violent in attacking the occupation. The Hungarians were so bitterly hostile to this movement, because they thought it would be productive of an increase in the number of the Slav inhabitants in the Empire. Even the Government party were so convinced of the unpopularity of Andrassy's policy that they durst not openly support it. Just at this time, Kállay took upon himself to defend it in the House. He told his party that it was senseless to favour the Turkish cause. He proved clearly that the occupation of Bosnia was a necessity, even from a Hungarian point of view; because this State forms a corner separating Servia from Montenegro, and thus being in the hands of Austria-Hungary, prevents the formation of an important Slav State which might exercise an irresistible attraction on the Croats, who are of the same race and speak the same language. He explained his favourite projects, and spoke of the commercial and civilizing mission of Hungary in the East. This attitude of a man who knew the Balkan peninsula by heart and had deeply studied all the questions referring to it, was most irritating to many members of his party, who continued for some little time Turcophile; but the speech produced a profound impression on the nation in general, and public opinion was considerably modified. Baron Kállay was designated by Count Andrassy as the Austrian representative in the Commission on Roumelian affairs, and, on his return to Vienna, he was appointed chief of a section in the Foreign Office. He published his history of Servia in Hungarian; it has since been translated into German and Servian, and, even at Belgrade, it is admitted to be the best that exists. He also published, about this time, an important pamphlet in German and Hungarian, on the aspirations of Russia in the East during the past three centuries. Under the Chancellor Haymerlé he became Secretary of State, and his authority increased rapidly. Count Szlavy, formerly Hungarian Minister, a very capable man, but with little acquaintance with the countries beyond the Danube, was then Financial Minister; and, as such, was the sole administrator of Bosnia. The occupation was a total failure. It entailed immense expense, the taxes were not paid into the exchequer, it was said that the money was detained by the Government officials as during the reign of the Turks, and both the Trans-Leithanian and Cis-Leithanian Parliaments showed signs of discontent. Szlavy resigned his post. The Emperor very rightly thinks an immense deal of

Bosnia. It is his hobby, his special interest. During his reign Venetian Lombardy has been lost, and his kingdom, consequently, diminished. Bosnia is a compensation for this, and possesses the great advantage of adjoining Croatia, so that it could easily be absorbed into the empire; whereas, with the Italian provinces, this was totally impossible. The Emperor then looked around him for the man capable of setting Bosnian affairs in order, and at once selected Kállay, who was appointed to replace Szlavay.

The first act of the new Minister was personally to visit the occupied province of which he speaks all the varied dialects, and to converse with the Catholics, Orthodox and Mahomedans there. He thus succeeded in reassuring Turkish landholders, in encouraging the peasantry to patience, in reforming abuses and turning the thieves out of the temple. Expenses became at once reduced and the deficit diminished, but the undertaking might well be compared to the cleansing of the Augean stables. Baron Kállay employed great tact and consideration, coupled with relentless firmness. To be able to set a clock in thorough order it is necessary to be perfectly acquainted with its mechanism. Last year he was warned that a tiny cloud was appearing in Montenegro. A fresh insurrection was dreaded. He started at once to ascertain the exact position of affairs for himself, and he took his wife with him to give his visit a non-official character. Lady Kállay is as intelligent as she is beautiful, and as courageous as intelligent; this latter is indeed a family quality: Countess Bethlen, she is descended from the hero of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor. Their journey through Bosnia would form the subject of a poem. While on his way from ovation to ovation, he succeeded in stamping out the lighted wick which was about to set fire to the powder. Since then, it appears, matters there have continued to improve; at all events, the deficit has disappeared, the Emperor is delighted, and every one tells me that if Austria succeed in retaining Bosnia she will certainly owe it to Kállay, and that a most important rôle is assuredly reserved for him in the future administration of the empire. He believes in a great destiny for Hungary, but he is by no means an ultra-Magyar. He is prudent, thoughtful, and is well aware of the quagmires by the way. His Eastern experience is of great service to him. I call on him at his offices, in a little narrow street and on the second floor. The wooden staircase is dark and narrow. I cannot help comparing it in my mind to the magnificent palace of the Railway Company, and I must confess my preference for this. I am astonished to find him so young; he is but forty-three years old. The old empire used to be governed by old men, but this is no longer the case. Youth has now the upper hand, and is responsible, doubtless, for the present firm and decisive policy of Austria-Hungary. The Hungarians hold the reins, and

their blood has preserved the ardour and decision of youthful people. It seemed to me that I breathed in Austria an air of revival.

Baron Kállay spoke to me first of the Zadrugas, the family communities which existed everywhere in India, as has so well been shown by Sir Henry Maine. "Since you published your book on Primitive Property" (which was, he says, at the time perfectly accurate), "many changes have taken place—the patriarchal family living on its collective and unalienable domain is rapidly disappearing. I regret this quite as much as you can do, but what can be done?"

Speaking of Bosnia, "We are blamed," he says, "for not having yet settled the agrarian question there, but Ireland is sufficient proof of the difficulties to be met with in solving such problems. In Bosnia these are further complicated by the conflict between the Mussulman and our Western laws. One must be on the spot and study these vexed questions there, fully to realize the hindrances to be met with at every step. For instance, the Turkish law constitutes the State the owner of all forests, and I am especially desirous of retaining rights on these for the purpose of preserving them; on the other hand, in accordance with a Slav custom, the villagers claim certain rights on the forests. If they merely cut the wood they needed for household purposes, only slight harm would be done; but they ruthlessly cut down trees, and then turn in their goats who eat and destroy the young shoots, so that there is never any chance of the old trees being replaced. These wretched animals are the plague of the country. Wherever they manage to penetrate, nothing is to be found but brushwood.

"As the preservation of these woods is of the first necessity in so mountainous a region we intend to pass a law to this end, but the difficulty will be to enforce it. It would almost necessitate an army of keepers and constant struggles in every direction. What is really lacking in this fine country so favoured by Nature is a *gentry* who would set an example of agricultural progress, as in Hungary. I will give you an example in proof of this. As a boy I remember that a very heavy old-fashioned plough was used on our land. In 1848, compulsory labour was abolished, wages increased, and we had to cultivate ourselves. We at once sent for the most perfected American iron ploughs, and at the present day these alone are employed even by the peasants. Austria has a great mission to fulfil in Bosnia, which will in all probability benefit general Europe even more than ourselves. She must, by civilizing the country, justify her occupation of it."

"For myself," I replied, "I have always maintained, in opposition to my friends the English Liberals, that the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Dalmatia was a necessity, and I fully explained

this at a period when the question was not at all under discussion,\* but the essential point of all is the making of a railway and roads to connect the interior with the ports on the coast. The Serayevo-Mortar line is absolutely a necessity."

"I am quite of your opinion," answers Baron Kállay, "*ma i danari*, all cannot be done in a day. We have but just completed the Brod-Serayevo line, which takes passengers in a day from Vienna to the centre of Bosnia. It is one of the first boons conferred by the occupation, and its consequences will be almost measureless."

I refer to a speech he has recently pronounced at the Academy of Pesth. In it he develops his favourite subject, the great mission Hungary is destined to fulfil in the future; being connected with the East through the Magyars and with the West through her ideas and institutions, she must be a link between the Eastern and Western worlds. This theory provoked a complete overflow of attacks against Magyar pride from all the German and Slav papers. "These Hungarians," they said, "imagine themselves to be the centre of the universe and their Hungaria, the entire world, *Ungarischer Globus*. Let them return to their steppes, these Asiatics, these Tartars, these first cousins of the Turks." In the midst of all this vehemence, I am reminded of a little quotation from a book of Count Zays, which most accurately paints the ardent patriotism of the Hungarians at once, their honour and strength, but which develops a spirit of domination and makes them detested by other races. The quotation is as follows: "The Magyar loves his country and his nationality better than humanity, better than liberty, better than himself, better even than God and his eternal salvation." Kállay's high intelligence prevents his falling into this exaggerated Chauvinism. "No one understood me," he says, "and no one chose to understand. I was not talking politics. I had no desire to do so in our Academy at a scientific and literary meeting. I simply announced an undeniable fact. Situated at the point of junction of a series of different races and for the very reason that we speak a non-Indo-Germanic idiom—call it even Asiatic, if you will—we are compelled to be acquainted with all the languages of Western Europe.

\* "It is absolutely necessary for Dalmatia to become connected with Bosnia. As a Montenegrin guide one day remarked to Miss Muir Mackenzie, 'Dalmatia without Bosnia, is like a face without a head, and Bosnia without Dalmatia is a head without a face.' There being no communication between the Dalmatian ports and the inland villages, the former with their fine names are but unimportant little towns stripped of all their former splendour. For instance, Ragusa, formerly an independent Republic, has a population of 6,000 inhabitants; Zara 9,000; Zebeniko 6,000; and Cattaro, situated in the most lovely bay in Europe, and with a natural basin sufficiently spacious to accommodate the navy of all Europe, has but 2,078 inhabitants. In several of these impoverished cities, beggars have taken up their abode in the ancient palaces of the princes of commerce, and the lion of St. Mark overlooks these buildings falling into ruins. This coast, which has the misfortune to adjoin a Turkish province, will never regain its former position until good roads and railways have been constructed between its splendid ports and the fertile inland territory, whose productiveness is at present essentially hampered by the vilest imaginable administration."—*La Prusse et l'Autriche depuis Sadova*, ii. p. 151. 1868.

Our institutions, our educational systems, belong to the Western world. At the same time, by some mysterious connection with our blood, Eastern dialects are very easily accessible and comprehensible to us. I have over and over again remarked that I can grasp much more clearly the meaning of an Eastern manuscript or document by translating it into Magyar, than if I read a German or English translation of it."

The "Ring," and how this splendid boulevard has been made, is certainly a question worthy of an economist's inquiries. What changes since 1846! At that period, from the heights of the old ramparts that had sustained the famous siege of 1683, one could obtain a panorama of the entire city, with its extensive faubourgs separated from the centre by a dusty esplanade where the Hungarian regiments, with their tight blue trousers, drilled every evening. The Volksgarten, where Strauss played his waltzes, and the Grecian temple with Canova's statue, have been left intact; but a boulevard twice as wide as those in Paris runs along the entire length; ample space has been reserved for the erection of public monuments and the remainder of the land sold at enormous prices. The State and the town have constructed public edifices vying with each other in magnificence; two splendid theatres, a town-hall, which will certainly cost fifty million francs; a palace for the University, two museums, and a House of Parliament for the Reichsrath. All around the Ring, in addition to the buildings just mentioned, are Archdukes' palaces, immense hotels, and private residences, which, from their grand proportions and the richness of their decorations, are monuments themselves. I know of nothing comparable to the Ring in any other capital. Where did Austria find the necessary funds for all these constructions? The State and the town made a most successful speculation: the price paid to them for the ground on the esplanade almost covered all their expenses, but the purchasers of that ground and the constructions placed upon it—who paid for all that? The hundreds of millions of francs represented by this land and by the public buildings and private dwellings on it, all that must spring from the savings of the country. This affords a clear proof that in spite of the unfortunate wars, the loss of Venetian Lombardy and the Krach of 1873, in spite also of home difficulties and the persistent deficit, continuing from year to year, Austria has become much wealthier. The State is a beggar, but the nation has accumulated capital which expands itself in all these splendours of the Ring. As on the banks of the Rhine, all this is due to machinery. As man can with his new and powerful tools procure nourishment and clothing for a less sum, he can devote a larger portion of his revenue and labour to his board, his pleasures, to art and various institutions.

All that I succeeded in ascertaining in Vienna with respect to the

present situation of Bosnia served to confirm the views I already entertained as to that country. The interests of civilization, and especially those of the Southern Slavs, command our approval of this occupation. We arrive at this conclusion by an argument which appears to me irrefutable. Was it, yes or no, of importance that Bosnia should be freed from the Turkish yoke? No friend of humanity in general and of the Slavs can answer this question otherwise than in the affirmative. Who then is to carry out this freedom? Russia is not to be thought of. The forming of Bosnia into an independent State would be still worse, for it would be simply delivering up the rayas without the slightest defence to the Mussulman Begs. The most tempting plan seemed to be to unite it to Servia, but in that case Bosnia would have been separated from its neighbour Dalmatia, and the Servian Government would have been compelled to undertake the difficult task of keeping its ancient enemies, the Mussulman Bosniacs, in check. The only other solution was the present one. Austria-Hungary can neither Magyarize nor Germanize Bosnia. She brings it safety, order, education and roads; or, in other words, the elements of modern civilization. Is not this all the Slavophiles can possibly desire? Thus will be formed a new nation, which will grow up side by side with Croatia and Dalmatia, fortifying these two countries as it develops, and serving at the same time as a connecting link between them.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

## THE HIGHLAND LAND AGITATION.

**A**N Irish Land Act, giving a charitable protection to the poorest of the Irish land cultivators, was passed in 1870. Another Irish Land Act, making all Irish cultivators part owners of their farms, was passed ten years later. Are not the Highlanders and Islanders "as good as the Irish," and why should they not have equal protection? This is what the Gaelic-speaking Scotsman asks, and if he asks this question, why should not those who are in similar circumstances, although they have not had the advantage on their side of speaking Gaelic, or of praise in romantic literature, or of ability to make heart-stirring complaints, ask the same question? Is not the Lowland Scot, is not the Aberdeen and East-coast crofter, is not the poor Welsh or English cultivator, "as good as the Irish?" If so, why should not a charitable Parliament, elected by householders of every class, assist the rural, and perhaps the urban, tenant, to get more protection than he has at present; and when he must change his abode, give him something to enable him to start afresh? It is a wide question, by no means confined to "the state of the Highlands." What then has brought the Highlander's case prominently forward just now? A variety of causes; the natural emptying of the country by the attraction offered by the towns, and the increased power given to the countryman to reach these by steamer and rail; the spreading of education; the now rare, but in past times too frequent, sudden changing of small holdings into wintering ground for sheep-farms, a change benefiting the general public by bringing into the market much food and utilizing the mountains hitherto unused, but often causing hardship to the small tenant, who shifted his quarters to the town or to a colony to his own ultimate good but temporary pain; the outcry against "depopulating the country,"



made by good-hearted men whose sympathies are proof against the lure of political economy ; above all the intercourse the West country islander has with Ireland. \* Hence the question asked by the men of Skye when they have talked at Kinsale with the men of Ireland, " Are we not as good as the Irish ? "

A Royal Commission of Inquiry has been appointed, and under the personal guidance of a distinguished Indian governor and British peer, has gone the rounds of the Hebrides and Highland littoral, and has answered this question in the affirmative, and has indeed said, " Yes, and a great deal better ; " for the report they have issued has not only requested the Government to confirm in their crofts the larger holders, but has advised that a considerable class should become possessed of lands taken compulsorily from their neighbours. Any three men having holdings which are in their own opinion too small, might, according to a proposed plan, apply for enlargement, and this enlargement would take place at the expense of the next proprietor and occupier of the adjoining lands. Although it is safe to assume that this recommendation of Lord Napier's will be considered only as a curious instance of the sympathy in predatory instinct between the Borderer and the Highlander, it has already produced lawlessness in the Islanders in certain districts. The extraordinary conduct of the Government which has allowed officers of the law to be thrashed by Hebridean misdemeanants without acting with the firmness demanded of a third-rate policeman in arresting the offenders, has naturally increased the expectations of the ignorant, so that merchants, as well as landowners, are likely to be debarred from getting their due, because it is imagined that authority is on the side of " the good old rule, the simple plan, that he shall take who has the power, that he shall keep who can. "

It is as well to show the dark side of the picture presented by the West Highlands first, because it is to the dark side that we owe the appeals now made for legislation, owing to the supposed urgency of the question. Let us afterwards look at what good there is to be found, and then consider what may be done, and see how far that " may be " will carry us.

If you put the meekest of the angels or any self-sacrificing saint, on a piece of boggy clay, and made him subsist there on a possible pig and the precarious potato, he would become open to temptation to take whatever he could lay his hands upon. It is impossible not to feel the greatest respect and affection for the Highlander in straitened circumstances. He is God-fearing, honest, refined in manner and in mind, hardy, and well able to take advantage of opportunities offered to him. But he is mortal, and has failings like the rest of us. The climate is not calculated to produce good crops or an energetic temperament. Until now he has not had

an education in the English language placed within his reach. He therefore knows nothing but the traditions, often distorted by imagination and repetition, derived from his fathers, and gathered from a narrow area. Inclined to keep at home, and naturally sociable, the geographical isolation of glen and island has prevented him from becoming an apt pupil of methods of improvement. He has resisted every innovation, from the days when vaccination and continued individual possession of holdings were regarded by him as new-fangled Lowland curses, to the present day, when he considers the introduction of Lowland farming or Lowland farmers as a new species of Egyptian plague. The want of knowledge of English has been a mill-stone round his neck in making him shy of going to the centres of humankind. It is not the man that is in fault for this. It is the chain of circumstances that has tied him down. He is a remnant of an old state of society which existed throughout England as well as Scotland—a state that has disappeared, as it must disappear also around him. Already, in spite of isolation and a desperate hatred of reform and suspicion of innovation, he is slowly moving into another day. The houses are usually bad, and the holdings are often so numerous and poor that very few owners are rich enough to build the tenements required by modern sanitary ideas. Bad as the habitation of the Hebridean often is, it is, as a rule, not so bad as it was in “the good old times” which some men, who can rhyme but cannot reason, would bring back or perpetuate. Even now, in some parts of the Lews you may see the houses of the past. Sometimes they were shaped like an Esquimaux’s igloo, of converging stones that met in a turf-covered dome, giving a 6 by 9 feet space inside, of 5 feet in height. Usually they were of ampler dimensions. There was a double wall, with a gravel or sand filled space between. The roof, thatched with grass and straw, rested not on the outer but inner wall-edge. In the entrance was a hand-mill, like a large cheese cut horizontally in two, for grinding the household meal. Beyond this entrance was the largest space, reserved for cattle, whose dung was allowed to accumulate through the winter, and was only taken out in spring. Separated from this space only by a row of stones on the floor, was the part used by the family. A Red Indian’s lodge was a palace compared to this abode. There were no tables, no chairs, no bedding, and rough clay utensils were used. A turf bench and a board or two covered with straw was all the accommodation afforded for lying or sitting around the small central fire, whose smoke went up to cover with soot the thatch of the roof, adding to the gloom of an apartment unlit by any window. The soot-filled straw was often taken off the miserable dwelling to be used as manure on the cultivated patch which lay beyond the dirt at the door. In some districts the “black houses,” as these dwellings were.

fitly styled, had a few coats less of dirt, and an entrance for a little more light was contrived. As a rule, they were built in village clusters, and the land around this community, which had much resemblance to an inferior Russian "mir," was cultivated in "run-rig" or "rundale," as their Irish cousins called the system of giving to each villager in turn annually the various arable patches of which the "Baile" or "township" was composed. Beyond the arable land was the pasture or out-field, on which the cattle were driven in summer. The higher portions of the hills were lost to use, but the cattle thrived on the lower slopes, and great was the fun and love-making in the milking season, when the people went to tend their herds, and dwelt for the time in the greystone "shielings" by the side of the burns and the sheltering knolls of grass and heather. In winter the cattle fed during the day on the arable land. Except for the alteration from "rundale" to separate holdings, and the erection of the houses on the separate holdings instead of in a village cluster, there has been little change in the Highland townships, where isolation has allowed them to survive. The stock which can be kept by each man must be very limited, and the animals find pasture as of old on the hill. A good plough has often taken the place of the antique instrument formerly used, and where the light of education has reached, the individual holdings are a little larger, for a few of the crofters have preferred to become owners of good farms in Canada or the States, or have found occupation in the towns, and their former possessions go to make the remaining tenants more comfortable.

The total number still drawing the means of a precarious existence from small tenancies is estimated at 200,000; but there are many whose right in their own estimation, and in the opinion of the Land Restoration League, to a share in the soil is as good. These are the cottars who sometimes are possessed of a little land, and more often have none. They subsist from hand to mouth, sometimes working for the crofters, and hiring from them the use of a few furrows for potatoes; sometimes eking out their living by fishing, but often indigent, and if the potato or the fishing fail, thrown with the crofters into great distress. They, too, have their traditions that in past generations their fathers "had land," and oftentimes the meetings which met to lay their grievances in proper form before the Commissioners were promoted and stimulated by the landless cottars. It is in the poorest and worst educated districts that the tendency to further subdivision of the holdings led to "squatting," or the building of hovels and the commencement of the wretched cottar's existence on places without leave of the landlord, is most marked. A young fellow marries a cottar's or crofter's daughter. He is hale and strong, and might get money easily elsewhere. She is young and healthy, and could well help him in doing so. It is

manifest that the parent's patch of land has enough to do, and more, in giving a living to them and to the strong brothers who are only too likely to be already burdening the croft's resources. But the bride does not wish to go from home, and the mother likes to have her near her. What more natural? It is in vain to argue that from some neighbouring county or town the old home might be frequently visited. No, nothing will content the young couple but to have "a stance," or site for a house, and to settle down on the sands or bogs to take their chance at home, with summer fishing to help them, or perhaps with even less hopeful prospects. Thus, unless some influence such as the landlord's, or wider knowledge, or rare enterprise, restrain them, there is soon another family on the poor place, and greater destitution in bad years, and more helpless outcry.

There are areas in the West Highlands to which I should like to take those who are in love with complete self-government for an ignorant and warm-hearted people. The squalor, crowding, idiocy, and scrofula to be met with in some such townships are not the results any true friend of the islander would like to see. But the causes which have produced such things are dying out, and if not encouraged by a reckless benevolence will in a generation or two be unknown, for the excellent schools now furnished lavishly and wisely, will make the next generation know the nakedness of their condition and impel them to change. Even in the best crofts, the results, judged from an industrial and economic point of view, are very poor. Rent may very generally be taken as the index of the land's produce, and the west-coast crofter is rented at about half the amount readily and easily paid by his brother of the east coast. He pays about half, or not so much as half, the rent which would be given, and is given, by a capitalist farmer for the same kind of land. The reason is obvious. Small possessions cannot be treated as can one large field. You cannot expect large drainage works or any costly improvement on these. The removing of stones and the reclamation, after a fashion, of moor and moss, is by far the most valuable of the improvements such men can make, and in certain localities this has been done, and well done.

But the stock kept is usually poor in quality and scanty in number, and the crops, owing to inferior cultivation and want of manure, are wretched. Hence the general market is undoubtedly badly served by the crofting system. There is no further assistance to be expected in the introduction of any new plant, or any new cultivation which might improve the people's lot. The tools they use, simple as they may be, are yet well adapted to the work they have to perform; and the old long shovel-like wooden spade with its iron tip is as good an instrument as can be invented for the turning of peat into the high ridges in which the potatoes are planted. A hundred years ago war and

small-pox and other causes made the Highland population a comparatively scanty one. All the Highland clans devoted to the Stuart dynasty could only furnish the Highland army with 10,000 or 11,000 men. There are careful returns of many estates, showing that a century ago the number of the people was not nearly so large as it now is on properties such as those of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, the Duke of Sutherland, Lord MacDonald, McLeod of McLeod, and the Duke of Argyll. Towards 1780 the kelp trade, causing the collection of seaweed for iodine, potash, &c., began to bring wealth, and with the general introduction of the potato an immense population began to accumulate. In 1847 came the blight of that plant, and the migration and emigration of large numbers. It is altogether a mistake to believe the sensational stories of wholesale and general eviction. There have in past times been some bad cases of heartless proceeding, but the Commissioners, who lately took all evidence with scarcely any sifting of the same, came across no cases of eviction carried out for the purpose of "land clearance for sport." They who have seen the emigrant's lot in Canada and America and Australia know that, as a rule, the emigrants who were assisted to remove were helped to what was affluence in comparison with their former lot. Even those men who had a hard fight of it at first, in such tracts as Cape Breton, &c., will never speak as if they thought the landlords had been wrong in getting their fathers' habitation changed, and with the great majority you will hear that the family tradition has been that they went willingly, and often even joyously. That there were hard cases in old days no one can deny, and it is a just Nemesis on such proceedings that any should be remembered to work mischief now when the actors are long dead and buried, and that minds should be poisoned against salutary emigration when overcrowding and destitution demand a movement on the part of a certain number.

At best the system of cultivation of very small areas in a sunless climate is a system producing little to its advantage from an economical point of view. It is liable to great abuse wherever the natural instincts of the people towards subdivision and conglomeration are indulged. It affords no scope for a man to rise to a better state as a cultivator. It tends to a chronic poverty, and when potatoes fail, to actual want. It hinders men from having an equal chance with others to follow lucrative pursuits, for the crofter is tied to an unprofitable scrap of land. It is a system dying in the natural course of events, and daily weakening beneath the influence of travel, teaching, and transition in modes of thought and scale of bodily and mental acquirement. What then can be said for any artificial stimulus to be applied by legislation or opinion to this decaying phase of rural existence? The argument most frequently heard is one derived from the fact that in past times many soldiers for the

active army came from the Highlands. This is true of the past, although it is not true of the present. The patriarchal government of the chief was so absolute that if he commanded men to go or to follow him to the wars, or to wage a mere family feud, a large proportion of the able-bodied of the population went. If he changed his religion, they altered their creed. But this phase of mind is fortunately a thing of the past, both for chiefs and clansmen, and another government than that of personal rule, and a better existence than that of the imaginary good old times, is coming. "Irish legislation" cannot keep the intelligent Scottish Highlander to his poverty-stricken plot. That the "townships" furnished soldiers is a matter of history. So is the fact that many large farms were in the last century cut up into crofts to reward men who had been induced by the chiefs to serve, so that "land restoration" would often mean the reconstitution of large farms where crofters now live. No one will dispute that the furnishing of men for the service of the State is a good, but the argument may be overdriven. City slums and the poorest Irish have furnished most soldiers, but none argue that slums should be kept and Irish poverty encouraged that the army ranks may be filled. Yet the strength of town and country must much depend on its population, and common sense says: "Try to keep as large an urban and rural population as the character of the country will profitably maintain in comfort, and let the rest emigrate." This is the whole question. What number can the country maintain in comfort? The question may receive the reply that a man who could raise from £80 to £90 from the soil would be able to live in the Highlands in decent comfort. The class then which we should desire to have are small farmers who could raise that amount and upwards, and if the land be not their own, and rent be taken as one-third the value, a man paying £30 may be fairly well off. As the rental of the west coast is often far less than that paid elsewhere, we may assume that a crofter paying £30 of rent could raise from £100 to £150 worth of produce. A man may live on a possession worth less, but £10 of rent is about the lowest figure which can be said to represent a competent livelihood in good seasons. If these positions are conceded, we may assume that among the crofting population there are a very considerable number who may be encouraged to remain on the land, although there are many below the indicated scale who should migrate or emigrate. The crofting system has certainly tended to keep in the country some of the class which a big farm system would have obliterated. The capitalist farm gives the public a larger return in food, the crofts a larger return in men. The mixture of the two is the aim to be attained, if possible on a graduated scale, so that there shall be possessions of several sizes. The small tenant may help himself by working for the capitalist

tenant, and the big man gives his poorer neighbour the readiest market for sale of stock. It may be assumed that, although it is difficult at present to persuade the Hebridean and West Highlander to engage in the country's service, they will in time again furnish recruits. The influence of the chiefs was already waning in the last century, yet it sufficed to raise important levies, and the influence was used to such an extent that the loss in battle and by disease produced a great impression and reaction against enlistment. The Naval Reserve has been successful in obtaining the northern men, and the good pay offered will induce more to join in the future. The race is a fine one, and although Gaelic-speaking, has in the Islander a stronger strain of the Norse than of the Celtic blood. If you attend a church service in almost any island of that sea-beaten archipelago, you will very rarely see the unmistakable type characteristic of the true Celt. The men are tall, with the longer features, brown beards and ruddy skin of the Scandinavian. They are a fine people, and no one who knows them can abstain from the desire that many may be retained upon the land wherever it is compatible with their comfort and progress.

If the facilities for army recruiting be used as one argument, the only other which can be brought in favour of the system is that enforced in the claim, "They have as good a right, and a better, to be where they are than any, while they pay their rent." This argument cannot be maintained from any historical facts, and it hardly touches the question of the advantages of any given land system. But it has been a claim of equity allowed by the older proprietors, and questioned by very few of the newer purchasers of land. The rural with the urban householder will soon be in a position to enforce the claim if they choose to do so. It will, however, probably occur to them that the ownership of land must be left to individuals, and the only question is, to what individual? The purchaser in the open market will probably remain the arbiter of the uses to which the land shall be put, for State management, as advocated by Mr. George and approved at late rural meetings, would be the most savage and expensive form of landlordism ever invented for the promotion of needless party patronage, for the rack-renting in the interest of city populations of the rural householder, and for the increase of an expensive bureaucracy. Our colonies find it expensive and intolerable to try to manage their own railways, and fly to syndicates and companies to relieve them. With a State management, each appointment and dismissal becomes a party grievance and question; and how much more would this be the case where factors and sub-factors would be Government and not private officials? There is no sufficient ground for taking the ownership from the present proprietors, for they have, according to the

evidence given by the people, not used their powers unjustly. What did the people complain of? Of want of space, the plots of land in their occupation being too small; of the raising of rents; of "clearance for sport." The Commissioners recommended compulsory additions to the crofts, and reported that they would not interfere with rents, and that they had found no cases of "clearances for sporting purposes." They adopt the opinion that the crofters' system at its best is worthy of preservation, and sanction the claim that they have a right to remain by recommending a system of compulsory leases.

Let us see what good there is in this. The recommendation for legislation draws a line at a £6 croft, and would give leases to none below that point. In one part of their Report they state that a croft which would be represented by £6 rent is too small to maintain a family; so taking one piece of their advice with another, we may assume that a £10 rented croft is worthy of a lease for fifteen years. If this be allowed, and I am of opinion that it should be allowed, the rents might be settled by sworn valuers acting under public authority, and on some definite principle, such as a certain rate per head on the stock maintained upon the croft. The average of the market price for stock for the previous five years, and the "fiars" prices for crop, might be taken as the basis of valuation.

We may, I believe, be excused the consideration of the predatory recommendation of the compulsory taking of other men's land for the enlargement of crofts. This out-Herods anything ever proposed in Indian or Irish land legislation, and the majority of any legislature may be trusted to suppose that a long course of sea-sickness had made the estimable and amiable chief of the Commission somewhat giddy when he penned it.

What is remarkable about the Commissioners' Report, is the omission to take into account the case of the poorest householders. It would seem they disliked eviction only when it is directed against the comparatively opulent. What about the cottar or crofter, who "has as good a right to live on the land as any one," and who certainly has often been there quite as long as his neighbour? Is there no balm in Gilead for him? Surely, if we ought to stay the course of land depletion by the wicked agencies of steam and knowledge, we should do it for all alike, or at least should be prepared to make the poor man who has to shift his quarters feel that he is "let down easily." The truth is, that all such legislation must be charity legislation to soften inevitable economical change. Lord Napier appears to have such a horror of Irish land legislation, that he has endeavoured to steer clear of anything like it.

This has led him to try to make a special case of the Highlander by an attempt to revive the "township" or village community.



Although these have practically disappeared, except in the most "out-of-the-way" localities, where they remain with the ancient agriculture of the sixteenth century, he is so desirous to "draw the line somewhere," that he has bidden this half-laid ghost of a village community system to rise and befriend him. He might as well propose that all the people who still profess the old Highland second-sight should receive pensions at the hand of the State, or that exceptional privileges should be conferred on all who can be proved to have had belief in the Evil Eye. No, the "township" is too blasted to bear the burden of demarcation. It will not do to let men call themselves a crowded community, and get enlargements at the expense of a thrifty and hardworking farmer, who happens to be nearest to them. Some other line must be found to limit the State aid, which may very properly be given. To be sure, a money line will not serve the purpose Lord Napier desired to use the "township" for. It will not limit the State help to Highland crofts. But in the Irish Land Bill of 1870, a line was drawn at £50 rent as the limit beyond which free contract should exist, and under which men should be protected. It is a fair proposal to take such a line in giving protection, by payment on removal, to the crofter or cottar. Let us say then that men paying between £10 and £30 should be able to claim a lease at a percentage below the market-price of the average of the previous five years of the value of their stock and crop; and further, that men paying less than £10, should, if evicted for any cause, be allowed to have their house (however bad) and their tillage (however poor) estimated at the value of their labour spent upon the place; and further, that they should have payment in full for any stock, and some recognition by payment of the loss to them of their habitation if they have been a certain number of years located within it. Such legislation is just not only for the Highlander, but for all rural tenants of the poorest class. In a country where the natural tendencies to city life are so great, it is for the advantage of the community to have a rural population attracted by favourable circumstances to the country. Where men paying less than £30 rent are found residing, it is no hardship to the more wealthy that if economical changes make the removal of the poorest a necessity, these should have some compensation for the danger they may run if uprooted, to be planted in what is perhaps a richer, but to them, at first, a less kindly soil. We have protected the smallest incomes from the income-tax, and, although many economists would have the poor always pay in proportion, we must remember how difficult it is to estimate that proportion; and where home and habits are broken up, money compensation may give everything in power to start afresh. Let us not be afraid then in doing what we can for the Highlanders to spread the benefit he may receive, and do not

suppose, because Lord Napier has sometimes found something like the Russian "mir" to exist with them, that this constitutes them privileged beings to whom such favour, if extended at all, can be extended alone.

Wherever landlords are willing to sell, the advantages offered to the Irish tenants should be offered to the tenant cultivators of England and Scotland, in facilities provided by the State for the eventual purchase of holdings, and for their enlargement. Some help to provide harbours, and boats, and fishing gear, might with advantage be offered by the Government, for the West Coast fisheries have never been sufficiently used ; but nothing can be done by the State for the West Coast inhabitants which may not fairly be claimed for the benefit of all who may be similarly situated in other parts of the United Kingdom.

LORNE.

## THE CROWN OF THORNS THAT BUDDER.

### I.

IN the "Fioretti" of St. Francis of Assisi, a dream is related in which Fra Giacomo beheld Jesus Christ in glory present St. Francis with a cup filled with the Spirit of Life. "Go," said the Lord, "visit the brethren of thy Order, and give them to drink of this cup of the Spirit of Life."

The seer beheld a vision which was not only true concerning the *Fratres minores*, but of all his countrymen; Francis was the bearer of the cup of the Spirit of Life not only to the brethren who followed his rule, but to all Italy. I propose to show it in one important province of Italian genius, that province in which Italy has obtained the blessing of Judah: *te laudabant fratres tui*.

Let any one, in ever so slight a degree, acquaint himself with the early Italian painters, and he will feel that they possess, above all others, the most essential quality in Art:—Soul. And this soul, if traced back to its human source, will be found to be that of Francis of Assisi, and to have exactly his characteristics. For it is certainly true that not only theology, philosophy, and science, but also art, received from his life and doctrine inspiration for which we should vainly seek a parallel, unless we go back to the Life of which his was but the faint reflection and the echo.

If Bonaventura, William of Occam, and Roger Bacon received this inspiration from Assisi, so also did Giotto. As Dan speaking of the precipitous hill on which it stood:

"Di quella costa là, dov' ella frange  
Più su rattezza, nacque al mondo un Sole  
Come fa questo tal volta di Gange.

"Però chi d'esso loco fa parole  
Non dica Ascesi, che direbbe corto,  
Ma oriente se proprio dir vuole."\*

II.

Italy, in the twelfth century, presented a condition of things resembling in some important points that produced by our own civilization. Trade was the very basis of its society. Every man who lived in a town was enrolled in a trade; even the nobles had submitted to the new social law.\* The spirit of money-making had taken possession of the land. Venice, Genoa, Milan and Florence were already on the road to that commercial prosperity which was to make their citizens the bankers and merchants of Europe.

As usual in such a society, a selfish individualism attained alarming proportions. Each city sought to destroy its neighbours; each class that above or below it; friends even sought to outwit friends. Thus throughout Italy raged constant jealousy, perpetual wars, bitter hate, and exterminatory revenge. It seems almost idle to cite examples, it is the staple of Italian history; each page of Sismondi is a witness. Commerce and civil war, these are the two factors with which the historian has to deal. Allowing for a different pictorial arrangement, atmosphere, architecture, costume, religious ritual, twelfth-century human nature guided itself in Assisi by the same maxim as it does to-day in scores of English towns: "Make money honestly if you can, but make money."

Among its well-to-do tradesmen was a clothier, Pietro Bernadone. This respectable citizen is always represented as hard, grasping, avaricious. He was all this without doubt, but not in the sense of caricature. He seems simply to have been possessed by the spirit of trade: close-fisted, stern, unrelenting in business; liberal, even prodigal, when it is a question of gratifying the caprice of a child, or of standing well with the gaping crowd.

This son, baptized by the name Giovanni,† was designed, as Bonaventura puts it, "for money-making by business," and to this end was instructed in the French language. His knowledge of this tongue, and consequent delight in romance poetry, procured for him the nickname "Il Francesco," the Frenchman. Of a gay and happy temperament, always handsomely dressed and with plenty of means

\* "Upon that side  
Where it doth break its steepness most, arose  
A sun upon the world, as duly this  
From Ganges doth; therefore let none, who speak  
Of that place, say Ascesi; for its name  
Were tamely so deliver'd; but the East  
To call things rightly, be it henceforth styled."

*Paradise*, c. xi. 49-54; Carey's Translation.

† In the article on St. Francis in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th edition, Principal Tulloch says that he was named Francis because he was born while his father was on a business journey in France.

to feast, his companions, Francesco was so popular that the people of Assisi called him "the Flower of the Youth."

Bonaventura further tells us that though Francesco, or to call him by his usual name Francis, spent his time gaily, he was not found among the lewd, and that, though he believed in money and riches, he did not love the society of greedy traders. On the contrary, he had from his infancy a tender compassion for the poor which increased with years, so that he could not resist the precept: "From him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away."

In the course of a petty war between Assisi and Perugia he was taken prisoner and kept in captivity a whole year. While sick and in prison a strong impression came upon him that he was divinely called to a great career, inasmuch that he could not control his joy. But he had no idea of its nature, for he thought it meant that he should become a sort of knight errant. He had already set out on the road to join the army of Guatier de Brienne, surnamed *il Conti Gentile*, who was fighting against the Emperor, when he again fell ill, and was arrested by a voice asking why he had abandoned the Master for the servant, the riches of God for the poverty of man.

He returned to Assisi, conformed again to the old life; but his spirit was constant in prayer, the flame of desire growing stronger within. One night a joyous company sallied forth after supper through the streets; Francis, as king of the feast, led the way staff in hand. All of a sudden they beheld their leader silent and abstracted. "He was in love; he had a mistress." "Yes, verily," he replied, "and she is the most beautiful, the most wealthy, the most noble lady in the world." Francis had had a vision; he had seen three female forms on the highway, simply, even meanly clad, and he had known their names to be Obedience, Chastity and Poverty. In the latter he had beheld his bride, the glorious lady whose colours he was to wear, and to whom he was to devote his life.

After a pilgrimage to Rome, where he made his first essay at the life of a beggar, occurred the incident of the sale of the bales of cloth and a horse to raise money to restore the dilapidated church of S. Damiano. Francis' devotion to a life of mendicancy may well be a stumbling-block in our times, when such earnest efforts are made to get rid of this social evil. But it ought not to be forgotten that that voluntary mendicancy which Francis advocated is a totally opposite thing to that involuntary mendicancy which in our society is one of the most disastrous things that can befall a man. Distasteful, because having no other ideal than that generally entertained, it brings at once a loss of self-respect and commences a degradation, leading too often to a life which, in the literal sense of the word, is wicked. And this, of course, is truest of all concerning those who, to gratify an idle and base disposition, give themselves to voluntary

mendicancy. But to take up such a life in the spirit of Francis is only possible to the highest grace, and the results are seen in the fact that, whereas the former kind of mendicancy is cancerous, this is a source of elevation and health to any community. First, because it is a striking witness against making the pursuit of wealth and a respectable position the end of life; second, because it affords abundant opportunities for the cultivation of brotherhood, humility and faith in the power of prayer. "When you ask an alms in the name of God," said Francis, "you promise His blessing on the giver in answer to your prayers, and this is more than an equivalent for anything he can bestow."

I have not met with any attempt to vindicate the selling of the bales of cloth and the horse to obtain money to repair S. Damiano. And yet it is clear that neither Francis nor his followers looked upon that act as discreditable, but rather as a never-to-be-forgotten testimony in favour of a profounder morality than obtains in societies established on the principle of individual property. In this view of the case there can be no doubt Dante and his friend Giotto agreed.

It was not so, however, with the townsfolk of Assisi, to whom Francis was not only a criminal, but still worse, a fool. So when they saw him returning home, haggard and wan, they hooted him through the streets, pelted him with stones, and dragged him before the judge. The procession to the tribunal was led by his father and other relatives, and followed by a troop of indignant ragamuffins, each, as we may see in Giotto's picture, carrying a stone tucked up in the folds of his tunic. Francis made no defence, but, stripping himself of every vestige of his father's property, stood before the astonished court possessing nothing but what Nature had given him. "Until now," he exclaimed, "I have called Pietro Bernadone my father; henceforth I will have none but our Father in heaven." The judge, who was the Bishop of Assisi, discerning the truth, threw a mantle over Francis, and declared himself his protector. This singular incident was long remembered in Italy, and Dante represents it as thus described by seraphic wisdom:—

"Chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra  
Del padre corse, a cui com' alla morte  
La porta del piacer nessun disserra.

"E dinanzi alla sua spirital corte  
*Et coram patre* le si fece unito  
Poesia di di in di l' amò più forte."\*

"A dame to whom none openeth pleasure's gates  
More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,  
His stripling choice, and he did make her his  
Before the spiritual court by nuptial bonds,  
And in his father's sight from day to day  
Then loved her most devoutly."

*Paradiso*, c. xi. 58-63; Carey's Translation.

And further on, to remove all doubt that St. Thomas Aquinas is referring to the mystical marriage between Francis and Evangelic Poverty, the poet says :—

“Ma, perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso,  
Francesco e povertà per questi amante  
Prendi orami nel mio parlar diffuso.”\*

However, parental authority in the thirteenth century claimed despotic power in its own sphere, and so Francis passed his honeymoon in a domestic prison. After a time his mother's tenderness connived at his escape. Like a bird let loose, he flew to the open country, where he spent his days ministering to the lepers, and in wandering over the hills and through the woods, singing the praises of the Lord.

“Who are you?” he was asked by some thieves.

“The herald of the Great God,” Francis replied.

“Then lie there, poor little herald of God,” they cried, as they threw him into a ditch.

Two years of contumely passed away, and Francis was joined in his life of poverty by his first disciple, Bernard,† a citizen of Assisi, of noble birth, learned, and rich. Soon after he made a second disciple, and the three friends took up their abode in a hut near a winding streamlet, called Rivè Torto. Here a third disciple, Egidio, found Francis coming out of a wood where he had been in prayer. To him Francis said, “My son, our Order is like a fisher, who throws his nets into the water and draws out a multitude of fishes, of which he keeps the large ones and lets the small ones escape.” Fra Egidio, who saw only three brothers as yet gathered in fellowship with the man of God, wondered greatly at the prediction.

Was Francis a lunatic whom the nineteenth century would have confined in Bedlam, as the learned authors of Larousse's “Cyclopædia” opine?

If madness is able to awaken the greatest thinkers of an age, if madness has power to awaken the genius of a nation; if, in fine, madness can bring the energy of new hope to millions of the oppressed and heavy-laden, then Francis was a lunatic, and none more so. Perhaps it was lunacy that caused Francis never to preach except in the dialect of the people; perhaps it was lunacy that made him choose for his place of sepulture the spot outside Assisi where criminals suffered. If so, lunacy was the source not only of Italian literature but also of Italian art. The dialect which Francis raised from the dung-heap, Dante, a tertiary of his Order, enthroned with

\* “But not to deal

Thus closely with thee longer, take at large  
The lovers' titles—Poverty and Francis.”

*Paradiso*, c. xi, 73-75; *idem*

† Il venerabile Bernardo.—*Paradiso*, c. xi. 79.

Homer's Greek and Virgil's Latin, and the Calvary of Assisi became the cradle and the nursery of the finest Art the world has yet known.

But it was not only the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of knowledge, and the fear of the Lord, that flowed forth through the alliance between the soul of Francis and Evangelic Poverty, but a spirit still more peculiar to him and to his bride—the spirit of love and of liberty.

Many have possessed an enthusiasm for humanity, but in Francis this virtue rose to an enthusiasm for all the works of God. His love was so overflowing that it embraced even things we regard as inanimate, so that he sometimes trembled to tread on a stone. For the animal world he had a tenderness, a pity, a generosity, which distinguishes him from all other religious teachers. Who has not heard the stories of his redemption of lambs going to the slaughter, of doves on their road to the market, of leverets about to be torn to pieces by dogs? Who has not read of his preaching to the birds, and his conversion of the terrible wolf that devastated the town of Gubbio? Our modern democrats have preached fraternity, but Francis was more profound, more philosophic, when he recognized his brotherhood with all creation. He loved not only his dear *fratelli*, not only tenderly called the birds his little sisters, and addressed wolves as erring brothers, but the things which the most spiritual only regard as forms of matter, had for him souls, hearts, character.

"Laudate sia Dio mio Signore con tutte le creature," "Praise be to the Lord my God from every creature," and with this cry on his lips he ran through the country like some angelic spirit, his head touched with a star of light, and his feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace, calling on his brother the Sun, his sister the Moon, his brothers the Winds, his sister Water, his brother Fire, and his mother Earth, to join him in singing the Lord's song, and thus he became the priest not only of men but of all creation.

Francis in so doing gave the command of Jesus Christ, as reported in the Gospel according to Mark, a fulness of meaning the words authorize, but which hardly any one else has given them before or since. He had embraced an idea of the universality of Redemption and of the power of the Cross only to be met with in the struggling grandeurs of the Pauline thought, and the dazzling glories of Apocalyptic vision. But above all, he had seized the essential idea of Christianity. "Evil destroyed through the Cross." He struggled against the empire Satan has founded on the love men have, for honours, pleasures, and wealth, by the endurance of poverty and shame; in a word, by the Cross.

The legend in its culmination in the marvels of the stigmata points to the secret of his power. Francis loved the suffering God with a passion so consuming as to give ground for a naturalistic explana-



tion of the statement that on his body were found marks resembling the wounds made by the crucifixion.

Doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of two of the three canticles ascribed to Francis: "In Foco l' Amor" and "Amor di Caritate"; but Ozanam, who made early Italian poetry his study, believed that they were originally composed by Francis and retouched by a later poet. It was probably in those days when he wandered in solitude upon the Apennines, with no companions but the lepers, his voice ever bursting out in ecstatic joy, that the germ and rhythm of these divine songs came into being. Perhaps never committed to paper, they were only finally preserved from oblivion by the love of some disciple, and thus handed down, received from Fra Jacopone a certain literary finish.

"In Foco l' Amor" is an illustration of the words: "the kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by storm." The spiritual struggle there depicted has no parallel but that of Jacob. And like Jacob, Francis conquered his Lord, and became, as he prophesied, "A prince with God."

If in this canticle Francis relates his mystic struggle, in "Amor di Caritate" he unfolds the passionate consuming love which rendered him a reflection of his Divine Maker:—

"As red-hot iron seems to be  
All fire and sun-lit air all flame,  
For each of these is seen  
Changed to another form,  
So does Thy love transform  
The heart Thou dost make clean."

And when Christ reproves the violence of his love in a quiet stanza which comes like a cool measured spring to allay the ever increasing fervour of the rest of the poem, Francis replies:—

"Thee, Jesus, if I overflow  
With love so sweet and so intense,  
Who shall reprove me, if I go  
Out of myself—bereft of sense?  
Since that same Love constrained Thee so  
As to subdue Omnipotence.  
O Love! how can I be  
Afraid of foolishness?  
If through it I possess  
And am possessed by Thee."

The capacity of Francis for loving was so immense that it could embrace the whole universe and still be unexhausted. Nothing could satisfy this all-devouring love but God Himself, God suffering, God agonizing. It bore him into the very heart of the mystery of Redemption, not to fall like the soul of Gerontius, shrivelled as a scorched moth which had gone too near the light, but in the spirit of him who determined at all hazards to find the Holy Grail, Francis cried, "if I lose myself I save myself."

Six hundred years have passed away, but the embers burn bright

and hot, and he who reads these hymns cannot but feel a thrill of the divine ardour which inspired their author. Yes; here we come close to that burning word that caught all hearts, princes and peasants, bandits and belted knights, traders full of carking cares, and prophet-like poets, that drew tears from lordly cardinals as well as from humble ignorant mountaineers, firing them, one and all, with a regenerating love, which made a new world of Christendom, and brought its genius rapidly out of a more than Egyptian darkness.

### III.

There have been some remarkable revivals of religion in our day, but in none of them has there been exhibited a more unlimited compassion for the fallen than that which Francis and his followers displayed. Said Fra Egidio, a man himself of so elevated a character, that Francis was wont to liken him to a knight of the Round Table: "However great a sinner a man may be, he need never despair at any time in his life of the Divine mercy, for as there is no tree so thorny, knotty and gnarled but what it can be planed, polished, and rendered beautiful, so in like manner there is not a man in the world, however criminal, or however great a sinner he may be, but what God may not convert him in order to adorn his soul with all the virtues and with the most signal graces." And of this evangelic word of Fra Egidio the beautiful legend, relating how St. Francis converted three assassins, and how one of them became a very holy brother, is a practical commentary.

In that legend St. Francis preaches the Gospel in terms which for simplicity Mr. Moody himself could hardly surpass. And this Gospel was preached on a scale so vast, that it is related that on one occasion, Anthony of Padua, whom St. Francis called his vicar, preached to no fewer than thirty thousand persons. The people flocked during the previous night by every road, lighting up the way by flambeaux. The scenes which followed were exactly those of all revivals, weeping, sighing, groaning, and such an excitement, that the crowd threw themselves on the preacher, kissing his feet, his hands, and tearing his clothes, so that had it not been for a body of strong armed men, who accompanied him back to his convent, he would have been thrown down again and again. But the Franciscans were not content with simply teaching their converts the elementary truths of the Gospel, they educated them by a theology which for sublimity one would have to go very far to equal.\*

This theology is summed up in Bonaventura's short but noble work, the "*Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*." He there teaches that union with God is the condition of the knowledge of the true in

\* "For skill in school divinity," says Fuller, "the Franciscans beat all the other Orders quite out of distance."

everything. This union is a return. Man's actual ignorance is not the result of his true nature, but of a revolution which has been accomplished in his being; it is, in fact, the result of a fall. To possess the truth it is not enough to cultivate the intellectual faculties, there must be a return of the whole man to God from whom he is now separated. This ascension of the soul Godwards Bonaventura represents as taking place by successive stages. The first he calls being introduced into the Way of God, the second entering into the Truth of God, the third rejoicing in the Knowledge of God.

"Theology and poetry," said Boccaccio, commenting on Dante, "are nearly the same thing when they propose to themselves the same object." And to theology he gives the beautiful name of the poetry of God. Boccaccio must here have been thinking of the great Franciscan theologian, and the essential unity of his doctrine with Dante's highest thoughts. For it cannot be doubted, that he, whose voice, heard proceeding from one of the higher order of lights in Paradise, so affected the poet, "that he turned to it at once as the needle to the pole star," must have been one of Dante's most venerated teachers. And the first words which he makes Bonaventura utter give the poet's thought concerning the Franciscan theology. "È cominciò: l' amor che mi fa bella."\* So it is no stretch of of the imagination to connect the grand idea which gives the "Divina Commedia" unity and ever increasing sublimity with that of the "Itinerarium Mentis in Deum;" Ascension of the soul through three stages to God.

Bonaventura taught men to behold God first of all in the Natural World, then in the Mind, in the Soul, and in the gifts of Divine Grace, and when, through the various stages of ever-ascending purity and power, the soul had seen Him in all the finite forms of strength and loveliness, it rose at last to a contemplation of His essence under the Triune Name. And is not this the course Dante himself takes, as he rises from one sphere to another, until he concludes with the vision?

"Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza  
Dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri  
Di tre colori e d' una contenenza:  
E l' un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,  
Parea riflesso: e l' terzo parea fuoco  
Che quinci e quindi igualmente si spiri."†

Thus Francis and his immediate followers did for the Italians of the thirteenth century what the prophets did for the Hebrew race—

\* "L' amor che mi fa bella"—The love that makes me beautiful.—*Paradiso*, c. xii. 31.

† "Within the deep and luminous subsistence  
Of the High Light appeared to me three circles,  
Of threefold colour and of one dimension;  
And by the second seemed the first reflected  
As Iris is by Iris, and the third  
Seemed fire that equally from both is breathed."—

*Paradiso*, c. xxxiii. 115-120; Longfellow's Translation.

printed God in the very core of their hearts, and in every fibre of their minds.

But other religious teachers have done this without its leading in the least degree to the development of the Art spirit. The reason of the difference is, that Francis taught his followers not merely to use Nature as a treasure-house from whence they might draw illustrations of the Divine character, and of God's dealings with men, but to believe that the whole universe was equally sacred—"that there is One God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all and in all."

There never was a religious teacher who was so opposed to the aristocratical principle as Francis. He understood literally the words of the Gospel of Mark: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation."

Nature, under the ideas which had grown up in the Christian mind during the struggle with Paganism, had come to be avoided as a temptress. Francis broke the first links of this bondage, not by any Pantheistic assertion of the immanence of God in visible Nature, but by the democratic thought that since all beings came out of the bosom of divinity, all had the same principle as himself. How profoundly he had entered into the heart of the people is shown by the astonishing success of his Order. Ten years after its foundation he held a chapter at which no less than five thousand friars were present. His followers were found in almost every Christian land, labouring among the poor. Those who first came to England went, as a matter of course, to the fever dens in London and Oxford, where the lower classes lay huddled in filth and ignorance. During the Black Death in the fourteenth century, 124,000 Franciscans are said to have fallen victims to their devotion. No one had thought of the miserable populations of Europe until the friars came, and taking them by the hand led them out into life and liberty.

The early Franciscans always showed themselves the friends of freedom and justice. Adam Marsh, or Mariscó, stood by Simon de Montfort and the Barons in England. William of Occam dared to do battle with a Pope on behalf of a poor friar who was to be crushed for saying Jesus Christ and His apostles were Communists. Incarcerated at Avignon, Occam only saved himself by escaping from prison. Antony of Padua went straight into the den of the tyrant Ezzelin. "Insatiable," he cried, "thou mad dog, on thy head is coming the vengeance due to all thy crimes." The wolfish man sat as one thunderstruck, and not only was Antony allowed to depart, but presents and heavy bribes were sent after him in the hope of propitiating this terrible denouncer of unjust rulers.

Thus deeply read in the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Eternal Gospel of Justice and Mercy, sympathizing as few ever before

sympathized with the whole sentient universe, intensely realizing the essential idea of Christianity, crucifixion to the world, possessed by a love of Christ absolutely inflammable, can we be surprised that among the other great results that flowed from the entire surrender that Francis made of his life to God should have been the awakening in Italy of that power to perceive and express the beautiful which has proved her distinctive gift?

## IV.

The burst of Italian art, which took place within a generation after the death of Francis, is surely a phenomenon that ought to have attracted more attention.

"At last, about the year 1250," says Vasari, "Heaven, touched with compassion, opened the eyes of the Tuscans, and sent them men capable of discerning the good from the bad, of shaking off the influence of the old masters (*i.e.*, the Byzantines), and taking as models the ancients (*i.e.*, the old Greeks)." But while Vasari rightly attributes this enlightenment to a celestial source, it is not very clear why he limits it to the Tuscans, since his own work proves that it was going on in various parts of Italy, so that it was visible in sculpture as well as in architecture and in mosaic, and was far from being confined to Cimabue, Giotto, and their followers. In what way did the Spirit of Life come which thus enabled Italians far and wide to shake off the yoke of consecrated ugliness, and take for their guides Nature and the antique?

Among the innumerable pictures in which St. Francis appears, there is one in the Louvre attributed to Benozza Gozzoli, in which the figures stand out luminously on a dark background of orange-trees and cypresses. It is a type of Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—rich, but sorrowful. And that this was exactly the effect of the apparition of this witness for Christian Poverty in the midst of commercial Italy, we gather from a striking remark of Vasari, only to be met with in the original. Describing the joy with which the Pisans received a painting by Cimabue of St. Francis, "the people," he says, "saw in it *un certo che più di bonté*—a little more goodness."

Any one who has read the "Vita Nuovo" knows that it was written to show how Love awakened all the forces of Dante's mind. But for that inspiring passion the world would have been without the "Divina Commedia." And that alone would not have been sufficient, for a great poem is never the product of an isolated mind, expressing as it does the experience of a generation or of many generations. In a sonnet in the "Vita Nuovo," Dante relates how, riding along the highway, he met Love as a pilgrim, sad and wayworn, too humble even to lift his head. What is this but a picture of him who the

poet elsewhere calls, *del poverel de Dio*, God's poor one; and whom he describes as wearing an appearance marvellously humble and even abject.\*

The sight of that loving, dreamy face, of which the ineffable compassion broke not only the hearts of desperate men, but attracted the affection of ferocious beasts, very early inspired genius. On a pillar of the cathedral at Burgos is a head of Francis, said to have been sculptured unawares by some clever artist while the saint watched the builders. The expression is described as angelic. At the Benedictine Abbey of Subiaco, at the Convent Degli Angeli, and in the sacristy of St. Francesco, both at Assisi, other contemporary portraits exist; but take any gallery of Italian Art, and, after the Virgin, there is no form so frequently depicted as that of the witness for Evangelic Poverty. St. Francis was "the saint of its highest devotion."

One of the most perfect conceptions of Francis is to be seen in a picture of the Florentine School of the fifteenth century in the Louvre. A group of saints surround the Virgin and Child. There is a touching expression in all the faces, but the soul of the picture is the figure of the poor man of God. It would be impossible to exaggerate the tenderness, the holy love, the face expresses. It is the look of one who watches on behalf of souls.

In the "Fioretti" it is related that during a humble meal of which St. Clare partook at the Convent Degli Angeli, and while St. Francis was speaking of the love of God in a manner that ravished all who heard him, the convent and the wood adjoining appeared wrapped in flames so that all the neighbourhood ran to the spot believing a great fire had broken out. They found the radiance that surprised them was not material but Divine—a miraculous expression of the flames of a sacred love which ascended from this eucharistic feast. This story is symbolic of the whole legend of Francis; the people that walked in darkness had seen a great light, and on them that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death had the light shined. Its radiance filled the whole Italian sky, the life and work of Francis were like a new sunrise. It illumined the soul of the nation, and forthwith was repeated the miracle of the Transfiguration, and in the blaze of its effulgence Italian Art was born.

In Francis's own day a pale white light streaked the mountain tops. The old Greek Art had risen again. Not only had the Venetians brought with them, on their return from the taking of Constantinople in 1204, a number of the art-treasures of antiquity and of the better days of Byzantine Art, but in the architectural movement, which was a feature of the time, the excavators had disinterred works which in earlier centuries would have been broken to pieces as heathen

\* *Paradiso*, c. xi. 33.

and profane. Such were the Three Graces exhumed at Siena and a sarcophagus found at Pisa, the study of which is said to have inspired at least one Italian artist, Niccola Pisani, with the magic touch of the sculptors of antiquity. But the dawn was cold and trembling, and the painters of Francis's own time remained in Byzantine bondage, as witness the Virgins of Margaritone-d' Arezzo. But the dawn, though it came slowly came surely, and by the fourteenth century the white streak had become vermilion, then orange, and in a short time Italy was flooded with light. By the middle of the following century there was hardly a church or public building of which the walls were not covered with frescoes, often, as we know, from the fragments which have escaped the Vandals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of such surpassing delicacy of form and purity of thought, that it were easy to believe them painted by men who had never lost their primal innocence.

As foster-fathers of Art, the Dominicans vied with the Franciscans. Both Orders entertained a mystic reverence for its worth as for something divinely inspired. Their double influence prevailed in science, the result being not only an extraordinary development among its citizens of the spirit of religion and of art, but of a high civic ideal. Duccio di Buoninsegna, Simone Martini, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, its earliest painters, appear to have been worthy to take rank with Giotto. Simone, the friend of Petrarch, was much attached to the Dominicans; Ambrogio devoted himself to the Franciscans. He covered a whole side of their cloister at Siena with frescoes representing the life of a Franciscan missionary. The year before the death of Francis, a member of his Order, Fra Jacopo, made at Florence the mosaics of the hemicycle of the baptistery of San Giovanni. Other Franciscan friars were called later on in the century by Pope Nicholas IV. to do art-work at Rome.

In these days religion, art and poverty were one, and at Assisi was the temple where their culture was most perfectly combined. The church, which was raised over the sepulchre of the poor man of God, attracted nearly every painter of note in Italy during the two centuries which followed. The Roman Cavallini came to lay down at the shrine of Poverty all his honours and popularity, while another disciple of Giotto, Puccio Capanna, ended by dying a martyr to his zeal for the sanctuary.

"It is not possible," say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "to contemplate the series of works which decorate the transepts, choir, aisles, and vaulted ceilings of the Upper Church at Assisi without coming to the conviction that here lies concealed the history of early Florentine Art, that years elapsed before the whole of the space was decorated; and that at least two generations of artists succeeded each other there. Nothing can be more interesting than to trace on these walls the progress of the art from Giunta to Cimabue, from Cimabue to a series of artistic hands of inferior genius, but moving with the

times, and exhibiting at least a technical progress; and, finally, from these to Giotto, whose style developed itself under the influence of the numerous examples which might here instruct his mind, his eye, and his already skilful hand."\*

Vasari, who saw the work in 1563, speaking of its effect as a whole, says, "it was so truly grand, rich, and well managed, that to my mind it must have filled the world in those days with wonder, painting having remained so long in total blindness."

Crowe and Cavalcaselle have given a very complete and interesting account of the present condition of the frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi, and they have shown by critical detail that "as the subject, 'The Life of St. Francis,' unfolds itself, the power of the artist seems to increase, until toward the close an art apparently new, another language expressive of higher thoughts, reveals the development of the talent of Giotto."†

The church at Assisi was, as it were, the academy of Giotto, the school in which he studied and in which he trained others. The first efforts of his genius were spent in illustrating the virtues of the Franciscan order, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. From a sonnet in existence it has been argued that he was not himself a believer in the Franciscan idea of poverty, but it must be remembered that he was painting at Assisi seventy years after the death of Francis, and saw the Order when long success had begun to make it part of the fashion of this world. Certain it is that Giotto, unlike Cimabue, worked solely for the Franciscans. Not only did he execute the legend of Francis for the church at Assisi, but he did the same for the Franciscans of Ravenna, of Rimini, of Verona, and of Pisa. The friend of Dante, he could not fail to have shared his veneration for the man whose life had had so regenerative an effect for Italy.

Except the works at Assisi, all he did at the places just named have been destroyed; one picture alone, from the church at Pisa, has finally drifted into the Louvre. It represents St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. The painter has concentrated all his art on the head of the saint. It would be impossible to imagine a face which better expressed awe mingled with sorrowful surprise at the mysterious suffering seen to be approaching. This awe-struck sadness is the note we meet with everywhere in Early Italian Art. All the pious men and women in Italy seem to have been suddenly arrested and made to feel very profoundly the infinite terribleness of outraging the love of God. This tone of sorrowful compassion and immeasurable regret is the more striking when we consider the fate of Italy and of Italian Art.

\* "History of Italian Art." By Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i.

† Vol. i. p. 217.



## V.

In 1275, two years after Bonaventura became General of the Franciscan Order, the old chroniclers write: "At this time there was a battle between the thin people and the fat people" (*Fuit praelium inter populum macrum et grassum.*) By the fat people they meant the rich and powerful tradesmen; by the thin, the artisans and little shopkeepers. The former, who had completely conquered the nobility, had the greatest jealousy and contempt of the *universale*, who, on their side, were often aroused to the cry, *Muoia il popolo grasso!* "Death to the fat people." In 1342, the bourgeoisie of Florence elected a *condottiere*, the Duke of Athens, on the sole condition that he should reduce to nothing the power of the people. The latter, driven to despair, effected a revolution, by which for three years power remained in their hands; but in a long and violent reaction the bourgeoisie of Florence avenged their humiliation. A system of terror was inaugurated against the smaller tradespeople. Proscriptions and executions followed one after the other, until, between 1381 and 1400, the *populai magro* had almost disappeared.

The same struggle went on in Siena until, in 1384, four thousand useful citizens, mostly artisans, were banished. When recalled later on not more than one-tenth came back. What became of the weak in this unhappy war of classes? In his "Art Italien," Alfred Dumesnil says, "the proscribed people did not perish, but took refuge in Art, of which the tendencies then were entirely democratic." He gathers this from the names of the artists who continued the new movement commenced by the shepherd-boy, Giotto. He finds their plebeian origin further proved by the character of their work. This latter observation is corroborated by the minute details Crowe and Cavalcaselle have given of the frescoes in the basilica at Assisi.

They have not only noticed that they are commenced by the hands of rude artists who were working during Francis's own life, and that they were continued from the time of Cimabue by a series of men of inferior genius; but they have constantly remarked, even while the general art progresses, certain peculiarities which indicate the plebeian tastes of the painters. Thus, while following the old consecrated forms of composition, the artists of Assisi sometimes improved upon and sometimes marred them, by the introduction of the homely and even the burlesque. For example, in the fresco of Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise, the angel is represented as kicking Adam with his foot. Again, in the fresco of Francis before the Bishop, the stiff, square nude of Francis and the large and coarse extremities indicate a painter accustomed only to plebeian models. Baron von Rumohr, a critic unfriendly to Giotto and his school, sees in them these tendencies to such an extent that he complains

that Giotto in a great measure set aside the refinement of holy and godly character, and led Italian painting to the representation of actions and passions, and this corruption of art through Giotto he attributes to his schooling under the friars.

The Baron von Rumohr's estimate of Giotto and his school is the very opposite to that of the most accomplished modern critics, but it is interesting here as a corroboration of the fact that its members were men of plebeian origin. That it should have been so is the natural result of all the facts we have been considering. A whole population of artisans wandering in exile and bitterness. A great sanctuary in process of erection and decoration, where holy men, beloved and venerated by the people, offered the best of all consolations, the service of God and His eternal joy. At their feet these disinterested sons of toil learnt of another country and a better kingdom. Kneeling before the Cross some among them had escaped, not only earthly but spiritual tyrants. Free in every sense, they had found the most delightful of all occupations:—to glorify God by attempting to imitate His own glorious handiwork, to model the human form, to paint for the first time the deep blue of the calm Italian sky, to introduce Giotto's favourite sheep, or the dear birds St. Francis loved so well. All at first timidly, as of children trying to sketch the objects around them, but the spirit of the place, the Spirit of Life which Francis had been sent to offer to all who would drink, possessed them, and every stage showed progress, slow but sure.

And thus the Franciscans realized the prophet's words. Their doctrine fell as the small rain on the tender herb, and as the showers among the grass, and from among the lowly and obscure crowd who thronged their footsteps arose many a Bezalcel and many an Aholiab, men filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding, in knowledge and in all manner of workmanship. The religious spirit in which they worked is a witness to their own sense of the source of this *Vita Nuovo*. In the preamble of the statutes of the painters of Siena (1355) they declare that by the grace of God it is their mission to manifest to ignorant and unlettered people, marvellous things done by Virtue, and in virtue of the Holy Faith, and that nothing can have commencement or end, without these three things—Power, Knowledge, and Willing with Love.

"Ye of gentle spirit," exclaims Cennino Cennini, a writer on Art in the fourteenth century, "who are lovers of this art (of painting), devote yourself to its pursuit, adorning yourself with the garment of love, of modesty, of obedience, of perseverance." And their works were in accordance with their faith. There is scarcely one of them which has not a religious or moral tendency, either representing a Scripture story, a sacred legend, or an allegory inculcating the excellencies of virtue or faith or the blessings of good government.

From whence came this close connection between Religion and Art if not from the great religious movement commenced by Francis and Dominic? And the latter cannot possibly be compared in his personal influence on art with the former, for it is only in Italy, where his followers came so directly under the influence of Francis, that they developed any peculiar love of art. Fra Angelico seems far more one in spirit with Francis than with the head of his own Order.

But it was the connection of Art not only with Religion, but with Poverty, that so purified and elevated its ideals. There can be little doubt that under the preaching of the friars there was, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, an effort made to render the kingdom of God a reality in some of the Italian Republics. But the party, formed out of individual selfishness and class interests, was too strong, and finally, as in Siena, and then in Florence, the oligarchy triumphed, and all these noble efforts came to nought.

That the painters of Siena were always found in their struggles on the side of the people is another proof of their plebeian origin, and of the democratic teaching of their friends and pastors, the mendicant friars. In one political struggle in Siena, Rio\* mentions the names of seven painters, who were all prominent on the democratic side, two of them, Antonio di Brunnucio, sculptor, and Andrea Vanni, being friends of St. Catherine of Siena.

This paper opened with a passage from a dream of one of the seraphic seers, who were the light and glory of the church at the Portiuncula; it may well conclude by a continuation of the same narrative. Receiving the cup of the Spirit of Life from the Christ, St. Francis went to offer it to his brothers; he commenced with Fra Giovanni di Parma, who, taking it, drank with a holy avidity all it contained, and quickly became brilliant as the sun. Then the saint successively presented the cup to all the other brethren, but he found few of them, who, receiving it with proper respect and piety, drained it to the bottom. The small number who did so became at once resplendent as the sun, while the others became black, gloomy, deformed and hideous to behold. As to those who drank only a part of it and spilt the rest, they became half-brilliant, half gloomy, more or less according as they had drank or spilt the Spirit of Life. But above all the rest Fra Giovanni shone with a brightness absolutely dazzling. This dream, simple in form, but fraught with a great truth, may be applied to the whole work of Francis, and particularly to his influence on Italian Art. Taking the cup filled with the Spirit of Life from his Lord he presented it to the men of genius among his countrymen. The first who received it drank it with avidity, others only drank a portion and spilt the rest, others turned away in contempt.

\* "L'Art Chrétien." Par Alphonse Rio.

In the Salon Carré of the Louvre, where the masterpieces of all the schools are collected, the picture which shines out above all the rest with a most dazzling brilliancy is that which represents the early Italian school: "The Visitation," by Domenico Ghirlandaio. Never, surely, did any colouring exceed in purity and splendour this glorious flower of early Italian art. By its side Leonardo is inky and wan; and the vast canvas of the Veronese positively dull. In the unsullied purity of its tints it recalls the spring; its colours are those of the violet, the tulip, the crocus, and the hyacinth. All, in fact, is spring-time—the art, the subject, the mothers-to-be, and the two Marys who unite in reverent joy. The faces are of one type; for how can there be a difference where the soul is so completely one? That type is the virgin soul of Italy as it rose stainless from the waters of baptism.

\* Glance at the picture below, and in Leonardo's "Jocunda" you see what the Italian virgin became. Well may Francis and early Italian Art wear that ineffable look of tender regret. And yet the influence of Francis lingered long in Italian Art, but it was as the scent of dead rose leaves in a vase of alabaster. The Spirit of Life had evaporated, but the whole house was filled with the perfume.

Thus the poor little son of Pietro Bernadone became a great prince, and that in his own lifetime. But his crown was made of thorns. The sufferings he endured as the confessor of poverty brought him to the grave after months of physical anguish at the early age of forty-four. But as the hawthorn is among the first to cover itself with a rich and lovely blossom, so the crown worn by "God's poor one" budded into the fairest flowers that the precious tree of human genius has yet produced.

If the witness of Francis in favour of a poverty, exaggerated and ascetic, was so fruitful of good, how infinitely more beneficial would be one in favour of a poverty modelled entirely on the example of Jesus Christ. Our age in many respects repeats both those in which the master and the disciple lived. Our civilization is as that of Rome and of the Middle Ages, in a state of decay and approaching dissolution. Material prosperity blinds men now as it did then. But many of us feel that it is not drink, nor licentiousness, nor over-crowding that is the fundamental evil, but the spirit of selfishness which drives us to make merchandise of each other, to kidnap and enslave whomsoever we can, in order that we may use their blood, their muscles, their brains, and their souls for our own advantage. In such a condition of things there is no liberty except in poverty, and he who, in the spirit of Francis, will commence a new society on the model of the Master, will find a whole world ready to follow him.

RICHARD HEATH:

## ANCIENT PALESTINE AND MODERN EXPLORATION.

**L**INE by line and touch by touch the picture of ancient Palestine is being drawn, and in proportion as it grows in finish and begins to stand out on the canvas, public attention is the more attracted to it.

The results of Palestine exploration are in harmony with the true scientific spirit, because, on the one hand, they are based on actual and special information, collected without reference to any theory and free from suspicion of any tendency; and, on the other, because they depend on that comparative method whereby all our greatest results in science have been gained. The main object has been to provide ample, accurate, and recent information as to the country, its architecture, topography, fauna, flora, and geology, and as to the social peculiarities (race, dress, customs, manners, language, and employments) of the various dwellers in that Holy Land of the Hebrew and the Christian, which is the theatre of the events recorded in the Old and New Testaments. But it is not merely by visiting and measuring ruins, photographing peasants, executing surveys, and collecting specimens and inscriptions that results of general interest are to be obtained. The explorer must be a student as well; he must be in cordial communication with all other students with whom he may be able to communicate; he must know what others have done and are doing, and what he may fairly expect to find in the places he visits—where to look, in short, and what to seek. The results for which such a student hopes are not always those which the public expects; but if the Palestine explorers have not brought back the Ark from Jerusalem, the golden calves from Bethel, Ahab's ivory palace, or Samson's coffin, their claims to the public confidence are not thereby weakened; for it is, by that

which they have *not* discovered, quite as much as by that which they have, that real students will judge the value of the work which they offer for general use.

But, still more, it is by a comparative system only that really important conclusions may be reached. The Egyptologist and the Assyriologist may perhaps be unwilling to allow the Syriologist, as he may be called, an equal footing with themselves. Their own discoveries have, perhaps, been more numerous, more important historically, and founded on more difficult and arduous study than those of the explorers of Palestine and of Syria. Yet there can be no doubt that this will not be the view of the general public, and, indeed, the fact is confessed in the manner of appeal to that public adopted by the students of Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities. To Englishmen generally the results of these researches are interesting, not so much in themselves as in reference to the light thereby thrown on the study of the Bible and of Hebrew antiquities in general. It is most important for the student of Syrian antiquities to be fully aware of the work which is being done in these other departments of research. Nor can he feel that he thoroughly understands the Jews of the Talmudic period till he has penetrated to their land of exile—has become familiar with the ideas of Medes and Persians, with Zendic literature, and even with Esthonian folk-lore, not less than with the pre-Islamite Arabs of the Hejaz, and with the mixed Greco-Turkish populations of Cyprus and Asia Minor.

It is for this reason that hasty journeys, undertaken by travellers not familiar with the real problems to be solved in Syria, have as yet led only to very meagre results. Here and there a lucky find may fall to the share of one whose knowledge is hardly sufficient to enable him to appreciate its value; but if the study of Palestine antiquities is to attain to the level of true science, it can only be through the combined efforts of properly-instructed explorers working in harmony with their fellow-labourers and students of the East.

During the last four years there has been considerable activity in the work of exploration and in the study of Syrian antiquities, and the results now begin very evidently to affect the critical examination of the Scriptures and the primary instruction of our schools. The work has not been confined to the action of the Palestine Exploration Fund, although this Society has been the centre round which it is grouped. Individual efforts have largely contributed to the increase of our knowledge, and the members of the Biblical Archaeological Society have also not been idle. As regards the work of the first-named Society, we have received since 1881 seven stout quarto volumes full of plans, sketches, and detailed descriptions. Five of these relate to the Survey of Western Palestine, one contains a

valuable account of the fauna and flora of the Holy Land, by Canon Tristram; and the last is devoted to an account of twenty years of exploration in Jerusalem, with papers in addition on the history of the city and on its existing monuments. The great work thus completed forms the basis of a true scientific study of Palestine antiquities; but the most valuable results are perhaps still in the future, when this mass of information has been well sifted and summarized. In addition to this work, we have the Survey of Eastern Palestine, inaugurated in 1881, which has already yielded important results as yet lying hidden in manuscript plans and notes which the Society should strive to produce as soon as possible; for though the district examined was small, the amount of information collected was larger and more interesting than any which they have as yet published relating to Western Palestine. Accounts of the exploration of the Hebron Haram by the officers accompanying the Royal Princes in 1882, and the reconnaissance of Sinai and southern Palestine, with a view to the settlement of geological questions, undertaken by Professor Hull for the Society in 1883, are also among the more recent publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The Biblical Archaeological Society has turned its attention to the so-called "Hittite" question, which promises results of great interest in the future; and the Egyptian Exploration Fund has employed M. Naville, the well-known Swiss antiquarian, to dig in the Delta, with the interesting result that he has identified Pithom, thus casting important light on the Exodus route. In addition to these labours, the publication of Dr. Isaac Taylor's "History of the Alphabet" marks an important advance in our knowledge of epigraphy which will assist future students of this great subject to assign due value to their discoveries, while the Harkavy manuscripts of the Prophets may well be expected to yield new critical results, especially if they should prove to be older than the earliest existing manuscripts as yet known of the Hebrew Scriptures; and the discovery of the valuable tractate called "Teaching of the Apostles," in Turkey, shows that even in early Christian literature new and important discoveries may yet be possible.

In individual discoveries the general reader may feel little interest. There are some who do not care where Succoth was, and think it of little importance in what character the kings of Judah wrote their inscriptions. Yet such general readers do feel a constantly growing interest in the general question as to the results of all those inquiries which bear on the Bible literature. There are questions connected with the Bible on which exploration throws no light, and aspects with which the antiquarian has little to do. The naïve question, which the explorer has often to answer, "Do your discoveries go to prove that the Bible is true?" betokens a somewhat vague habit of thought

and speech, and is one which cannot properly be answered in a single word. It cannot but be felt, however, that exploration has resulted in disposing of many crude objections to the Bible narrative. It has explained very many difficulties, it has shown some curious expressions and episodes to be perfectly correct from an Oriental point of view. It has given a true colouring to our understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures, and has shown that the historic facts of such books as Kings or Chronicles with the geography of Joshua and of the New Testament are genuine and reliable, and that they can be checked by incidental notices in the history of Assyria or of Egypt, in monuments yet legible in Syria or Moab, in the ruins and ancient nomenclature still remaining in the Holy Land. From a purely human standpoint, which regards the Scriptures as ancient literature, exploration has beyond doubt done great service in destroying error, and in showing how hasty and crude are many of the views and objections of theorists who have written against the Bible. Huge libraries of controversy have been swept away when the spade of the excavator has dug up the truth.

Let us glance, then, at the picture of Ancient Palestine which has been thus recovered; and first let us consider what the country resembled in the early ages when it rose from the sea as dry land. Professor Hull, after visiting the East, and after studying the conclusions of Lartet and other writers who had previously treated of Palestine geology, draws the following sketch of the pre-human history of the country:—

The whole of Palestine, and the greater part of the Sinaitic Peninsula, was upheaved, Professor Hull tells us, from the sea, during the Miocene period. The chalk, the nummulitic limestone, and other beds which now form the chains of Lebanon and the backbone of the Holy Land, were before this time the floor of the ocean. When these chains were elevated, the great crack or fault, to which all geologists who have visited these regions attribute the formation of the deep Jordan Valley, was the result of the shearing of the strata, which left the wall of Moab standing up, while the slopes on the west of the valley slid down beneath the sea-level. A pluvial period followed, when glaciers covered the mountains, and a chain of great lakes extended from Hermon to the Dead Sea, the existence of which has now been long demonstrated by various observations. The climate resembled that of Great Britain as now existing, with an abundant rainfall; but the volcanoes of Bashan and the volcanic lakes found in Western Galilee in 1872 were then in active movement, continuing as late as the Post-Pliocene period. Gradually, as the climatic conditions changed, the lakes of the Jordan Valley, and those found by Sir C. Wilson and Professor Hull in Sinai, dried up, until in our own times they have dwindled down to the smaller sheets of the



Merom and Tiberias Lakes, with the present Dead Sea, the surface of which is 1,292 feet lower than the Mediterranean level. The naturalist who would explain how the delicate sun-birds, who now inhabit this tropical valley, came to find a home separated by great tracts of uncongenial desert from their fellows in Africa, would add an important detail to this picture of gradually changing climate, which converted a glacial Palestine into the sub-tropical region of our own times.

But while thus glancing at the geological history of Palestine, we must be careful not to confuse geological and historical time. Professor Hull is of opinion that the Jordan Valley Lakes were separated from the Gulf of Akabah already as early as Miocene times, and this view is fully confirmed by the observations of previous explorers. The watershed which divides the Dead Sea from the Red Sea was shown, by observations taken during the Professor's tour, to rise to a level of about 600 feet above the Mediterranean, and this observation was of value in two ways: first, as showing the chimerical nature of the scheme which lately found favour with many, of making a "Jordan Valley Canal" to connect the Gulf of Akabah with the Mediterranean; and secondly, as showing clearly that the views already held by competent writers were correct, and that the Dead Sea already existed in Abraham's time in much the same condition as at present. Josephus believed that the Cities of the Plain were still to be found in his own times at the bottom of the Dead Sea; but such an idea, though it still commends itself to the fancy of some writers, has been conclusively proved by geological examination to be destitute of foundation in fact.

Great changes have, nevertheless, occurred even within historic times, in the regions under consideration. F. Delitzsch has carefully collected the evidence which shows that the length of the Euphrates and Tigris has increased about 100 miles since the dawn of history, the head of the Persian Gulf having been filled by the mud brought down by these and other rivers from the plateaux of Kurdistan and of Persia. In the same way the Egyptian Delta has been steadily growing since Memphis was founded—probably in a bay of the Mediterranean—until its ruins are now more than 100 miles inland; and it has been shown, by aid of the observations taken by engineers, since the making of the Suez Canal, that the Isthmus of Suez is now much broader than it was in the time of Moses. At the date of the Exodus, Kantarah, now fifty miles inland, was probably on the shores of the Mediterranean, while the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah formed the head of the Gulf of Suez. The choking of the Nile mouth, now called Wady Tumeilat, and the gradual rise of the shores of the Red Sea, account for the change, which is important in connection with the story of the crossing of the

Red Sea. Professor Hull seemed inclined at one time to suggest that Africa was an island, and the Isthmus of Suez non-existent in the days of Moses, but further consideration has induced him to follow the opinion of previous writers, in supposing an isthmus reaching from Ismailiah (probably to Kantarah), which appears to have been formed earlier than the earliest historic period of which we have any record.

From the Miocene to the pre-historic period is a great step in time, but one which we have few means of bridging over. The earliest tribes of which we have any notice in Syrian history are those which Abraham found in possession of the land. It might, perhaps, appear hopeless to expect that any contemporary records concerning these tribes should exist outside the pages of the Old Testament. Yet for the last twenty years the Egyptologists have been in possession of facts which prove the contrary, although it is only within the last few years, through the energy of Professor Sayce and other students that the British public in general has become aware of the fact. We may mention the Hittites, the Phœnicians, and the Amorites, as the earliest inhabitants of Syria and Palestine of whose existence we have monumental evidence extant. For the last twenty years Egyptologists have been aware of the importance of the Hittites as a dominant race in northern Syria. Chabas was among the first to point out that they spoke a language apparently not Semitic. They had also scribes, and, consequently, were able to write, and their civilization and political importance were such as to place them on an equal footing with the Egyptians in the fourteenth century B.C. From pictures of this period we know that the Hittites were a light-coloured, hairless race, who wore pig-tails, and indeed approached the Tartars in appearance; and it may in the end be found that they were a branch of the old Accadian race which peopled Chaldea, whose language has been shown by Lenormant and others to be akin to the Finnish.

The suggestion that the curious Syrian hieroglyphs found at Hamath and Aleppo, and further north at Carchemish, and in various parts of Asia Minor, are of Hittite origin, was first hazarded by Dr. Wright, and was independently advocated by Professor Sayce in 1880. These hieroglyphs are still unread, and it cannot be too distinctly stated that until we know in what language they are written and what they really contain, we cannot say with confidence with whom they originated. The reading of the Syrian hieroglyphics is one of the great problems of Oriental scholarship still awaiting its Champollion or its George Smith, and however probable the suggestion may be, that these monuments are due to the Hittites, who without doubt dwelt in Syria, in Mesopotamia, and in Asia Minor, the attempts as yet made to treat the question of their interpretation are hardly to be

considered safer than those made to read Egyptian or Cypriote before the key was discovered to its real meaning. The civilization of the Hittites appears, however, to have been closely connected with that of Egypt; and, so numerous are the signs common to the supposed Hittite and Egyptian hieroglyphs, that we can hardly think the coincidence to be accidental, and, when the key at length is found, we may expect to obtain great assistance in reading these new texts from our knowledge of Egyptian signs on the one hand, and of the language of the Accadians on the other. Meantime, we cannot be too cautious in the conclusions we draw from the very meagre materials as yet in our possession with respect to the Hittites.

An interesting and valuable work called "The Empire of the Hittites" has just been published by Dr. Wright. In it the reader will find summarized all the information already collected which is diffused through the works of De Rougé, Chabas, G. Smith, Brugsch, Mariette, and in the later publications of Professor Sayce and Mr. Rylands. Dr. Wright does not refer to the early papers of Chabas on the subject, published in 1866, but most of the results of this scholar's work were adopted by Dr. Brugsch. To the plates already published by the Biblical Archaeological Society Dr. Wright adds a long text by Professor Ramsay, and several other valuable drawings; and he has, moreover, written a most graphic account of his expedition to Hamath in 1872, when he succeeded, where all before had failed, in getting a true copy of the famous inscribed stones here found by Burckhardt early in the century.

To Dr. Wright's book two chapters are added by Professor Sayce concerning the reading of the texts. The conclusion that the hieroglyphs found in Syria and Asia Minor by Burckhardt, G. Smith, Professor Ramsay, Dr. Gwyther, Professor Sayce, and others, and even as far north as the Halys, as far west as Smyrna, and on the east round Aleppo, are of Hittite origin, is accepted by Dr. Isaac Taylor and by several safe authorities; but—with deference be it said—it is not yet proven, however probable. The discovery that the boots of the figures which really represent Hittites at Karnak are turned up like the boots of the figures on the monuments with Syrian hieroglyphs is the latest and perhaps most valuable item of evidence as yet collected by Professor Sayce; but as a rule the figures approach much more closely to the Semitic work of Phœnicians and Babylonians than to the representation of beardless pig-tailed warriors given by Rossellini from the great bas-reliefs of the battle of Kadesh at Karnak (which have by-the-by not found a place in Dr. Wright's otherwise exhaustive work), and it is well-known that Syria in the fourteenth century B.C. had a mixed population, Semitic and non-Semitic; while the local deities, Set, Kadesh and Ashtoreth, mentioned in connection with the Hittites, were all Semitic. It is evident, then,

that until the language in which the inscriptions of Syria are written has been really determined and found to be, like that of the Hittites, non-Semitic, we are as yet not able to say, with certainty that the texts are Hittite or Turanian. The opinion of great authorities at present favours this supposition, which is *prima facie* probable—this is the utmost that can be safely said; but meantime the careful collection of authentic information—though it might be supplemented by further details from Rossellini and Chabas, and though it should be clearly understood that the Khefa or Hittites were known to the Egyptologists twenty years ago, and have not been newly discovered within the last few years—renders Dr. Wright's work a valuable contribution to Oriental archaeology.

The Hittites and their hieroglyphs are not, however, the only relics of the earliest Syrian races. The survey of Moab resulted in the examination of various great centres of rude stone monuments erected by an illiterate race at an early period; and a study of the distribution of these remains and of the incidental notices of menhirs, stone circles and stone altars, of the Canaanites, in the Old Testament, seems clearly to indicate that the Syrian dolmens, circles, and menhirs were originally erected by the nations which Israel conquered and dispossessed. The injunctions of the author of Deuteronomy, put in force by the later kings of Judah, included the destruction of these monuments; and we find that while in the region beyond Jordan, where the kings of Judah were powerless, the dolmens yet remain intact, they have entirely disappeared in those districts which were visited by the iconoclastic Josiah and the priests of Jehovah. Thus, while among the Hittites we have evidence of early civilization in Syria, we have evidence also of the existence of other tribes whose rites must have closely resembled those of the Druids in our own lands, including human sacrifice, which, as can be conclusively proved, remained a common custom throughout Syria to a late historic period. It is very remarkable, as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* points out, that one of the great dolmen centres is close to the probable site of the Mizpah where Jephthah lived, and where he sacrificed his daughter, in fulfilment of his rash vow, an episode which has its parallel in Greece in the story of Iphigeneia.

The study of Phœnician archaeology is yet another most important department of Syriology. The work of Gesenius, Movers, Renan, and others in this direction, still remains to be completed. Hitherto we have suffered, first, from the zeal of those who saw in Phœnicia the origin of all European civilization; and, secondly, from misconceptions due to seeing the facts through the medium of Greek misrepresentations. Much also in Phœnicia is of very late date, belonging to a period of decadence under classic influence. This was the age of many Phœnician antiquities discovered by Renan; and the

religion of the Phœnicians must be judged by better information than that contained in the perverted accounts of Philo of Byblos. New light is, however, being continually shed on the civilization and history of this most interesting race. From Egypt we obtain details as early almost as the time of Moses; and in Phœnician seals and gems we discover that curious mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian art which we should expect to find among a people commercially connected with the two great centres at Memphis and at Nineveh.

The researches of Dr. Isaac Taylor, founded on the long neglected discovery of De Rougé, have clearly shown to us the natural birth of that great Phœnician alphabet which is the parent of every form of European writing, and of the scripts of Persia, Bactria, Arabia, and India as well. We now know that by simplifying the hieratic syllabaries used in their trading negotiations with Egypt, the Phœnicians constructed the alphabet, which the Greeks and the Arameans borrowed from them, and which spread at least as early as 800 B.C. (and in all probability much earlier) over the whole of Palestine, and even to the deserts of Moab.

The old objections to the antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were founded on the supposition that writing was unknown until about the time of Peisistratos (550 B.C.), have thus been swept away for ever; and the newer argument representing the Hebrews as inferior in civilization even to the Moabites, which was founded on the discovery of the Moabite stone, has shared the same fate since the recovery at Jerusalem itself of a beautifully graven text (the Siloam inscription) in six lines, dating probably from the time of Hezekiah, and showing us both the character employed and the language used by Israel in the time of the Kings of Judah before the Captivity.

The discovery of this important inscription teaches us that we need not despair of finding monumental evidence of Hebrew historic events within the limits of the Holy Land itself. As yet, we have only two monuments, although a tomb with a short inscription in letters like those of the Siloam text was found in 1873 by the English Survey Party in the Jordan Valley; but who shall say that nothing remains to be found under the ruins of Jerusalem or in Damascus or elsewhere in Palestine, now that we know the Hebrews to have engraved on stone like the Phœnicians and other neighbouring peoples? \*

A great deal has also of late been done in the study of the later characters used by the scribes after the Captivity. The surveyors have added more than one inscription to those already known, and

\* The Phœnician text mentioned by M. Clermont Ganneau, in a recent letter to the *Times*, as discovered by himself in the village of Silwân, must not be confused with the Siloam inscription. M. Ganneau's inscription is unpublished, and it appears to be entirely illegible from its age and the action of the weather. It is now in the British Museum, but is unfortunately of little value on account of its condition.

M. Clermont Ganneau, to whom we owe a valuable Phœnician text from Cyprus, has made an interesting collection of sepulchral graffiti from Jaffa and Jerusalem, some of which may be as early as the first and third centuries A.D. The surveyors have also found in Moab Nabathean texts, which offer new forms of great importance to the history of the alphabet. Such knowledge, while, on the one hand, it at once enables the student to detect such frauds as the notorious Shapira MS. of Deuteronomy, will, on the other, enable him to set a date upon really valuable texts, like the Harkavy MS. of the Prophets, which may prove to be the earliest text of any part of the Old Testament yet found—the tattered fragments of the earliest previously known MSS. (the unpointed texts of St. Petersburg) being at earliest not older than the seventh century. The use of vowel points began about 570 A.D., and the newly-found MS. might therefore be supposed to be earlier than that time, but the forms of the letters used, together with the absence of final forms, would seem to indicate the seventh century A.D. as the earliest possible age of the newly found copy from Rhodes deciphered by Dr. Harkavy.

Dry as such researches may be in themselves, the general reader will be interested to glance at the slow but steady accumulation of sound knowledge in such matters, and especially if he is aware how meagre are still our materials for critical examination of the Bible. The doctrines of the youngest German school, depending mainly on an exegesis which is not alone sufficient to carry conviction, will assuredly be found in many instances both fanciful and unscientific when they are weighed in the balances of a knowledge firmly based on a true comparative study of Hebrew antiquities.

But it is not merely through the recovery of ancient sites, ancient monuments, and ancient writings, that material is to be collected for the advancement of learning. We have living commentaries to study in the East; we have the descendants of Hittites and Canaanites, with Oriental Jews and other ancient stocks, from whose manners and dress, language and superstitions, we have much to learn. The student of literary Arabic lays down grammatical rules as to that rich but guttural language, which to himself, in his study among his folio lexicons, appear to be immutable laws. The explorer who lives among the peasantry from year to year, and who watches their life and hears them speak almost in the very tongue which poets and prophets used in the days of Isaiah and in the time of Christ, thinks little of the fictions of the grammarian when he can penetrate to the very heart and genius of the language. Much has been done, but yet more remains to be accomplished, in carrying out this comparison between the sturdy Syrian stocks of our own days and the energetic races, Phœnician or Hebrew, Hittite or Accadian, of the earliest Asiatic history. The folk-lore of the pure Arab tribes, the peasant customs

of the Fellaheen, the secret rites of the pagans of North Syria, handed down from the times of the Assassins and of the secret societies of Islam and of Persia; dating back to the orgies of Cybele, the Dionysian mysteries, the old Tammuz worship of Phœnicia, and the sacred libations and may-poles of Chaldea; all these survivals of paganism interest to the utmost the student of ancient religion, and cast new light on many an obscure passage in the Talmud or the Targums, and not less on the books of the Old and New Testament.

But there is a danger which is ever to be guarded against—natural to the student of these early civilizations—the danger of forgetting the lapse of centuries, and of overlooking the history of the country he studies. There was a time when the recovery of a drafted stone was sufficient evidence in the eyes of a traveller that he had found a Hebrew or Phœnician ruin; there was a time when Stonehenge was supposed to be a Phœnician temple, and the bronze colts of Norway, to be of Phœnician manufacture. The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund has been important, not only on account of a few genuine discoveries of primary importance, but also because of the destruction of a great mass of hasty and unfounded assertions which clogged the wheels of true progress. Those who have worked for the Society have not striven after the sensational. Men like Sir C. Wilson and Sir C. Warren have set truth and permanency before effect and popularity; and, however arduous be the way which leads to knowledge, it may safely be predicted that the work done in Palestine will outlast many brilliant theories and many popular delusions. The study of the ruins of Palestine shows us that, with the exception of the Tyrian tombs, the Hebrew sepulchres, the great rampart walls at Jerusalem and Hebron, and the dolmens of Moab, Gilead, and Galilee, we have as yet nothing that can with certainty be ascribed to a period older than the Christian era. We have a few relics of the Herodian period, we have magnificent Roman work of the second century, we find synagogues in Galilee of the same period, and countless chapels and monasteries of the Byzantine centuries. Rather later, we find in Jerusalem, Damascus, Ammân, and elsewhere some of the oldest Moslem buildings in the world; and then suddenly the Gothic work of the Normans rises throughout the land, eclipsing in strength and beauty all previous efforts, and covering Palestine with castles, cathedrals, and burghs. Norman law supercedes all other, and Norman society replaces the purely Oriental, or the imitation of classic civilization. Again, a century later, this is once more swept away by the fierceness of the Kurdish Saladin; and the beautiful erections of the Arabs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mark the latest period of prosperity which Palestine has as yet known.

Now, all these remains have to be studied, dated, and classified, in

order to clear the ground for the examination of more ancient things. We no longer mistake a Crusading castle for a specimen of "pure Phœnician art," as one popular writer did only twenty years ago. We know when we see a drafted stone that, although it may be either Roman or Byzantine, Crusading or Arab, in workmanship, according to its size and finish, it is almost certain that it is not Phœnician. The Herodian masonry of Jerusalem and Hebron is drafted, no doubt, but the stones are 4 feet high and 20 feet long, and they are finished with a toothed chisel, which no other builders used. By such minute observation alone can really sound generalizations be reached in treating of monuments undated or without inscription.

In conclusion of this brief summary of architectural study in Palestine, reference may be made to two points in particular. First, the thorough exploration of the Hebron Haram, which has added to our information concerning the mysterious cave where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to have been buried, the fact that a rock-cut chamber really does exist under the mosque, with a door very like that of an ordinary Jewish tomb. In the second place, no single discovery of the Palestine Exploration Fund has apparently excited greater interest than that reported in 1881 of a single Jewish tomb, which might with probability be indicated as the real site of the Holy Sepulchre. The whole argument, based on architectural and literary evidence, will be found detailed in the volume on Jerusalem just issued by the Society. The identification of Calvary proposed in 1878 in "Tent Work in Palestine," has received a large measure of acceptance among later writers, and the view regarding the newly found tomb rests on the former discovery of a Jewish tradition concerning the site of Calvary.

The Survey of Palestine has also thrown light on another most important question concerning ancient Palestine—namely, the relation of the present climate of the country to that of Old Testament times. This question has been fully worked out in papers which will be found in the Memoirs of the Survey, and the conclusions reached may be briefly summarized. Palestine is a small country, but it presents great varieties of soil, climate, and water-supply in various districts. We have the tropical Jordan valley and the Arctic region of upper Hermon and Lebanon. We have rich volcanic corn plains in Bashan and round Jezreel, and sandstones covered with pines and cedars, and hard limestones over which perennial streams flow between fine woods of oak and terebinth in Galilee, and yet more in Gilead. We have flat maritime plains, sandy and marshy, hot and malarious, bounded by ever-rolling dunes, but well watered by sluggish streams from the clear springs at the mountain foot. These plains run from Carmel to Gaza, ever widening, and supporting rich harvests. We have the low chalk hills, with their



luxuriant olive-yards and wells of living water, all along the eastern side of the maritime plains. Above, rise mountains 3,000 to 4,000 feet high, and on the north attaining to 10,000 feet. These are generally rugged and bare, but carefully terraced and partly cultivated. The vine flourishes on these higher ranges, where the frost and mist aid the strong reflexion of heat from the rock to ripen the grapes.

But besides these richer districts, we have the old deserts unchanged from the days of Abraham and of David; the flat marly plateau of Beersheba, where the nomads feed their flocks and herds as Isaac did before them; the desolate peaks and gorges of the Jeshimon, where the dun partridge and the brown ibex roam as they did when David hid in these fastnesses from Saul, among the "rocks of the wild goats." Exploration does not tend to countenance the old ideas about a great change in climate. It is a matter for the naturalist and the geologist to decide, and we know certainly that brooks of water could never have flowed on the surface of the porous chalk of some of these regions any more than they can now. We know also that the land is still as fertile as of old; still well watered in certain districts, still with a sufficient rainfall; and that when a just and stable government exists (as in the Lebanon), the country still flows with oil and wine.

But what we do learn from a study of the land and of history is the desolation wrought by human means in Palestine. We find everywhere the copse covering the winepress, the thistles growing among the old field enclosures, the terraces in ruins, the old vineyards deserted, the olive-yards exterminated, and many of the ancient woods entirely cut down. The forests which existed in the times of Titus and of the Crusaders are often entirely destroyed, and fine oak woods are represented by acres of stumps and roots; the great Antonine cities beyond Jordan stand in a wilderness full of ruined villages, over which the Arab wanders with his herds of camels. In brief, we see that poverty and decrease of population, the decay of roads and aqueducts, the ruin of the old cisterns, the destruction of the woods, terraces, and vineyards are the causes of the present desolation. This has often been pointed out, and experience proves that, given a just and strong government in the country, Palestine might become, like Southern Italy, a garden of the world.

And all this great work of exploration, alas! is for the moment suspended. The intrigues of Russia and France, the suspicions and stupidity of the Turks, the political struggles which are so important in the eyes of the public, so trite and petty to the student of history and of antiquity, have for the moment closed Syria to the explorer, and left its monuments to the vandalism of the peasant and the tourist.

Yet there is so much still to be done which must be done before it be too late. We want more Hittite monuments, more Hebrew

inscriptions; we want more gems and coins and sculptured stones; more bronzes and sarcophagi. We want more manuscripts and bricks and papyri; more dolmens and menhirs and sacred circles; more legends and details of folk-lore and peasant customs and Syrian dialectic forms and facts about the strange altars in the groves on Lebanon. We want to examine Bashan as Moab has been examined, and to explore Northern Syria and Asia Minor as Palestine has been explored. All this we want to do because we cannot get on without more facts and more materials for comparative study.

Far be it from us to depreciate what has already been done. There are some who think that the Jerusalem excavations "left the problem where they found it;" but this will not be the verdict of any careful reader of the volume just published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The arduous and devoted labours of Sir C. Warren, and the careful and scientific survey of the Holy City by Sir C. Wilson, without which all later work would have been impossible, have resulted in a general consensus of opinion among serious students, which leaves little to be said on the more important questions of Jerusalem topography. Yet any one who gazes at the great spoil heaps of the Holy City must long to sift them still more for the few grains of gold which they surely hold. Is there not somewhere under the rubbish another inscription of King Hezekiah's? May there not be yet, in the unexplored chambers of the Mosque enclosure, remains of the temple in which Christ taught more interesting even than those which have been found in the great tanks and caverns already explored? Where is Solomon's treaty with the Pharaoh of his day? and why should it not be found as well as other ancient treaties of which we have copies? So much which is indisputably ancient has been found that we may well hope to find much more if only we are allowed to work.

But in the meantime there is yet work which can be done. The labours of all these workmen in various fields can be reduced to order and summarized. The results might be collected and presented to the general public, and might be brought within reach of teachers and schools. Something has been done in this way. The Bible Society and the Sunday School Union are in the van in applying the results of exploration to the true understanding of the Scriptures. The British Museum is setting its house in order collecting its Phœnician treasures, which seem as yet to have been scattered up and down without arrangement. MM. Renan and Clermont Ganneau are publishing their *Corpus of Semitic inscriptions*, and the magnificent works of Perrot on *Oriental Art* are appearing in succession. And all this time the work proceeds without hasty attempts to jump at conclusions, and will therefore survive as permanent knowledge when the most advanced criticism has become old-fashioned theory.

C. R. CONDER.

## THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

THERE was a touch of the irony of circumstance in the conditions under which I read Mr. Goldwin Smith's article on "The Expansion of England" in the April number of this REVIEW. A significant meeting had just been held in Ballarat—the first public demonstration of "The Australian Natives' Association." Not less than four thousand men assembled in the large City Hall to hear what the young natives had to say, and to express their sympathy with the Association. About 300 ladies occupied the gallery, exhibiting a lively interest in the proceedings.

All the speakers were natives of some part of Australasia; several older colonists of repute in the political world were present, strongly moved at this new outcome of vitality on the part of young Australia.

Delegates from twenty-six branches of the Association attended, representative of all classes in the social scale: farmers, lawyers, clerks, graziers, merchants, artisans, storekeepers, mining men, &c., presenting a general aspect of strength, energy, and industry, with plenty of zest for work or play; hearty, honest, practical fellows, with good common sense, average education and intelligence, working towards a wider outlet for racial energies stirring within them. If there was an absence of culture and refinement, it was scarcely missed in the atmosphere of good fellowship, mutual consideration, and practical work that pervaded the meeting. The special object in view was to support the Premier of Victoria in his efforts to achieve a Federation of the Australasian Colonies;—"to create," the President of the Association said, "an Australian Dominion, as part and parcel of the British Empire; to unite all the Colonies under one supreme executive, and, in course of time, to have their own Representatives in the British House of Commons."

With the plaudits that greeted this announcement still ringing in one's ears, it was somewhat disenchanting to follow Mr. Goldwin Smith in his depreciation of Federation and caustic allusions to British Imperialism. Had he been present at the Ballarat demonstration, he would have been forced to reconsider his opinions as to "the complete want of national spirit in a colony," and as to there "being no pride felt in the country;" and his assertions that "patriotism cannot be said to exist in a dependency," and that "Imperialism is above the mental range of the people," were amply refuted by the tone of the speakers and by the applause that greeted their utterances.

It was also apparent that, so far from "British statesmen wanting to press federation on Australia," and "England grasping territory at the Antipodes," Australians considered it their duty to urge the matter on the Home Government; and that young men who will be the fathers of the next generation, as well as older colonists, who found the country a wilderness and will leave it to their successors studded with handsome towns, roads, and railways, a land of absolute freedom, unbounded wealth, and high civilization, were also unanimous in desiring to establish this Australasian Dominion, and to bind it in closest political union with Great Britain.

Such was their main point: annexation of adjacent islands and the exclusion of convict settlements from the Western Pacific were regarded as results that must necessarily follow its attainment. It must be confessed that the sentiments expressed at the natives' demonstration were a surprise to many older colonists; there was a sobriety combined with largeness of view, a firmness and moderation, an absence of *bluster*, which showed that the difficulties and far-reaching issues involved had been taken into account; sentimental politics and hasty legislation were deprecated; a steady determination to work patiently towards the desired aim was repeatedly expressed.

It has been sometimes feared that the absence of call for national struggle would stifle patriotism among a youth born into the possession of liberties and advantages which were gradually won by their fathers often at a cost of much suffering and even of life. Here neither institutions nor surroundings recall the bitterness of civil strife; such smoothness is not favourable to the development of a muscular nationality; and uneasiness has been felt lest the coming generation should set too little value on their noble heritage, mistaking a kind of limp optimism for the sturdy patriotism of their ancestors. "The Natives' Association" is young Australia's answer to such doubts.

It already numbers upwards of three thousand members, distributed among its twenty-six branches, and is steadily gaining fresh ground. Ballarat is its headquarters; the roll of that branch has

511 names. The Association has a large accumulated fund, an excellent income, and a staff of efficient officers. It is ready to enrol an unlimited number of male members; certificates of character and subscription to the rules of the Association being the only requirements. Religious questions and party politics, local to any colony, are tabooed as subjects of discussion; public affairs affecting Australia as a whole, current topics of interest to the civilized world, historical and literary subjects, are freely ventilated. Such an association promises to have a long and vigorous life. When we consider the influence its members must exercise over younger relatives and friends, in addition to the direct voice each has in the election of Parliamentary representatives (manhood suffrage, for good or ill, being firmly established here), we can scarcely over-estimate its important effect on colonial, perhaps on Imperial, affairs; and this influence is avowedly pressing with ever-increasing weight towards a Federation of the Australias, as a preliminary to a close union with Great Britain.

In this the Association is supported, as is well known, by the sympathy of a large majority in all the colonies. We, on this side the ocean, understand the recent action of New South Wales not as indicating a disinclination to union, but as prompted by a natural jealousy provoked in the elder settlement by the too prominently flaunted prosperity of younger Victoria. At the convention Sydney was as forward as her neighbours in declaring for Federation, believing it to be a step calculated to bring stability and honour to this continent, increase of power and renown to the mother-country, a guarantee for the furtherance of peace, justice, and true progress in the world.

A great deal is said about the increased taxation Federation will entail; and I think I am right in attributing to Mr. John Morley a graphic picture of the dismay with which the Australian taxpayer would contemplate being called on to contribute towards the expense of a war in Zululand, or the establishment of a scientific frontier in Afghanistan. This possibility has not been overlooked, or regarded wholly from a sentimental point of view; for it is thought that a federated Imperial Britain would prove a very real hindrance to war, and would largely help forward the substitution of arbitration; also that if heavier taxation actually resulted, a *per contra* might be expected in multiplied trading facilities and greater immigration, especially if closer intercourse educated the masses out of their prejudice in favour of Protection. Free Trade would put more into the pocket than increased taxation took out of the other.

It is, however, but fair to say that, judging from the pride that is taken in British prestige, and the sympathy which is exhibited with

British interests, the people of this continent would be as ready to contribute to the upholding of either as they were to assist in succouring their famine-stricken fellow-subjects in Ireland and India. No one could doubt this who witnessed the intense anxiety displayed by all classes during the late Egyptian war, when the newspaper offices were besieged for latest news, extra editions being published at intervals during the day as telegraphic news arrived.

An Australian Dominion is a certainty of the future. Consolidation of the colonies becomes daily more imperative. It is now proposed to unite the respective militia corps, arranging a "tented field" at some point easy of access to all, accustoming the troops to act together for the common defence. Indeed, now that attention is drawn to the subject, circumstances are continually arising which point to the need for Federation, to the benefits likely to accrue from a mutual sharing of burdens and advantages.

Difficulties no doubt are recognized here, but it is also remembered that it has been the habit of British statesmen to face and surmount such; therefore Australians decline to be terrified at them. Perhaps they have learned to trust much to the power of adjustment gradually wrought by time and custom. In watching the birth and growth of a nation many side lights are cast on history, as well as on contemporary political and social movements; one sees how a new departure—if it be really the outcome of natural advance—develops a remarkable power of adaptability, how excrescences drop off, roots deepen, tendrils lay hold even of opposing habits and prejudices, until at length the old conditions are absorbed into the new.

The practical working out of problems in Church and State, still theoretically discussed by the foremost thinkers in Europe, has been forced on colonists. Such pressure may perhaps tend to rash legislation; hitherto, however, notwithstanding passing extravagances, the political instinct of the Anglo-Saxon race has justified itself amid new conditions, and the necessarily experimental legislation thereby entailed.

Opportunity of watching the development of a young national life counteracts in some degree the narrowness of view engendered by isolation from the world's great centres, and from the elevating influence of its highest note in culture and art.

It is not the object of this paper to deal with reasons for or against Federation in the abstract, but simply to represent current feeling here on the subject.

II. N. B.

Bunfong, Victoria.

## FRANCE AND CHINA.

THE events taking place in Tonquin and the Chinese seas are of a nature to cause serious anxiety, not only to France and China as the two contending parties, but to all the treaty Powers having commercial interests to a large amount at stake. More especially is this true of England—the trade under the British flag in the Eastern seas amounting to some four-fifths of the whole. The magnitude of these trading interests is sufficient to make it of national concern. In an interesting paper on “Imperial Defence,” read by Sir Charles Nugent before the United Service Institution at the beginning of the year, the total movement to and from the United Kingdom is approximately estimated at seventy-eight millions sterling. Of this, probably one-half goes by the Suez Canal, in a direct line eastward, to China, Japan, and Australia.

The hostile operations of the French are not only damaging to these interests, but are the more disquieting because treaty ports are bombarded and coast lines placed under blockade by a Power which is not *de jure* at war with China, and, consequently, not legally in a position either to declare or enforce a blockade against the ships of neutral Powers. A plea of reprisals can scarcely, in its widest acceptance, cover a right of blockade by any recognized international law. The contrary is maintained no doubt by the Paris journalists, and by the French Minister; but neither Vattel, nor Grotius, nor Klüber, sanctions the French claim.

This is obviously not a satisfactory condition of things, and it is in the interest of all the treaty Powers that more information of a trustworthy character should be obtained, both as to the situation in China and the proceedings of the French in their mixed campaign of bombardments and negotiations. Even if the rumours

now afloat of a successful mediation between the two contending parties should be realized before this article appears, there is much in the past history of these hybrid relations of France and China, their motive and object, which requires to be more clearly understood in the common interest. A solution more or less satisfactory, it is to be hoped, may be effected by the good offices of friendly Powers. But the causes which have led up to the present conflict will not wholly cease, whatever may be the nature of the compact likely to be entered into with France. The colonial policy of the French, so essentially aggressive in respect to the acquisition of territory, and coaling stations in the Chinese seas and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, is a standing menace, not to China alone, but to all the Western nations taking part in the vast trade passing through the Suez Canal towards the Eastern shores and Australasian colonies. Assuming that the whole Annamite territory lately overrun, including Tonquin, will remain a French possession, its chief value to France, it may be confidently asserted, will be the access it may and is intended to give to the southern and western provinces of China, on whose frontiers French dominion will be established in force. Such a state of things foreshadows doubtful relations in the future with China, and a proximity fraught with danger to the weak states of Siam and Burmah, together with the British possessions. It will be evident that there is a future in store from which the past and the present cannot be dissociated. Indeed the connection is so close, that the right understanding of all that has gone before can alone afford a safe guide to that which is to follow, and apparently at no distant time.

## I.

The recent outbreak of vituperation and hostile criticism directed against England in many of the Paris journals, in connection with French operations in Tonquin and China, is not without significance. To judge from the general tone of the French press, it might be thought that England, not China, was the enemy chiefly in view. And although these rabid denunciations of England, and all her works past and present, only express the animus of certain Paris journalists and a small section of the political parties of the capital in a state of ebullition, it is impossible not to perceive in the history of all the operations leading up to the annexation of Tonquin—as in Madagascar contemporaneously, and in the China seas—a very decided spirit of jealousy and enmity.

For this, among other reasons, it is desirable to ascertain, if possible, what are the causes, latent or avowed, of such hostile feeling in a nation that for the last seventy years has been in alliance with us, and has in that period fought side by side with us, in the Crimea and



in China? One would like to know, also, how far these sentiments, so vehemently expressed in the French press, do really pervade or influence any considerable part of the nation? If the acts of the rulers of France seem ominously in accord with them, and if, while officially professing the most cordial *entente*, they are nevertheless, under treaties of peace, preparing for hostile action, and in the meantime seeking to inflict all the injury in their power without a declaration of war, it behoves us to look such facts fairly in the face, and not shut our eyes in a fool's paradise of delusive security.

Without entering into any discussion as to the morality or equity of the French claims, of the proceedings adopted for their enforcement in Tonquin and China, or of how far they can be justified by any recognized principle of international law, we may reasonably ask of these journalistic assailants what it is they complain of in British diplomacy or policy? What steps have we taken to impede, or otherwise interfere with their operations, either in Tonquin or China?

Not long ago there appeared in the *St. James's Gazette* a letter from a Paris correspondent, which answers some of these questions from a French point of view, and the following extract is worthy of notice:—

"Nobody who knows the French well both in Paris and in the provinces can be blind to the fact that, in spite of international exhibitions and brotherhood in arms in the Crimea, the anti-English feeling in France is no less strong than it was in the first years of the present century. While Sedan is already spoken of with comparative calmness, Waterloo is still a fearsome word in French ears. For the slightest reason, or for no reason at all, the French *bourgeois* or *ouvrier* is always ready at a moment's notice to lash himself into a state of fury against what the former calls 'la perfide Albion,' and the latter 'cette sale Angleterre.' A few distinguished journalists, prominent among whom is M. Hervé, view with alarm this dangerous revival of Anglophobia, and do their best to combat it; but prudence and common-sense have but a poor chance in France when pitted against prejudice and Chauvinism. This, for instance, is a very common form of reasoning among Frenchmen:—'Englishmen did not help us in 1870; we may forgive the open enemy who beat us, but we can never forgive the *swindling* friend who stood by chuckling, and never raised a finger to save us or aid us. She would, had she dared to do so, have thwarted us in Madagascar. She has shouldered us out of Egypt, and tried to rob us of the Suez Canal. She now presumes to lecture us about our policy in China. She is a corrupt and purse-proud Oligarchy, and we are a great and noble Republic. For all these reasons she deserves a lesson; and we must give her one. We run no risk. She cannot possibly invade us, as Germany did. Thanks to her shameless infraction of the law of liquidation, her insular egotism, and the contemptible vacillation of her *ministère pour rire*, she has not an ally in Europe. Our fleet is as good as hers, and better. The same invincible iron-clads which destroyed Keelung and pulverized the forts of Kinpai will make short work of Portsmouth and Southampton. English commerce and colonies offer a hundred vulnerable points for one that ours present. A few weeks of naval warfare will bring the modern Carthage to her knees; and great glory,

not to mention a heavy pecuniary indemnity, will be ours.' That much of this should be nonsense is nothing to the point. The nonsense is firmly believed in by the enormous majority of the French lower and middle classes, and by the middle and lower classes the policy of France is ultimately shaped."

Without accepting the inference, that the majority of the lower and middle classes hold these opinions, there is enough evidence of malice working and fermenting in the French mind to make it desirable, if possible, to trace it to its source, when we shall probably find it is of no modern origin.

## II.

More than a century ago the Baillie of Mirabeau, in 1771, denounced us for our "over-swollen power," and devoted us to destruction. And no doubt, at this date, he expressed a very general feeling among his countrymen. We were then in the midst of an embittered struggle with France for colonial empire in the New World. It had endured through the greater part of two centuries, and given rise to a succession of protracted wars, in which the French lost many of their most valuable possessions in both hemispheres. I believe Professor Seeley\* is right, though Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a late number of the *CONTEMPORARY*, contests it, "that the whole period stands out as an age of gigantic rivalry between England and France; so much so, that the eternal discord of England and France appeared so much a law of nature that it was seldom spoken of. The wars of their own times, blending with a vague recollection of Cr cy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, created an impression in the minds of those generations that England and France always had been at war, and always would be." Even during a nominal peace of eight years, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, some of the most memorable battles between the English and the French, both in America and India, occurred in this period: "the struggle between Dupleix and Clive in India, the defence of Arcot, and the deeds which led to the founding of our Indian Empire." Through a period of nearly twenty years there was one great conflict, we are told, lasting from 1744 to the peace of Paris in 1763, which ended "in the most disastrous defeat that, in modern times, has ever been suffered by France, except in 1870." India in the East, and Canada in America, both were lost; while in the war that followed it she took her revenge for the loss of Canada by aiding with troops to create the United States and sever them from England. But India still remained unavenged, and even in the great wars of the Revolution and the Empire, "the glorious projects of Dupleix, and the visions of a French Empire in the East," still, as we have been

\* See "The Expansion of England." Two Courses of Lectures by J. R. Seeley, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.

reminded by the *Soleil* in discussing the Tonquin question, lived in their memory, as well as the loss of those "stations in Egypt, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea, which once barred England's road to India." And thus, when Napoleon was just put in charge of the war with England, his thoughts speedily reverted to the lost possessions in India, and to Egypt as the road to India, and Malta as the key of the Mediterranean. Nor did the glamour of such visions end with Waterloo or Napoleon, we now see; and their resuscitation in the substantial form of Annam and Tonquin affords the explanation of what is now developing into the occupation of Cochin China and the Tonquin Gulf. And the history of these past giant struggles between two rival Powers, by which France is now lured on to these distant colonial adventures, notwithstanding her own experience has unfailingly borne out Sir James Mackintosh's dictum, that "Colonial possessions have been unanswerably demonstrated to be commercially useless and politically ruinous." To France this sums up the whole history of her colonial efforts at expansion and empire in distant regions, and even nearer home, in Algiers.

### III.

I do not care to inquire into the right of France to take the ground she assumes in Tonquin and China as a question of International Law, for the simple reason that the thing itself is a misnomer. However carefully and learnedly writers on that subject may have defined "the rights and duties of nations in times of peace and war;" it is idle to talk of laws where there is no power to enforce their observance or penalty for their violation. Each independent State claims to be the sole judge as to whether it suffers wrong or injury, and what steps it behoves its rulers to take to obtain redress. How far these shall go, even to annexation and permanent occupation of territory, and when they shall stop, if not constrained by superior force, rests with the invaders alone to determine. It is but a waste of time for practical purposes, therefore, to discuss on paper the justice or equity of the course followed—that is, as regards the relative rights of any two States in conflict. Of course, if the rights or interests of neutral Powers become involved, other considerations have to be taken into account, and alliances, offensive and defensive, may follow among Powers making common cause, for reasons of their own, with one or other of the original combatants. This, although not a contingency in the present case immediately threatening, is not so impossible that the other treaty Powers should not seek to be rightly informed as to the French schemes of colonization in the East—what are the real objects aimed at, and by what means they propose to attain them? It is fortunate, therefore, that these are abundantly shown by French official despatches and

the correspondence of their political and military agents, supplemented by numerous works, which during the last few years have issued from the French press.

I say fortunately, because the French cannot discredit their own witnesses, and therefore such evidence as these supply is beyond dispute. Certainly from these some curious and instructive information is to be obtained as to the well-defined object of the present operations of the French, and as to the manner in which the Government conducts its colonial policy by missionary and political agents, with powers of elastic interpretation and doubtful limitation.

We must remember, as a starting-point, that the French Ministers, in answer to questions in both Chambers, "categorically denied having any thoughts of conquering the Delta, and on April 6, 1883, a despatch was sent, blaming Commander Rivière for the affair at Nam Dinh, and ordering him to do nothing more till further orders. This reached him on May 12; and along with it came another, written two days later, authorizing him to capture not only Sontay and Bac Ninh, but also Ninbueh; and a week later (on May 19) Rivière was killed in his sortie from Hanoi. So previously, during M. de Freycinet's administration, while the Foreign Ministry promised that there should be no policy of aggression, Admiral Jauréguiberry was telling Rivière in private despatches that the "conquest of Tonquin had been decided upon in principle." This, we see, was Tunis over again, with M. St. Hilaire's emphatic disclaimers of conquest or annexation, to end in both.

Such being the facts as set forth in the French correspondence, and published as a justification for Captain Rivière's rash enterprises and hostile operations in Annam, we cannot prudently regard France in the same supercilious way that M. Jules Ferry has regarded China, "*comme une quantité négligeable*." If, moreover, it is found that the correspondence, official and private, of all the chief actors in the operations and negotiations carried on with the Annamite and Chinese authorities displays a persistent enmity to England, as a primary motive for activity, and in all the steps taken from first to last, some inquiry may be justified in self-defence as to whither such action tends. The permanent resentment of a nation can never be regarded as a matter of indifference; and although the hidden springs of international feeling and policy may sometimes be far to seek, it is essential that they should be known and kept in view, if we would avoid being taken by surprise and at a great disadvantage.

From Rivière's defeat dates the policy, since announced, of "intelligent destruction," and the conversion of an aggressive advance in Tonquin into an attack on China proper as a measure of reprisal. In this campaign of bombardments and blockades without a declaration of war, England, no doubt, will be the

greatest sufferer. All the other Western Powers, however, with commerce in the China seas, will, in the end, have to contribute to the liquidation of the bill of costs which the French are running up at a rapid rate with "a light heart," seeing they have no trade to be taxed or to lose, and that China and the other Treaty Powers have very large interests involved, and will consequently be the only sufferers.

How these things come to pass, and were led up to, M. de Marcellay very clearly shows.

#### IV.

The origin of the rights of France in Cochin China, according to the French, commences with the treaty entered into by the refugee King, Gia-Long, in 1787. This, however, was not absolutely the first effort of French political and missionary enterprise in the Peninsula. In 1686 Louis XIV. received an Ambassador from Siam, and next year he despatched five ships and a regiment to take possession of Bangkok. Revolutions in Siam and troubles in France rendered this first attempt abortive; and "Messrs. de Rhodes et Tissanier missionaries" in vain endeavoured to impress on French statesmen of the seventeenth century the "great commercial and political future reserved for Indo-China in French hands."

The Père de Rhodes urged that "la position maritime et la richesse territoriale garantirait à la France un rôle digne d'elle dans ces contrées où flotte si orgueilleusement le drapeau Anglais." But the next missionary envoy, the Bishop de Pigneau, was more successful with Louis XVI. in the next century, while using the same arguments of rivalry to the English.

The spell with which the militant Bishop conjured was of such potency that he succeeded in his mission, and obtained the despatch of an expedition of ships and troops to restore the fugitive King Gia-Long to his throne. And the charm with which he worked was enmity to England. This is placed beyond dispute by the terms of a memorandum presented to the French Government by the Bishop, in which he sets forth, under five heads, the great advantages, both in peace and war, to be derived from the occupation of Cochin China, and the establishment of a French colony there. And the first of these advantages is set forth as follows:—

"The most certain way of damaging the English in India is to ruin, or, at any rate, to weaken her commerce. In time of peace, being situated nearer to China, we should undoubtedly absorb much of her trade, the voyage being shorter, and the expense of transit cheaper, than to India. Chinese merchants would naturally prefer the French ports in Cochin China to the more distant ones of Calcutta.

and Madras.” \* And the second advantage is of similar purport, for he points out that : “ In time of war it would be still more easy to stop all commerce between China and any hostile nation ; the situation of our harbours would enable us to forbid the entry of or departure of any vessel from the China ports.” In other words, virtually to blockade India and China. And under the fifth head the whole argument is further brought home in the reflection that, “ From such a coign of advantage it would be easy to interfere with the designs which the English evidently have of extending their frontier more to the East.”

With such arguments as these success was a foregone conclusion it seems. A treaty was signed, giving virtually a protectorate over all the dominions to be recovered for the exiled king, with monopoly and *power of exclusion to all other foreigners or trade*. This treaty or compact with a dethroned and refugee king was pretty much, in morality and validity, on a par with—certainly of no more validity than—a treaty that might be made by James II. when an exile at St. Germain with Louis XIV., to deliver over all England to a French protectorate, with exclusive rights of trade, on the condition of his restoration by French arms.

It answered its purpose, however, in both directions. The French expedition of ships and troops effected the restoration of the fugitive king, Giâ-Long, and gave a *de facto* as well as *de jure* protectorate, by which the country received some sort of military organization under French officers, and many of the towns were fortified which, in these latter days, by the irony of fortune, they have had to retake by assault. The missionaries were placed in a position of great influence, as they desired, and all seemed for the best “ in this best of all possible worlds,” as described by *Candide*.

Unfortunately for the missionaries and the whole scheme, France was soon too deeply occupied with her own terrible revolution to spare ships or troops in such outlying regions, and in time a king succeeded Giâ-Long who did not know Joseph, or share the French proclivities and political bias of the sovereign who owed his restoration to France. M. Veuillot reminds his readers if, in 1827, the Dey of Algiers gave a *coup d'éventail* to a French Consul, three years later he was dethroned by France, and hence the origin of its rights in Algiers. In Annam, it must be admitted, the provocations have been of a much graver character, and the obligations to punish more imperative. Nor is M. Veuillot wrong when he says that, in dealing with barbarous or non-Christian nations and States, it is not enough to punish past insults, but security must be taken for the future by some definitive action—which is known as annexation of territory—a Protectorate or some equivalent. A long list of martyrs is given, members, French and Spanish, of the

Mission Etrangère, under French protection in the East, whose lives were sacrificed in a course of years, from 1820, when Già-Long died, until an expedition, under Admiral Laguerre, arrived at Tourane on March 18, 1847, consisting of two frigates, &c. Finding they were about to be attacked by the Annamites by the king's orders, the French opened fire and destroyed all the junks, with great carnage of their crews. But on the departure of the vessels, nevertheless, fresh persecutions commenced. Nine missionaries were strangled or decapitated up to 1861, under Tu Duc's reign, and their catechists and converts were tortured and killed or imprisoned.

In 1858, to avenge and put an end to these atrocities, a Franco-Espagnol Expedition was sent (August 31) and destroyed the batteries at Tourane, which place was taken possession of by Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, who commanded an expedition of some 3,000 men, but later on, Saigon, 150 leagues south of Tourane, the *entrepôt* of Lower Cochin China, was seized as a preferable possession, and the forts well armed and supplied with ammunition, were taken.

Tu Duc, the king, subsequently signed a treaty of peace (June 5, 1862), the principal articles of which stipulated for the free exercise of the Christian religion, the cession of three provinces and Praho Andore, together with a prohibition to cede Annamite territory to any other foreign Power, and an indemnity of 20,000,000 francs.

If we compare the chief clauses of the two treaties, the first of 1787 and the second of 1862, with an interval of a century between them, the identity of sentiment and continuity of thought in the later period is remarkable. Whoever desires to follow all the details of the various stages through which the French have arrived at their present occupation of Cochin China and Tonquin up to Langson on the Chinese frontier, cannot do better than read through a volume lately published and entitled, “Tonkin; or, France in the Far East,” by C. B. Norman, late Captain Bengal Staff Corps, with its accompanying maps. Quoting from a letter of M. Garnier, dated Shanghai, August 9, 1873, there is the following passage:—

“I wish to see a French garrison in Tonkin, and a railway connecting Yunnan with the Red River. The English will never get over that (*‘les Anglais ne se relèveront pas de celle là’*);” and he concludes, “I feel that if I am supported, Indo-China is French.” Animated with these views, and furnished with confidential instructions which have not been made known, M. Garnier left Shanghai on September 27, 1873, ostensibly to extricate M. Dupuis, engaged in a supply of arms to the Imperial Chinese forces in Yunnan through the Annamese territories by the Red River, and who, after the manner of French adventurers in these regions, was forcing his way against the opposition of the Annamese authorities, who were protesting and

appealing in vain to the French Governor at Saigon against this unauthorized invasion of a French subject. M. Garnier, escorted by two men-of-war, sailed for the mouth of the Red River, where he lost his life in a similar way as Captain Rivière, while carrying out the same object.

What that object was, and how far it had any reference to existing treaties or national rights, is clearly set forth in a Memorandum drawn up by Garnier himself, a translation of which is given in Captain Norman's book. The following extract is sufficiently explicit:—

"For many years Great Britain has been endeavouring to establish direct commercial relations between her Indian possessions and the Celestial Empire. A continental route, which would join the Eastern watersheds of the China Seas with the basin of the Irawaddy or of the Ganges, would naturally possess great advantages over the sea route, which obliges vessels to coast the long Indo-Chinese peninsula and pass through the dangerous Straits of Malacca."

The last work I shall quote from, to close a long array of authorities all French, and all equally conclusive in their evidence as to the character and design of the aggressive operations undertaken in Annam and Tonquin, is a *brochure* from the pen of the defeated Captain Rivière, written just before he proceeded to Tonquin to take command. It is entitled "*La Guerre avec la Chine. La Politique Coloniale et la Question du Tonkin.*" He commences with several pregnant questions. "*La conquête du Tonkin vaut-elle les défenses qu'elle entraîne, en hommes et en argent? Y a-t-il nécessité indispensable pour la France d'avoir une politique coloniale?*" And he proceeds to formulate the following answer in italics:— "*Ouvrir à notre commerce et lui réserver, par des tarifs protecteurs, des débouchés assez considérables pour qu'il puisse verser un chiffre d'exportations retablissant l'équilibre rompu à notre détriment.*" He then proceeds to inquire whether "*Tonquin is well chosen as a 'débouché' for French commerce—rich enough to pay for the manufactured goods of France, and its population large enough to create a large trade.*" He answers all these questions in the affirmative, extolling the mineral wealth of Tonquin and the adjoining Chinese province of Yunnan—as so many arguments for the French occupation of Tonquin—all the more, that he declares the climate of the Delta is too fatal to be occupied by Europeans in force, and placing the mortality at 61 per cent. of the troops employed there. In this connection he openly advises that France should avail itself of the chance of a quarrel with China about the Black Flags and Tonquin, to take possession of Yunnan, Kwangse, and Kwan-tung. That is, the three southern and western provinces of China proper, and he concludes by assuring his Government that a war with China would be a "*bonne*



fortune" and "une excellente affaire pour la France." He further suggests that if England does not like it, or makes the slightest opposition, diplomatic or otherwise, that she should be told the French would do as the English were doing in Egypt, and the occupation of the three Chinese provinces would be provisional, to cease when commerce and order were established, and the necessary guarantees obtained for liberty of commerce with the whole interior of China. And thus he concludes: "A colonial empire would be created that might rival that of England in India, if not in extent at least in wealth. Let us follow their example," he adds, "and carve out for ourselves, by the annexation of these provinces of China—the most productive in the world, and teeming with mineral wealth—a vast colonial empire." "Il y a de notre prospérité nationale. Pouvons nous hésiter un seul instant?" were his last words. And on his arrival in Cochin China a few months later as the officer in command of the sea and land forces, and political representative of the French Government, he did not hesitate, and while carrying out the policy here sketched he lost his life in a sortie when beleaguered in Hanoi. I think it will be seen that international law, with its rights and duties, had little concern with French policy and operations in Cochin China.

## V.

Having now shown from exclusively French sources, and by their own evidence, what France is seeking and has sought from the beginning, more than a century back, in the Indo-China peninsula by the treaty of 1787, signed at Versailles, and reproduced in those of 1862 and 1874, under the pressure of French forces in possession, we may proceed to consider what China has done, and may yet be able to accomplish, with a view to meet all the varied modes of attack adopted by her adversary.

The coveted territory having been overrun and annexed, and not being likely to be recovered by the Annamites or by China, it may be asked, why should England, or any foreign Power, interfere or object? As regards England the answer has, I think, been fully supplied by the preceding narrative, brief and imperfect as it is, of the declared objects of the chief actors in the operations of the French and their negotiations. But to any question of this kind Captain Norman, in his work above cited, has, by anticipation, afforded so full and complete an answer, that I may be permitted to quote him verbatim to the following effect:—

"One hundred years ago Louis XVI. offered money and ships and men, to put King Già-Long on the throne of Annam, and the principal reason for embarking on such a distant enterprise, as good Bishop Pigneare de Béhaéne is careful to tell us, was to weaken England's commerce in time of peace, and

to secure a base to attack her Indian possessions in time of war. Ten years ago, Dupuis pushed up the Red River to Yunnan, in order to forestall us in opening a trade route with Western China, and Gafnier's fatal indiscretion was prompted by the same cause. It is idle for France to attempt to cope with us as a maritime power; but in time of war she can do us incalculable damage, so long as the present treaty of Paris remains in force. In times of peace she does her utmost to ruin our trade, by the imposition of heavy duties, and of equally onerous bounties. Every fresh conquest made by France, every new custom-house over which the tricolour flies, is an injury to the trade of the world; the heavy duties realized help to reconcile the exiled Frenchman to his new home, and they do France no ultimate good, whilst they inflict on Germany and England—the two trading nations of Europe, and the two hereditary foes of France—untold harm. Germany and England are alike secure from invasion by the Republic; but their commerce is dangerously open to attack, provided France can secure some fresh territory which shall give her that priceless necessary for modern warfare—coal. With a naval station in Cochin China, drawing its supplies from the immense coal-fields of Quang Yen, our trade with China would be paralysed, our outlying Oriental possessions grievously threatened, and our colonial military budget necessarily increased. It must be remembered that our steam mercantile fleet numbers close on 5,000 vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of over 6,000,000, while our sailing fleet, with an equal tonnage, exceeds 18,000 ships. The havoc that well-found cruisers could create in such an armada can readily be imagined. Retaliation is impossible; France does not possess 500 steamboats, and only just 2,000 sailing ships, some hundreds of these being the unsca-worthy coffins which annually drown a large proportion of the manhood of Brittany off the coasts of Newfoundland. Every additional harbour occupied by France in the fair way of our great trade routes threatens our maritime supremacy, and her occupation of Tonquin and Madagascar menaces us in no small degree."

Captain Norman's book is one long indictment of France in Tonquin, and so clear and sustained by official documents, correspondence, and the text of treaties and conventions, that *les pièces justificatives* leave nothing in the act of accusation unproven. One is glad to see that such a work has found editors courageous enough to make and publish a translation in Paris—"en partie pour réfuter les accusations de l'auteur." No refutation, however, appears in this edition, nor have I found any attempt made elsewhere, although the editors invite it. Nor is any refutation possible.

There are two conditions attending the recent progress of the French schemes of colonization in the East which justify England in the exercise of a jealous vigilance. The first is the avowed object by means of such territorial acquisitions, in the fair way and main route of our great Eastern trade, to menace and damage that trade and all English interests now and hereafter. The second is the equally plain and declared object of excluding English (and foreign) trade from competition with their own wherever their influence extends. This is not the place to enter upon the question of Free Trade and Protection or Fair Trade. It is sufficient for my present purpose to point out that the principles of Free Trade can only be maintained

if applied over a large area, and the policy of France is to restrict that area to the extent of its power wherever its influence can prevail—in France itself and all her colonial dependencies, from Algiers and Tunis in the Mediterranean to Madagascar and Cochin China in the East. One consequence following of necessity from this is, that any port or territory gained by France is a loss to every other country, by being closed against the trade of the world on any fair or possible terms of competition. It may be nothing to the purpose to show that it is a losing if not suicidal policy for France itself, but such it can be shown to be now and in all past time.

## VI.

If the object of France in acquiring new colonies were simply to open new markets for her own products, and a new field for French enterprise in unoccupied ground, it may be said that they do no wrong to other States. Acquiring territories by her own right hand, to be developed at her own cost, for the exclusive advantage of France, may be a selfish policy which other nations can hardly be expected to approve. Countries, like Great Britain, which opened China at her own risk and cost, not for her subjects alone, but for all nations, on precisely the same terms as she had exacted for herself—which has created Eastern colonies like Singapore and Hong-Kong, with free ports—and refuses to levy any differential or protective duties in British ports at home, can hardly sympathize with a policy by which a market is closed to English goods.

## VII.

Having now set before my readers the more salient features of the struggle still going on between China and France, in which Cochin China, up to the frontiers of China, has been the bone of contention, but now further complicated by a question of reprisals and indemnity, it only remains to consider briefly what are the resources of China, and the powers of resistance she can oppose to the more direct attacks of so powerful an enemy. In this matter it has seemed rather too much overlooked that the feelings of the Chinese population have to be taken into account. Yet it is obvious that, contemptible as may be the strength of any Chinese army when opposed to European disciplined forces, the feelings of the inhabitants, numbering as they do hundreds of millions, must form a factor of some importance in any final settlement, and in the action of their Government. Napoleon learnt this to his cost in his invasion of Spain. Though none of the Spanish armies could offer any effective resistance in the field, when the whole country was engaged in a guerilla warfare there was more to be feared.'

Apart from any purely Annamite resistance, sustained by Black Flags and Chinese forces, regular or irregular, the equal value of any Chinese troops in the field, or about to cross the frontier, and the coercive and diplomatic measures at the disposal of both parties, all enter into the account as material elements in the question now being fought over by the two belligerents. For belligerents they are, however the one may hesitate, and the other with set purpose avoid, any declaration of war. That this irregular state of affairs cannot be prolonged indefinitely must be evident to France if not to China. The interests of neutral Powers are too important, and the injury inflicted upon them by a state of nominal peace, interrupted by blockades and bombardments of treaty ports, is too serious to be long suffered.

The policy of China in this conjuncture, its resources and interests, diplomatic and combative, of forcing a solution that the Government at Peking shall be either induced or compelled to accept, are questions of great interest to all the Treaty Powers, though to some more than to others.

What the policy of the Chinese Government hitherto has been, dating from the treaty imposed on the Annamite authorities in 1874 by the French gunboats and lieutenants, mixed up in a strange irregular fashion with a semi-commercial and filibustering expedition set on foot by Dupuis in the Red River, there is little doubt. It has been one of drift, and letting things slide into irretrievable confusion and disaster, for want of courage and decisive action at the right time. Between the Dupuis and Garnier expeditions, in which a handful of men were, on various pretexts more or less specious, seizing towns, storming citadels, and terrorizing the Annamite mandarins and king into virtual submission to any terms dictated to them, and Captain Rivière's very similar proceedings in 1883, there was abundant time and opportunity for China either to fight or negotiate with effect, and she did neither. Had Tonquin in those ten years been firmly held by successive relays of Chinese troops in large numbers, the worst that could have happened would have been the loss of the Delta. The invasion and conquest of Tonquin was an afterthought, born of the utter ineptitude and helplessness of all authorities, Annamite and Chinese. Whatever may be the inferiority of any Chinese army the Government at Peking can put in the field against a French force, it is certain that while this was entangled in a difficult country, cut up by rivers and water-courses, under a tropical sun and in an unhealthy climate, and surrounded by a hostile population, numbers were alone required to harass and discourage, if not to wholly disorganize, any regular European force, and to render it, by a process of exhaustion, incapable of holding the territory, and consequently to induce France to come to terms on some more

reasonable basis than indemnities and cession of territories in Tonquin and Formosa.\*

None of these measures having been taken, though well within the means China has at her command, she has now to face a much worse situation, after her arsenal has been destroyed, and a port and coalfield of incalculable value to the French have been seized. What are the means left to the Chinese Government to deal effectively with so untoward a condition of affairs?

Her army and fleet, as at present organized and commanded, may be put out of the question as far as any trial of strength is concerned against the French in force anywhere on the coast. If they cannot operate effectively as a harassing diversion in Tonquin, they can do very little or nothing elsewhere. Without taking the French accounts of their several conflicts with Chinese forces as worthy of credit, or having any pretensions to accuracy—when columns sent out to “disperse the pirates and insurgent bands between the Red River and the Thaiking have succeeded in completely driving them out of the country,” and we are told “there were no losses on our side,” it may be safely assumed they never saw an enemy within firing distance, or did not count their own casualties. Or again, when a despatch from Admiral Courbet, dated Kelung, Nov. 7th, announces that “on the 29th inst. a body of one thousand Chinese attacked the fortified works, but were vigorously repulsed,” and, “after three hours’ fighting the enemy withdrew, after having sustained heavy loss, the French having had only one man slightly wounded,” we simply put down these wonderful feats of arms as curiosities of military literature and despatch writing. If the Chinese attacked and fought at all, even with their old rusty gingalls and bows and arrows, it is inconceivable that the gainers had no casualties. But the Chinese are armed with repeating rifles and arms of precision, and however awkward or cowardly, before they would let themselves be killed, like sheep led to the slaughter, they could hardly fail of inflicting some damage. But the Chinese are not wanting in courage, and have a greater contempt of danger than European troops generally.

Be this as it may, no doubt they are unequal to their enemy in the open field, and nothing can be expected from their courage or tactics when so employed. However well armed their batteries may be with the best Krupp guns, or their infantry with the newest arms of precision, they were warned long ago by General Gordon and by others,

\*I wrote so fully on the military resources of China in an article which was published in the December number of the CONTEMPORARY in 1880, that I will not repeat myself, but refer any reader to that paper. Russia was then the enemy in question, but my observations equally apply now, and the following passage may show how singularly my predictions have been verified. I said if they continued to place a vain reliance on such efforts only as they had heretofore made, “their fleet of foreign-built ships may be swept from the seas or captured, their dockyards and arsenals destroyed, and all their powers of defence hopelessly paralyzed in a brief space.”

whose opinion they ought to have weighed, that without effective organization and European drill, with cadres of officers competent to command, and trusted to lead them in battle, they were wasting their money in buying Remington rifles, Krupp guns, torpedoes, or any other instruments of modern and scientific warfare. Equally so in building or buying at great cost iron-plated ships, and all the newest armaments, with crews imperfectly trained, and a red-buttoned incapable mandarin to lead them in battle. Nor can they ever possess either army or navy to be depended upon for national defence or offence until the Boards and Governing Powers at Peking learn that war has become a science and must be learned, and soldiers and the profession duly *honoured*, before officers will be obtained, either native or foreign, capable of creating army or navy in any true sense, or when created, of successfully commanding and making them formidable against European forces.

Because in their Confucian system the military profession is looked down upon and despised, and the education utterly neglected of those who are entrusted with commands, they are paying the penalty of possessing nothing in the way of force on which the Government or the country can rely for their defence. Since the last war in 1860, which saw a foreign enemy at the gates of Peking, and the capital at its mercy, from this humiliating and crushing defeat they have learned nothing. Or rather they only half learned the lesson such defeats should have taught them, and attributed our superiority to the arms and not the men and their organization as an army. They have since spent millions with a lavish hand in arsenals, docks and arms, ships and guns, but have neglected to supply themselves with a navy or an army. They have yet to learn that a fortuitous collection of men, whether in ships afloat or in regiments ashore, do not constitute an army or a navy.

Ragged uniforms, irregular rations, and long arrears of pay, coked out perforce by foraging and looting among peaceable inhabitants, are conditions incompatible with discipline, and without discipline there is no reliable force. The disparaging estimate of the military profession inculcated by their great teacher Confucius is fatal to a national independence or any defence when they become objects of attack. And the wide-spread corruption that prevails throughout China in all the official class, from the highest to the lowest, is perhaps still more fatal. There are States in Europe, it may be said, where venality is perhaps as prevalent; and insufficient pay is often held to justify corruption to eke out the means of existence, or the maintenance of an official position, and yet, armies can be put in the field formidable to their enemies. But we shall find that adequate training in the science of war is secured to the officers, and honours are freely bestowed as the reward for victory and good

service, and these do much to neutralize the evils of a bad fiscal administration, by which the rank-and-file are robbed of pay and rations. These saving elements are wholly wanting in China, and are likely, I fear, long to be so, since to supply them would involve a total and radical change of system throughout the Empire, and in every branch, civil and military.

The Chinese Government is in consequence reduced to one of two alternatives—either to negotiate and diplomatize under the most grievous disadvantages or to rely on a passive resistance to desultory attacks on their coast. The last of these alternatives is not inviting, but if the Chinese harden their hearts against any amount of damage the French fleet may find means to inflict at the ports, it will involve a long struggle of an exhaustive kind to both combatants, and the question is, Which will find it the most trying in the end? We hear a good deal of war of a more decisive character eventually, by the march of a French army on Peking, or across the southern frontier from Tonquin, and the seizure of two or three provinces with the port of Canton. Without predicating the impossibility of success in either direction, if France should resolve on so large an enterprize, with all its sacrifices of men and money which will be required, it may be doubtful whether the march on Peking and its possession would finish the war. When the allies were there in 1860, there was an exodus of Imperial authorities to Jehol, and beyond the Great Wall, where no enemy could pursue, and a startling doubt arose whether any Power would be left with whom to treat. With an impossibility of a prolonged stay under the certainty of being ice-bound for months, and the chance of finding another Moscow in the capital of the Celestial Empire, constituted a situation which seriously exercised both Lord Elgin and Baron Geor, and still more the commanders of the troops.

Under these conditions it would certainly seem to be the better policy for both litigants to come to terms, without proceeding to extremities, on the basis of the Tientsin Treaty, and without further question as to indemnity or the retention of Formosa. France would retain the chief prize for which she has fought—the whole Annamite territory to the frontiers of China; while the latter Power, having already consented to acknowledge this as a *fait accompli*, would not be called upon to suffer any further defeat or humiliation by the payment of an indemnity for a breach of faith she does not admit—and which is obviously very doubtful even by the adversary's accounts—or the cession of fresh territory in another direction and from China proper.

As for Chinese diplomacy, it seems probable, if any such termination can be arrived at, it must be by the friendly mediation of a third party—whether England, Germany, or America does not perhaps

very much matter; although to France, Germany's mediation might be less acceptable than that of another Power. For to all parties this consideration must be kept in view. If, as has been shown, it would not be desirable in the interests of the Western Powers that one of their number should give cause of triumph to China, it is equally undesirable that China should be compelled to submit to a great humiliation or a flagrant wrong in an unjust quarrel, to rankle in the minds of all her population, led by the official classes, gentry and literati, who are, collectively, a great power in the State and the country.

And in speaking of Chinese diplomacy I would add a few words here in connection with the influence which the mandarins, or officials, and literati, as a class, can bring to bear even upon the Emperor, or whoever may be exercising his authority. There appeared some time ago a long letter from the special correspondent of the *Times* on "Chinese Diplomacy," purporting to enter into the inner penetralia of the Tsungli Yamen, its Foreign Office functions, and the way these were exercised.

I doubt whether the writer or any of the members of the Foreign Legations in Peking has ever obtained any information, either very precise or reliable, as to where, or in whose hands, the real power which determines the foreign policy of the country was to be found at any time. Something is known, and more may be inferred, from facts within the cognizance of the Foreign Legations at any particular period of negotiation; but much more remains involved in impenetrable mystery, behind the screen which shields the Empress-Regent from contact with the outer world, and, it is even supposed, from her own Ministers. But this seems to have been tolerably well ascertained, that when the treaty of Livadia with the Russians was repudiated, and Chung-How, the negotiator, was handed over to the Board of Punishment under sentence of death, the class influences we are now speaking of, which, roughly designated, may be called the mandarins and literati in a body, were the mainspring of a movement which not even the Imperial Councils cared to disregard. The reigning Emperor is a boy—the Empress-Regent ostensibly governs—with and through the six Boards, Councils and other highly placed officials about the Palace. But privileged Censors tender advice, and often censure, and the ruling classes evidently find a voice, and can find means to make it heard by the highest powers in the realm, in whomsoever vested.

Li-Hung-Chang, the Viceroy of Pecheli, may no doubt be a power in the State, and exercise a great influence in the Imperial Councils, and so may the Prince, a distant offshoot of the Imperial blood, now at the head of the "Tsungli Yamen" (or Foreign Office) at Peking; but I think France, or any other foreign Power, would



greatly err if they acted on the conviction that any or all of these authorities could absolutely determine the course of negotiations or "foreign policy," irrespective of a quasi-national sentiment in the classes which have here been just described.

It may well be, therefore, that even as regards the Treaty of Tientsin, and the subsequent hitch and untoward rencontre at Langson, that some of these counter influences were not wanting to complicate the situation, and dislocate the machinery at work for a peaceable solution, on the lines adopted in the draft of the Convention. It has been assumed that the present Chinese Minister in London exceeded his powers in signifying to the French Minister that an advance on Bac Ninh or Sontay would be considered a *casus belli*. But it is much more probable that this intimation came direct from Peking, and correctly represented the determination at that time of some sudden gust of popular and national opinion, which was subsequently reversed by an opposite current.

But in estimating the force of these popular currents of feeling, set in motion by the whole cultured and educated, as well as the official classes, from the Viceroy to the humblest Tingchais in the Yâmen, all animated by a more or less pronounced hatred and distrust of the *Fankwei* (foreign devil), we must take into account the power which this anti-foreign prejudice places in the hands of any demagogues or scheming politicians, when the desire is to run counter to the policy of the Palace or the Imperial Councils. As to what really sways these Councils, or in whom the determining power rests at any given time, who can say? There is but one foreigner in China who might be able, from his long and confidential relations with Peking statesmen and the Tsangli Yâmen, to gain some insight; but if he is better informed than others in this respect, no one will ever be the wiser; for he is himself the most reserved and reticent of men, as befits his position and the trust reposed in him. It may certainly be predicted, therefore, that nothing will ever be revealed that may have come to his knowledge. The spring that supplies the motor power may be in the Empress-Regent's own brain or some trusted secretary or astute eunuch, or palace Llama, or a cabal of many outside; who can say? In former reigns the eunuchs, who swarmed within the palace in thousands, enjoyed a degree of favour and power which it was as difficult to gauge as to control. Even with an Empress regnante, when the guardians and overseers of the harems and women's apartments might be supposed to be no longer in request, the class still exists, as a part of the official and ceremonial *entourage*, and from their peculiar position, they have no doubt more intimate relations and means of access than any of the male sex otherwise conditioned among the Ministers. In the history of China the eunuchs have often taken an active part in political struggles, and engaged in

palace revolutions or conspiracies, in which they lost their heads or were strangled in expiation. Near Peking there is a memorial temple in honour of some more fortunate or favoured of their number. And seeing that it is an Asiatic Court which is in question, what has been may be again. To be astute, active, and intriguing has in all ages been the characteristic of the class who thus avenge their mutilated life wherever they have existed, on the Bosphorus, the banks of the Euphrates, and over the whole breadth of Asia. I allude to these incidents of Asiatic rule only because we are dealing with one Asiatic race and an Asiatic government, and they cannot be altogether left out of view or put aside as non-existent. And the only inference I would draw from these various influences is the necessity of not falling into the capital error of basing our hopes or our diplomacy in any critical circumstances on an assumed analogy with the course of negotiations and affairs generally in Europe, which has no existence in China; although, even in countries nearer home, it is not always easy to know what influence may prevail in divided Cabinets.

## VIII.

I referred at the commencement to the regrettable tone and purport of many of the Paris journals, as regards England and English comments on French proceedings in China and Tonquin; but I must not conclude without mention of an article which has lately appeared from the pen of M. John Lemoine in the *Revue Politique*. This writer, so well known as one of the most brilliant and able of the contributors of the *Journal des Débats*, the French paper which has done more to envenom the Egyptian question than any other, takes up a very different line of argument, and one which applies equally to the relations of the two countries in the East.

After remarking that the so-called Eastern question in Europe is really a Western question, depending greatly on the alliance between England and France as the two Liberal columns of Europe and the world, and on the infinite importance of their co-operation, he proceeds to point out that with the supremacy, at present prevailing in Europe, of the German Empire in close alliance with Austria and Russia, there is but one possible counterpoise to the enormous force thus created, and that is the cordial alliance of the two great Western Powers. He contends that France is not happy in crying out against the English, and complaining that we evicted her from Egypt. In reality it was the French who would neither go nor remain there, and the French Legislature and Executive refused, when invited to co-operate, to give a man or a crown, and thus England found herself alone there.

But his observations on the troubles and reverses which have come upon us in the Soudan, and the narrow spirit that would view

these reverses with satisfaction, are equally applicable *mutatis mutandis* to what is taking place in Tonquin and China with the French, when he says, "The blows received by them fall also upon us, on our civilization, on all Christendom. In the conquests made, or to be made, over barbarism, France and England ought to be sisters instead of being rivals, competitors instead of being enemies." If this spirit and policy could be carried out in the far East, which M. Lemoigne so eloquently urges for the Eastern question nearer home, much of the evil now threatening European interests and the alliance between England and France, might be speedily and effectually averted, and perhaps, as the advice comes from a patriotic Frenchman, as well as one of the ablest political writers, French legislators and rulers may be more willing to listen to the counsels than if coming from any foreign source. M. Ferry himself recently, in the Chamber of Deputies, recognized that on this question "solidarity existed between all European interests." If this be fairly kept in view, we may hope for some peaceable solution.

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS. :

### I.—MODERN HISTORY.

A STRIKING feature of recent historical research in England is its tendency to go back to the most ancient times, and busy itself with ethnological and archæological inquiries. The orthodox historian has been much scandalized of late. His limitations of the area within which English history can be profitably studied have been rudely attacked. Theories which he thought had been put to rest for ever have been revived. Perhaps the student of institutions treated ethnology with too great indifference, because he was convinced that it contributed nothing to his immediate subject. Ethnology is now inclined to rebel, and hazards speculations of astonishing boldness. The anonymous author of a curious book, "Ancient and Modern Britons,"\* has filled two large volumes with a collection of out-of-the-way learning in support of a theory which is never clearly stated. Its general purport, however, is to claim for Britain in early times a very mixed history. The original inhabitants were black men, Australioids or Mongoloids. There were many settlements of white men, the whitest of whom were the English. But the population of Britain consists of an admixture of black and white races. The white men were more civilized; the black men remained barbarians. The object of the book is to seek for traces of the presence of these original blacks; and this is done by bringing together everything which by any ingenuity can be twisted into showing the survival of "black" traditions in language or in customs. The purest remnants of these black people are the Gypsies, who in their turn represent the Picts. These will be hard sayings for the philologist; but the author puts him to one side with the remark, "Of all the clues by which men try to thread the mazes of the past, language is the most likely to lead to a false conclusion."

It is needless to say that such a theory is totally untenable. Yet, like many other works which have been written to maintain a ridiculous thesis, this book calls attention to one point at least which has been overlooked—the survival of a native people, chiefly on the Scottish border, whose character, appearance, and manner of life have very distinct peculiarities. The evidence is certainly strong that the moss-trooper was not a lawless thief who might have known better, but was a representative of a race of marauders which could not be civilized, but was exterminated. There is enough plausibility in this view to

make it well worth the consideration of those who are interested in Border history.

Dr. Freeman in his "Lectures to American Audiences" \* gives no countenance to the usefulness of such speculations as we have been discussing. He contents himself with the assertion, as enough for strictly historical purposes, that "the Britons, as a race, were exterminated within those parts of Britain which the English occupied while they were still heathens." He explains that by the word "exterminated" he means "were got rid of in one way or another, within what now became the English border." Further, he does not hold that every British man or woman was exterminated, but only that they were exterminated as a race. Moreover, "in those parts of Britain which the English won after their conversion, a real British element was assimilated into the English mass." But none of these things affected the practical purity of our Teutonic national being. Our language and our institutions come from our Teutonic descent. On this broad ground the historian of England may be allowed to stand, until the researches of ethnologists have more clearly established the historical importance of the survivals which they discover. Dr. Freeman's two courses of lectures deserve to be widely read. They do not contain much that is new; but their chief points are told with freshness and clearness. The form of a lecture gives good scope to Dr. Freeman's wealth of illustration and readiness to use his fund of knowledge for practical application. To him "history is past politics, and politics is present history." His applications gain in novelty, and his style is clothed with unwonted vivacity in addressing an American audience in a popular manner.

An interesting question about our early history is discussed by Mr. Howorth in an able paper on "Christianity in Roman Britain."† He reviews the evidence of literature and that which can be obtained from a survey of Roman remains, and concludes that the proof for the existence of Christianity in Britain begins in the third century. It is, however, extremely vague till we reach the time of Constantine; after that period we have every reason to believe that Christianity was spread over Britain, and had an organized hierarchy, but was the Church of a minority—of the governing class rather than of the mass of the population. This conclusion is all that the evidence warrants. There is a tendency to exalt unduly the importance of the British Church, and to assume that it contained elements of life which were destroyed by the success of Augustine and the Roman missionaries. As regards the South of England, we can safely say that there is no reasonable ground for this conclusion.

The affairs of the English Church in a later period have produced a German monograph of considerable merit. Dr. Heinrich Weber has examined the relations between England and the Papacy as shown in the legation of Cardinal Otho from 1237 to 1241.‡ He is largely indebted in his work to Dr. Luard's book "On the Relations

\* "The English People in its Three Homes, and other Lectures." By E. A. Freeman, D.C.L. London: Trübner.

† "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society." Longmans, 1884.

‡ "Ueber das Verhältniss Englands zu Rom während der Zeit der Legation des Cardinals Otho in den Jahren 1237–1241." Von Dr. Heinrich Weber. Berlin: Weidmann, 1883.

between England and Rome during the Earlier Portion of the Reign of Henry III.;" but his conclusions have merits of their own. The recognition by King John of the Papal suzerainty opened the way for a Papal policy towards England which in the end created a feeling of abiding dissatisfaction towards Rome. This dissatisfaction went on increasing, and was expressed in legislation which prepared the way for the severance of the English and the Roman Churches. The period which Dr. Weber reviews is the period in which the Papal policy in England took a decided turn for the worse. Cardinal Otho came to England to reform the discipline of the Church, to reconcile the barons to the Court of Rome, and to prove the advantages to be gained from a close connection with the Papacy. At first he succeeded. The Council of London, in which he presided, aimed at the abolition of pluralities and better order amongst the clergy. But Cardinal Otho's reforming activity rapidly came to an end. The struggle between the Pope and the Emperor Frederick II. grew more severe. Rome wanted money to carry on the war, and the legate's duty was to gather money by all possible means. Reform gave way to extortion, and Rome was regarded as a national foe against which defensive measures must be taken. The opportunity was lost, and never returned.

Miss Hickson has done a useful work for students of Irish history by publishing a selection from the Depositions preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, relating to Irish affairs in 1641-42.\* The papers which she publishes are avowedly a selection, and we have no reason for thinking that the selection was made on any other principle than the intrinsic interest of the documents chosen as specimens. Miss Hickson's Introduction shows a desire to be impartial, and she has shown her discrimination as an editor by publishing samples of documents which she regards as spurious. The result of her labours is ample for the purpose of illustrating the character of the Irish rebellion of 1641. Its atrocities were great enough to create a feeling of indignation, which showed itself in terrible acts of retaliation. Miss Hickson's documents make clear enough the general character of the proceedings on both sides, but they do not add much to our knowledge of the causes of the outbreak in the first instance.

The story of Mary Queen of Scots still continues to excite much interest, at all events in Germany. Herr Opitz, of Freiburg, has written a new biography of Queen Mary, in which he strives to defend her character by adopting the supposition that she was forced into marriage with Bothwell by violence carried so far that nothing save marriage could save her reputation.† Herr Bekker, of Giessen, has followed in the steps of Mr. Hosack, and has striven to prove the innocence of Mary by a rigorous criticism of the evidence brought against her.‡ His criticism is excellent, and his forensic skill in pleading for the defence is admirable. Unfortunately, however, the judgment of history must proceed on larger grounds. The personal character of Mary is most likely to be determined truly by a dispassion-

\* "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century; or, the Irish Massacres of 1641-2, their Causes and Results." By Mary Hickson. 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1884.

† "Maria Stuart nach den neuesten Forschungen dargestellt." Von Theodor Opitz. 2 vols. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1879-82.

‡ "Maria Stuart, Darnley, Bothwell." Von Dr. Ernst Bekker. Giessen: Ricker. 1881.

ate consideration of her actions as a whole, of her general policy and motives. Herr Bekker aims at clearing Queen Mary at the expense of every one else. If she lived in an atmosphere of villany and intrigue, it is difficult to see why we should believe that she alone rose above it. It is more probable that she was on the same level as the rest. She is best vindicated by the process of levelling others down, and by pleading that she was no worse, though more unfortunate, than her accusers. Another German student, Herr Sepp, has hazarded a new hypothesis, which is ingenious, but rests on nothing.\* He explains the Casket letters as being pages out of Queen Mary's diary, which were cut out and applied to other circumstances than those in which they were written. He has re-arranged them from this point of view, has pointed out the interpolations, and has restored them as materials for a biography. The result of this curious ingenuity is amusing, but cannot be convincing. Some may continue to believe in the authenticity of the Casket letters in some form or other, but may admit that they were tampered with and interpolated. It is, however, tolerably clear that they were letters, and nothing is gained by converting them into a diary. However, Dr. Sepp is so convinced of the truth of his hypothesis that he has determined to give the German public the means of examining it still further. For this purpose he has collected all the documents relating to Queen Mary's trial in England, and so has made a useful handbook † for those who rejoice in trying to solve questions of personal gossip which are too often confounded with history. There is nothing in any of these works to disturb the conviction that Mary sinned as much as she was sinned against. Further than that general conclusion, the materials are wanting for an exact distribution of blame to all concerned in her downfall.

Two publications of the Camden Society have more than ordinary interest. Mr. Osmund Airy has issued a first instalment of the "Lauderdale Papers" preserved in the British Museum.‡ As the papers themselves fill thirty-six volumes in MS., the task of the editor has been chiefly one of selection. Mr. Airy's first volume extends as far as 1667, and all the documents that it contains are of indisputable importance. His object has been to choose what was most valuable for the illustration of Scottish history during the Restoration period, and especially to throw light on the character and career of Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp. The general impression gained from reading them is, that every one in Scotland was engaged in unblushing self-seeking. The Restoration opened up an opportunity for intrigue for office and plunder. The letters of Sharp contained in this collection show a combination of meanness, hypocrisy, and knavery which it is hard to parallel. Scottish affairs were soon in the hands of Lauderdale, Moray, and Charles II. The conduct of Middleton afforded them an opportunity of getting rid of him ;

\* "Tagebuch der unglücklichen Schottenkönigin Maria Stuart während ihrem Aufenthalte zu Glasgow." Herausgegeben von Dr. Bernhard Sepp. München : Lindauer. 1882.

† "Maria Stuart und ihre Ankläger zu York, Westminster und Hamptoncourt." München : Lindauer. 1884.

‡ "The Lauderdale Papers." Edited by Osmund Airy. Vol. i. 1639-1667. Camden Society. 1884.

and Rothes, for a time, served as a useful instrument to prepare the way for Lauderdale's accession to power. The violence and brutality of the Government is amply shown. It is difficult to conceive anything more destitute of principle than appears in these pages. Their general bearing on history is fully shown by Mr. Airy in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1884.

The other publication of the Camden Society is "The Political Memoranda of Francis, Fifth Duke of Leeds,"\* edited by Mr. Oscar Browning. Francis Godolphin, Osborne, Duke of Leeds, was not a great man nor a profound statesman, but he was a diligent and painstaking official, whose political career reached its height between 1784 and 1791, when he was Secretary of State in Pitt's Ministry. He resigned his office because he did not consider that the Ministry was pursuing a sufficiently spirited policy against Russia. The "Memoranda" of the Duke of Leeds consist of brief records, written in diary fashion, of important periods and events. They deal chiefly with the downfall of Lord North, the Shelburne Ministry, the formation of Pitt's Ministry, the Regency Question in 1788, the events which led to his own resignation in 1791, and the attempt made in 1792 to form a coalition between Pitt and Fox. There is not much information which is absolutely new, but these pages enable us to judge better of the political temper of the time. The Duke of Leeds was himself a dull but industrious man. His Memoranda are dictated by the business-like spirit of a professional statesman, not by the zeal of an observer. We learn something from him; but we wonder very much at the end of the volume that we have not learned a great deal more.

A curious contribution to the history of English diplomacy is made by Dr. Ernst Borkowsky, who examines the diplomatic proceedings of King George II. in 1745.† George II. undertook to use his influence to make peace between Prussia and Austria, and end the second Silesian war. Herr Borkowsky traces, from documents in the archives of Hanover, the manner in which George II. fulfilled his engagement. Lord Harrington in England did his best to induce Maria Theresa to make peace. Meanwhile, the Hanoverian Ministers, Wasner and Steinberg, with the knowledge of George II., entered into negotiations with Maria Theresa in an opposite sense. They did their utmost to throw difficulties in the way of Harrington's plans, and Louis XV. proposed to Maria Theresa a separate peace with France as preferable to a separate peace with Prussia. George II., while ostensibly engaged in making peace between Prussia and Austria, passed on to consider the desirability of a peace with France instead. Only the overthrow of the negotiations between France and Austria by the battle of Kesseldorf prevented him from an open and shameless breach of faith. Nor was this all. The English ambassador at St. Petersburg, Lord Hyndford, was at the same time pursuing a decidedly anti-Prussian policy, and endeavoured to bring about an alliance between Russia and Austria in opposition to Frederick II. The result

\* Printed from the originals in the British Museum. Camden Society. 1884.

† "Die englische Friedensvermittlung im Jahre 1745: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geheimen Diplomatie König Georgs II." Von Dr. Ernst Borkowsky. Berlin: Berzold. 1884.



of the investigations of Herr Borkowsky is to lead to the conviction that George II.'s personal prejudices played a greater part in affairs than is generally believed. It is remarkable to find the Prussian ambassador repeating as Lord Hyndford's confession of his political faith: "Pour moi, je ne suis d'aucun parti et suis uniquement attaché au roi."

In foreign history a noticeable work is being done by Dr. Güdemann, of Vienna, who is engaged on a history of the culture of the Jews in the West during mediæval and modern times. The second volume, which has just appeared, deals with the Jews in Italy during the Middle Ages.\* It is remarkable that Italy is the only country in Europe in which the Jews were never systematically persecuted. Probably this was due to the fact that religious fanaticism never prevailed in Italy so far as to overthrow all other considerations. Moreover, Italy was essentially a commercial country, and trade was never associated exclusively with the Jews. They were not the only usurers, and so were not regarded with exceptional jealousy. In Rome, especially, Jews found the safest asylum. The mediæval Papacy was certainly more tolerant in matters of opinion than was the public opinion of Europe. Dr. Güdemann thinks that this was partly due, in the case of the Jews, to a desire for the protection-money which they paid. This is scarcely fair to the Papacy, for its toleration was equally great where no money was to be gained. This absence of persecution however, was not an intellectual advantage. The Italian Jews did not produce any eminent men in science or in Jewish lore. They took the stamp of the land in which they dwelt, and prided themselves on their superior refinement to the Jews of Germany and France. The typical Jew of Italy, Immanuel ben Salamo, wrote Italian sonnets as well as a commentary on Scripture, a work on grammar, and an imitation of Dante's "*Divina Commedia*." The character of the Jew is almost lost in that of the Italian. Herr Güdemann naturally wishes to show that the Jews influenced Italian culture as much as they were influenced by it. It is difficult to see any definite contribution which they made. His book is interesting because it puts together many features of Italian life in a new point of view.

An American translation of Herr Gindely's "*History of the Thirty Years' War*" will be welcome to many readers.† Mr. Ten Brook, the translator, tells us that he undertook his task because he came upon the book while preparing to write a popular history of the subject himself. The introductory chapter and the notes which he has contributed lead us to think that he showed a wise discretion. We think he would have been wiser if he had abstained even from these. Nor can much be said in praise of the translation, which is often obscure and almost always clumsy. Of Gindely's work it is impossible to speak within our limits. It is founded on much study of documents preserved in the Bohemian and other archives, and is a compendium of much that its author has published in other forms. It is written in the true spirit of a historian who is describing the collision of con-

\* "*Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien während des Mittelalters*." Von Dr. M. Güdemann. Wien: Holder. 1884.

† "*History of the Thirty Years' War*." By Anton Gindely. Translated by Andrew Ten Brook. 2 vols. New York: Putnam. 1884.

tradictory principles and motives which he does his best to understand and appreciate. It is a work of real learning, which cannot be overlooked by the historical student.

Dr. Lagdau has written a work which is full of interest in its subject and is treated in an interesting manner.\* He tells us that his original intention was to study the flourishing period of Austria under the rule of the House of Hapsburg. The mass of material drove him to limit his scheme to the reign of Charles VI. Even this was found unmanageable owing to the different interests and endeavours of provinces and nationalities which depended on the Austrian House. Finally, he contented himself with the conquest of Naples for the House of Austria, and the consequent strife with the Papacy. This is excellently done, with copious learning, the fruits of much research, but with a vivacity and power of literary presentation which is by no means common amongst German writers. Pope Clement XI., Cardinal Grimaldi, and Count Martinitz are admirably portrayed, and the steps in the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor are shown in their true relations. It is a book which will be read with pleasure.

M. Philippson, of Brussels, has done a useful work in bringing together more than is generally known about the counter Reformation in the sixteenth century.† Few things in history are more impressive than the way in which Catholicism organized itself to cope with the defection caused by the struggle for reform, and the success which attended that organization. Ranke first placed this matter in its true light, and M. Philippson has aimed at pursuing the question farther. He has dealt with his subject in greater detail, but has been so anxious to show us the nature of the new organization of the Roman Church that he has no space to show how the organization worked. His book treats in order of the Company of Jesus, the Inquisition, and the Council of Trent. Each of these subjects is treated separately, and so we lose the sense of their mutual action. Chronology suffers, and men are spoken of in reference to each subject so that we lose any sense of their character and activity as a whole. About the Jesuits and the Inquisition enough is known from other writers; but M. Philippson's sketch of the Council of Trent contains more information in a moderate compass than is to be found elsewhere. He has brought together the results of modern research, and has set them before the reader clearly and concisely. Where his work seems to us to fail is in showing what were the principles which underlay the work of the Council of Trent, and how those principles influenced mankind. The Roman Church was regenerated, and regained its hold upon men's minds. Decrees of Councils are not enough for such a purpose. A consideration of the defects of Protestantism is a necessary complement of an inquiry into the causes of the success of the counter-Reformation.

The third volume of Mr. Boulger's "History of China"‡ appears at a time when China is attracting considerable attention. This concluding volume of Mr. Boulger's work deals exclusively with the present century, and its subject is the gradual inroads of Europeans

\* "Rom, Wien, Neapel, während des spanischen Erbfolge Krieges." Von Dr. Marcus Lagdau. Leipzig: Friedrich. 1885.

† "La Contre-Révolution religieuse au XVIe. Siècle." Par Martin Philippson. Bruxelles: Muquardt. 1884.

‡ London: Allen. 1884.

within the ring fence of the Chinese Empire. Trade and trading interests slowly made their way. At first the area was narrow within which communications were allowed. The advantages to be derived from trade outweighed, in the minds of the local governors, the orders of the Emperor. The privileges granted to the East India Company assumed a new importance when the affairs of the Company passed into the hands of the Crown. It is inevitable that international relations should be interpreted differently by peoples whose ideas are founded upon different principles. Mr. Boulger defends the general course of our policy towards China, though he admits that mistakes were made at times through want of clear expression of our intentions. Mr. Boulger gives a clear narrative of events. In dealing with such a subject it is impossible to do more. At present we can only look at matters from our own point of view. We cannot hope for an impartial history till we know how things looked to the Chinese.

M. CREIGHTON.

## II.—ART.

If all years were like the one now drawing to a close, one might parody the famous saying and declare it to be a "happy nation that has no Art history." For the record of work in this department which has been produced in 1884 reveals little of interest, and perhaps even less of merit. Within the last fifteen years the chief of our yearly exhibitions has by general consent never been so uninteresting. And how great a condemnation this implies can only be understood by those whose business or pleasure has occasioned them to study regularly the shows at the Royal Academy. The collection of paintings also at the great rival picture-shop in Bond-street, known as the Grosvenor Gallery, was upon the whole the weakest Sir Coutts Lindsay had ever gathered together, and had it not been for a single picture, would have fallen below the level of the Academy itself. Of the minor exhibitions, of which there have been more than we can enumerate, the most important have been the large miscellaneous ones held at the new galleries in Piccadilly, the Institutes of Painters in Oil, and Water Colours. These collections have probably been to the casual visitor as pleasant as any—the rooms being just sufficiently large, the seats comfortable, the pictures selected mainly from the works of the younger artists, and embracing nearly every style of work which is at present prevalent in the English schools. But here too there has been nothing of very great merit; the work has been praiseworthy, but hardly intelligent; skilful, but scarcely fine. Here and there out of seven or eight hundred pictures and drawings, one or two have been noticeable which struck some unconventional train of thought, some infrequent note of colour, or showed some unusual delicacy of drawing. But for the most part the old men have gone on in the old ways, and the new men have followed dutifully in the tracks of their fathers. If

we turn from the Institute to its great rival, formerly known fondly as the "Old Society," now revelling in the aristocratic title of the "Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours," we find there also, in an even more strongly marked degree, the same dullness and the same restriction of effort to those things which have aforëtime rendered the artist celebrated and his work acceptable. Indeed, this last gallery stands upon the "antique ways" more than all the rest put together; like the great French dynasty, it has "learnt nothing, and forgotten nothing" in its long history. Indeed, it had been well if oblivion had been found possible by its members. For many of them exist on the traditions of strong men who have long since passed away, and weak reflections of Cox and De Wint, Müller, Hunt, Lewis, and Bonnington are all that we find in many of the works on the walls.

This seems a gloomy generalization of the great London exhibitions. The picture, however, is not overdrawn, nor is it even drawn so strongly as we could wish. The baleful influence of fashionable patronage and pecuniary greed told upon English Art during the last fifteen years in exactly the manner which was to be expected, and as in the old days the "prophets prophesied smooth things, and the people loved to have it so," so in our days the painters paint pretty, feeble futilities, pictures fit only for those brainless, bloodless beings of which a large portion of the modern fashionable world is composed, who think it vulgar to laugh, and foolish to grieve, and ignorant to enjoy; whose literature is gauged by the gossip of the society papers, whose hearts are satisfied by a new fashion in bonnets or liqueurs. Well, our Art accurately reflects all this, as it always must reflect the mode of life in the midst of which it is produced, and the habit of mind of those who produce it. For it is not alone the Art, but also the artist whose character has been changed since the days when David Cox thought £10 to be so large a price for one of his great pictures (it was sold at Christie's a few years ago for £3,000), that he wrote a letter to the purchaser, saying he hoped he would not regret giving it, and that he sent him a small drawing, which he hoped he would accept as a present. Inconceivable as this state of things seems to be, it existed after all only about thirty years ago, and the artist who wrote the letter was one of the greatest painters England has ever had, and in his own department of landscape has left us no successor. This is another humiliating fact, of which we shall have to speak presently, that we have in England at the present time actually no landscape painter at all. Let us return for a moment to the change in the artist. We all know what used to be the popular conception of him, and in the main the popular conception was true. He wore a shabby coat, a long beard, and smoked a pipe. He was thriftless, cheerful, and a trifle unsteady; he hated humbug, and abhorred cant. His principal theory was that the world consisted of artists—and others: his principal desire, to live his life in his own way; to take his "ease at his inn," and elsewhere. I fancy I see a smile stealing over the face of my æsthetic readers at this coarse conception of artist life. In truth it has little in common with the appearance, customs, and theories of those princes of the palette-knife, whose houses shine from afar with the reddest brick and the most dazzling of Queen Anne casements. For the conception has altogether changed. I was speaking to a

young artist the other day about an averagely bad picture which he had painted, and for which he wanted a certain number of hundred pounds. I happened to know how it had been done—to have been present, practically speaking, from the very inception of the work to its close, and I ventured to remonstrate with him as to the price, saying, “You can’t really think it’s worth all that.” This was his answer: “My dear fellow, a picture is worth what it will bring, and how can you find out what it will bring unless you put a big price on it. If it doesn’t sell at — (naming the exhibition), it will go to Manchester, and there I shall ask so much, and so on, and so on.” Then I asked him this question: “Do you really mean to tell me that the value of a work of art is actually dependent upon the price which any fool can be found to give for it?” and he said, “Yes!” Well, here is the whole thing reduced to its simplest terms: spoken or unspoken, here is the determining idea in most artists’ minds at the present day. An idea, mind you, which is not natural to them, but which has been carefully planted and cultivated by their fashionable patrons. In the old days they had a hard ado to live, and despite ignorance and bad training (and how great the ignorance, and how bad the training were in England, few people know), they gave us their finest work; but now with every advantage of education, and every facility of life, there has come also a maddening greed for money, no greater, perhaps, than that of the rest of the world, but less tolerable, inasmuch as it destroys the finest essence of their work. Any one who knows what it is to paint even a bad picture honestly, knows what an amount of study and mental strain are involved in the process, knows that really no good picture is ever paid for—if it is not done for the love of it, it is never done at all. Just think how incompatible this is with the making as much money as possible. An artist, like any other producer, has only a certain amount of brain and energy, and by the very nature of his work, it is an ever-varying quantity that he possesses—trouble, or illness, or worry, may incapacitate him for months together. What becomes of his art if during the time when he is practically incapable of doing anything good, he is forced by his style of life to be still producing up to the high-water mark of previous successes. Well, what happens is what we see in the Academy every year, in every room. Men who have painted one £500 picture one year, think it necessary to paint another £500 picture the next. Jones, who has once got £1,000, will see the public and the picture-buyers at the devil before any of his precious paintings shall be sold for £999 10s. Worse still, the men who have made their successes, whose reputation is secure, whose popularity is on the increase, these men, we find, instead of seeking to utilize their success for finer work, almost invariably seeking only to make the most of the present esteem in which their pictures are held; quickening their rate of production, taking less pains about the execution of their work; putting into each successive picture less thought and less feeling, till at last, stripped of every youthful grace, and earnestness, and aspiration, the crude, artistic talent of the man stands revealed upon the canvas, seeking no longer for fame, and caring no longer for achievement, but only clamouring for the dollars which the public are holding out to him.

It is useless to dwell further upon this subject. Let us rather speak

of the few exceptions which have this year shown that there are still among our artists some who do the best work of which they are capable, without regard to the price which is to be given for it. The two best things in England this year in the way of art-production, have been the bronze statuette 4 feet high, by Mr. Alfred Gilbert, and the Pre-Raphaelite picture by Mr. Burne-Jones, two works which have absolutely nothing in common with each other, except the touch of genius which distinguishes both. I have no space, even if it were advisable, to enter here upon a detailed criticism of these. A good deal has already been written upon them in the early part of the season, and for once I am glad to think the public has been brought to recognize the excellence of a young man's work which was neither capricious, insolent, nor extravagant. The statuette of "Icarus" to which I allude is by no means perfect, and had moreover been much injured in the casting in some of its parts: as for instance, in the feet, which were almost entirely destroyed. But when every defect was allowed for, it was still the finest piece of sculptural work which has been produced in England since Alfred Stevens died; and though it had not the massive grandeur of that sculptor's productions, it possessed an amount of grace and elegance of which he was quite incapable. Perhaps the difference may be understood better if we say that it bore to the celebrated "Perseus" of Bienvenuto Cellini, a similar relation to that which Mr. Stevens's work bore to the "Night" and "Day" of Michael Angelo. In any case it was the one very fine thing in the Academy Exhibition.

Mr. Burne-Jones's picture of "Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid" takes us quite to the "other side of the moon." It was a very large picture, wherein the king sits upon the steps of his throne, upon which he has placed the beggar maid, whilst above her, two attendant minstrels are playing and singing. I am not concerned to either attack or defend the conception of the subject which Mr. Burne-Jones adopted. Like all his conceptions, it was such as belonged entirely to himself, and could scarcely be appreciated by those of a different temperament. I speak here entirely of the picture as a piece of colour and design, when I say that I know no modern work which, in these respects, can surpass it, and few by which it can even be approached. To say that it was the best picture in the Grosvenor Gallery does not express the truth at all adequately. With every imperfection it was the best in the same manner as "amongst the blind, the one-eyed is king." Looking at it, the impression was irresistibly conveyed that however false, perverted, vicious, or imperfect the picture might be, yet it was a piece of genuine art, with which the "idols of the market" had had nothing to do. And in this gallery I only remember one other picture which produced a similar impression, and this latter work was a failure, though it was by Mr. Watts. It was called "The rain-cloud passing away"—a high, rather narrow composition, in which there was but a little tiny slip of canvas devoted to the landscape, above which rose a great spacious heaven, into which a cumulus cloud was slowly mounting,

"Rising to occupation like the great new life."

It was a failure, but a very grand one; full of poetry and finely conceived, and with a certain quiet dignity about it, which is seldom absent

from Mr. Watts's landscape work. The only other very good thing in the gallery was a very characteristic portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell, by Mr. Whistler, which—I shall not criticize. There was one good picture, too, at the Academy—or perhaps it would be wiser to say one picture worth remembering, for good is scarcely a fitting word to apply to the “*Mariage de Convenance*.” It was not pretty and it was not nice, and it was utterly unwholesome and rather degraded; and with equal certainty it was the most artistic painting in the Academy, the only one where the dramatic intention was clearly and fully expressed, the only one where the artist had had a clear, definite intention as to what he meant to do, and had the power to do it. The great picture of the President's, “*Cymon and Iphigenia*,” which was fine in places, and good as a decorative panel, was very lifeless, very bloodless, and very unreal. More like a tableau at Lady Freahe's than a representation of nature—more like a tableau at Lady Freahe's even than an artist's conception; it ought to have been called the *Lotus Eaters*, with a quotation of—

“Betwixt the sun and moon upon the shore.”

The rest of our best painters, in so far as their Academy work is concerned, may be dismissed very shortly. The Bretts were less interesting than usual; the Herkomer, “*Passing to the West*,” a complete failure; the picture entitled “*Venetian Life*” by Mr. Fildes, of wholly unreal and theatric prettiness, and most singularly unlike the rich dirtiness of the scene it is meant to represent; the Van Haanen clever as ever in exactly the usual manner, but still the best of all the Venetian work; the little pictures by Henry Woods much better than usual because a third of their usual size; the Albert Moore, a lot of girls in Liberty cretonnes sitting and lounging on a Liberty couch, very sweet to the admirers of that firm's fabrics, but scarcely interesting to any one else, and the Henry Moore less interesting than usual. By the way, I will ask here, Why is it that neither Mr. Henry nor Mr. Albert Moore is deemed worthy to enter the Academic ranks? For the last ten years the figures and draperies of the one, and the sea-scapes of the other, have been without dispute the finest work of their respective kinds on the walls of Burlington House, and yet year by year goes by, and we see “unknown architects, and superannuated engravers, and little painters of *tableaux de commerce*, and impressionist Scotchmen,” who scarcely pretend to paint at all, elected one after the other, and these two artists left in the cold shade. The thing would be absurd were it not so irritatingly unjust.

There was an exhibition of Mr. Du Maurier's drawings in the height of the season, as every one felt, the most appropriate time. It is hard to say whether the artist gained or lost most by the show in question. On the one hand, it showed his really exquisite pen-work, without the intervention of the wood-engraver, and his series of society satires gained in meaning when they could be regarded as a whole. On the other, many of his finest works were absent, and the total impression produced by the collection was rather an unpleasant one. There is no doubt about it that Du Maurier is not, to use a very expressive colloquialism, “genial”—there is no touch of geniality about him; the laughter is all what the French would describe as “*un*

*fin sourire.*" We feel the smile turns to a snicker on the faintest provocation, and alas! that is not the worst of it, for indeed, this is a pictorial "*sartor resartus*," a new "philosophy of clothes" upon which the artist spends his energies. If, as Carlyle said, we could not imagine a naked speaker addressing a naked House of Commons, it would be at least equally impossible to imagine any of Mr. Du Maurier's characters, without their well-fitting frock-coats or Parisian staymakers; the humanity in them is a long way down, so far, indeed, that in many cases we can scarcely believe it exists at all, and the top crust of nearly all, is a more or less refined snobbishness—a snobbishness from which the artist struggles, but struggles vainly, to keep himself free: he, too, we say to ourselves vulgarly, as we stroll round the gallery, is "tarred with the same stick as the rest of them." In fact, it seemed to me that the collection of drawings was very quaint in its artist's unconscious self-revelation. I should like to have said a few words upon the proposed decorations of St. Paul's, but I treated the subject somewhat fully in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW two years back, when an experimental model of part of the dome was exhibited at the Royal Academy, and the subject is far too important a one to be discussed inadequately at the end of an article.

Many new artists have appeared during the year, or at all events have sprung into notice from comparative obscurity. Of these probably the chief are Mr. Walter Langley, of the Institute, and Mr. Wainwright, who has been elected an Associate of the "Old Society."

The first painted a clever and successful picture called "Missing," some Cornish fish-wives receiving the tidings of the loss of a fishing-boat at the village post-office, somewhat in the style of Mr. Herkomer, but more delicate in its work and thorough in its execution. The other had a picture at the "Old Society" of an old-fashioned artist and his model, noticeable for its extreme technical skill, and a certain deliberate ugliness much affected by young artists of the present day who have learnt their trade in France. The chief things in this latter picture, were an expanse of square-skirted coat, two stockings, a high-heeled shoe, a sheaf of brushes and a pipkin on the floor. In the distance there was a hint of the model's face and a half-opened door. The picture was all in greys and buffs, the subject scarcely existent, but the execution was magnificent, and if the value of a picture be judged by its "values" this must have been worth a great deal. May it be suggested to Mr. Wainwright that he should turn his great technical skill to finer issues?

HARRY QUILTER.

### III.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE attention of Continental students has been much exercised during the past summer respecting the documents discovered at El-Fayûm. The history of the "find" is rather curious. The Fayûm is a district of Middle Egypt, about sixty miles above Cairo.



It was a celebrated province in ancient times. Strabo says the Arsinoïte nome exceeded all others in fertility; and indeed it still exceeds other parts of Egypt, producing fruits as well as corn in the greatest perfection. In the year 1877-78 large quantities of Greek papyri were secured in this district by the German Consul Travers, and sent to the Imperial Museum at Berlin. These documents have since afforded matter for several articles in the organs of the Berlin and Vienna Academies. Professor Brugsch and Dr. Stein, commissioned by the Berlin Academy, proceeded to Egypt in 1880 and made excavations in search of fresh documents. They did not, however, find much of any importance. Brugsch got a fragment containing the 1st chap. of 2nd Thessalonians, and Stein some fragments of Aristotle and Euripides. Some time later, however, a great crop of MSS. turned up, which were at once purchased by the Austrian Archduke Rainer, then travelling in Egypt, and deposited by him in the Vienna Museum, in which he takes a very natural interest, being the President of the Imperial Academy of Science. There they have been handed over to the care of three experts—Professors Karabacek, Krall, and Wessely. The documents are found to be of surpassing value. Twenty at least are pre-Christian. One of them, a letter in the hieratic character, is three thousand years old. But the Greek and Latin documents are of special importance to the historian. They have been entrusted to the care of Prof. C. Wessely, a young scholar of Vienna, who has already made his mark in this department of literature. Last year he published a Latin dissertation on Greek papyri,\* while in the *Wiener Studien* for 1882, pp. 198-214, he showed what valuable results might be gained for New Testament criticism from the papyri previously lodged at Berlin. The Vienna documents are, however, of much higher value, whether for Biblical criticism or for Church history. In the department of Biblical criticism Wessely has, according to the latest accounts, discovered a text of St. Matthew's Gospel dating from the third century, and a series of fragments embracing Genesis, the Psalms, Isaiah, and the four gospels dating from the fourth to the sixth century. The text of the gospels has Greek on the one side and Coptic on the other. Wessely's article in the *Wiener Studien* already referred to will illustrate the importance of even the earlier find as regards the criticism of the gospel text. In the department of Church and Roman history the Fayûm discoveries have been even more striking. Hitherto we have been dependent to a great extent upon the "Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ" for our knowledge of the lives and characters of the Emperors. In the Fayûm find we have a complete series of Imperial edicts from the time of Domitian to the abandonment of Egypt by the Romans in the seventh century. There is scarcely a break in the whole series of documents. The earliest edict is one of Domitian's, dated in the year 94 of our era, and thence they proceed steadily onward through the various Pagan and Christian Emperors. The value of these documents can be understood from one example. M. Waddington has published an important treatise on Diocletian's edict "de pretiis," which has been discovered in fragments scattered here and there over

\* "Prolegomena ad Papyrorum Græcorum Novam Collectionem Edendam." Vindobon. MDCCLXXXIII."

the boundaries of the Empire. What, then, must be the value, not of one solitary edict, but of five centuries of edicts, embracing the predominance of Paganism and of Christianity? The pure classical student, too, finds something to interest him. A treatise against Isocrates of the fourth century B.C.; fragments of Homer and Aristotle; an æsthetic treatise from Alexandria of the second century A.D.; and fragments of the eighth book of Thucydides are contained among these papyri. The Thucydidean fragments are specially valuable. The earliest known MS. of Thucydides dates from the eleventh century. What a treasure, then, has Wessely discovered in a third-century MS. differing very considerably from the common text! The Latin, Hebrew, Persian, Coptic, and Arabic MSS. are of very great importance. The Arabic documents go back to the earliest period of Mahometan rule in Egypt, and reach to within a few years of Mahomet's death. But, as this is but a record, we can do no more than refer students desirous of more information to the *Revue Archéologique* for 1884, tome ii. p. 101, where a popular account of this valuable find is given; to Professor Karabacek's article on the Arabic MSS. in the *Denkschriften der Wien. Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Class.* t. xxxiii. pp. 207-242; *Philologus*, t. xliii. p. 106; and finally to the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for March 15, May 24, and July 5 of this year. A natural question presents itself, Whence can all those documents have come? The long line of edicts, extending from Domitian in the first century to Heraclius in the seventh, suggests that the peasantry must have discovered the remains of the ancient provincial registry. The Roman Empire was as bureaucratic an institution as France or Germany. Indeed, if such a vast organization was to be preserved from utter disorganization, very elaborate surveys and accounts must have been kept. M. Le Blant, in a work I have already noticed in these records—his treatise on the Martyrs—has pointed out the exactness with which the records of criminal convictions were preserved. Every province had its own registry, where the Imperial edicts and all provincial records were preserved for the use of the "Fiscus," or Inland Revenue, as we should say. What has become of them all? May not this Egyptian discovery be a remnant of one? The value of these papyri for Church history has been recognized in one English publication of this year. Eugène Revillout—whose contribution to the history of Scuti, a Christian Mahdi of the fifth century, Professor Sayce pointed out in one of these records some months ago—has translated from them a very interesting record of Early Christianity. It will be found in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1884, part i. The document is in Coptic, and deals, indeed, rather with Church history than with Biblical study. It describes the curses pronounced by a Pagan mother upon her son who had become a Christian. It comes from the times of Paganism, as the curses were pronounced before the altar of the deity, and refer to vague threats uttered by the convert against the Gods and their temples, reminding us of the violence which, according to the Acts of the Martyrs, the Christians often displayed against the established rites of Paganism. This document throws a very interesting side-light upon the narrative of Eusebius concerning the Egyptian Church in the third century. The

mention of Eugène Revillout recalls a treatise of his which has special interest for the historical student at this precise time. The memoirs read before the French Academy are often of immense value, but, like many such productions, become buried in the ponderous volumes in which they are contained. Fifteen years ago or so Revillout read a memoir on the Blemmyes, those persistent enemies of Roman domination in Egypt who never ceased for centuries to torment their opponents from the very same direction as that in which Egypt is now threatened. Revillout's memoir is interesting as showing the influences, Christian and Imperial, which combined to stop their career at Philæ and the first cataract, which was the point of resistance selected by the Romans.

The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" has continued to engage much attention. In my August record I noticed the publication of the first part of Harnack's work on this subject. The second part was published during that same month.\* It contains a very elaborate and very learned discussion of all the questions which may be raised upon the subject. I can give but a brief outline of it. It begins with a discussion of the functions of apostles, prophets, teachers. Apostles lasted till the middle of the second century, when they vanished as Christian officials. The prophets continued in existence to the close of the same period. He then discusses from p. 140 to p. 158 the offices of bishops and deacons as dealt with in the *Διδαχὴ*. Harnack to a large extent agrees with Mr. Hatch's view as stated in his Bampton Lectures. The offices of bishop and deacon were originally administrative, and dealt simply with their own local congregations. It is somewhat difficult, perhaps, for English students to grasp this view. A well-known instance will illustrate it, however. Churchwardens belong to particular parishes and congregations. They are purely administrative officials. A man may be a churchwarden in one parish, a simple layman in another. In the opinion of Hatch and Harnack, this was the position of bishops and deacons in the primitive Church (p. 144). Harnack, indeed, modifies Hatch's theory to a large extent, and cannot agree to his very sweeping conclusions, yet his theory is substantially the same. The apostles and prophets were divinely appointed officials; the bishops and deacons derived their origin from the congregation. Harnack's theory (p. 147) about presbyters is peculiar. He has already stated the view in his German translation of Mr. Hatch's book. Presbyters, he maintains, were not originally officials at all, either administrative or didactic, but simply formed a natural division of the congregation on the ground of age and experience. Every congregation was divided into *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* and *οἱ νεώτεροι*, so that a man might be a laic and a presbyter, or a deacon or bishop and a presbyter, at the same time. Yet he thinks that a threefold organization of the congregation must be admitted to account for the early origin of Catholic Episcopacy. His theory is a very laboured one, and seems to raise quite as many difficulties as it solves. Harnack devotes a considerable amount of space (pp. 158-170) to a discussion of the locality where the "Teaching of the Twelve" was composed. This he determines to have been Egypt. At the conclusion he prints

\* "Lehre der Zwölf Apostel." Von Adolf Harnack: II. Hft. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1884.

a very interesting communication from his friend and collaborateur, Oscar von Gebhardt, on an Old-Latin fragment of the "Teaching" brought to light by Martin Kropff at Vienna in A.D. 1747, and since then quite overlooked. Hilgenfeld, in the last issue of his *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, reviews the "Teaching" at considerable length. As one might expect, he takes a very different view from Harnack. A German critic is nothing if he is not original. Hilgenfeld is, however, a critic of competent knowledge. Few, indeed, have more right to speak on this topic than the author of the "Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Recept." He dates the book in the latter half of the second century—in the age of Montanism, in fact—and assigns its origin to Asia Minor, the primal home of that heresy: a view in which Professor Bouët-Maury, of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Paris, entirely coincides in his edition of the work as translated by him into French with a critical dissertation attached.\*

The publication of the "Teaching of the Twelve" by Bryennius has shed a new light for the Western world upon the interior life of the Eastern Church, and proves that profound scholars and precious treasures still exist there. A Calendar or Clergy List of the Greek Church comes opportunely to confirm this view.† The first attempt to publish a Greek Year Book took place in 1861. It continued to exist till 1871, when it stopped owing to the death of its founder. During its publication several works important for the historian and archæologist appeared in its pages; among others, a valuable treatise on the ecclesiastical music of Greece in the issue for 1863. The publication has been now resumed, and gives us an authoritative view of the inner life of the Greek Church. The student of Roman history can indeed trace in it the provincial arrangements of the Roman Empire, and observe how far they have been preserved or modified under Turkish rule. But for the ecclesiastical historian of either ancient or modern Greece it is specially valuable. The Greek Church in Constantinople seems instinct with educational life. Pp. 92–95 set forth the educational establishments belonging to it in that city, the course of study, fees, libraries, &c. There is a great training college for teachers, dating back to 1691. Bishop Bryennius was formerly president of this college, the present principal being the Archimandrite Gregory Palamas. Then there is a great Commercial school, teaching Latin, Greek, English, French, German, and Turkish, together with physical science; and a Theological school, established by the Patriarch Germanus in 1844, with thirteen professors. From p. 179 we have an elaborate statement of the organization of the Eastern Church—its Synod, Supreme Council, and tribunals, together with a list of its bishops. Many interesting points offer themselves in this account. Thus on p. 184 we find that the Patriarch of Constantinople is assisted in his diocesan work by three titular bishops; while, again, Constantinople, like Rome and London, seems the resort of a very considerable number of retired or resigned bishops. Next year we

\* "La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres: Essai avec un Commentaire critique et historique." Paris: Fischbacher. 1884.

† 'Ημερολόγιον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἔτους. 1884. Constantinople: Pallamare; London: The Colonial World, Crown Court, Milton Street.

are promised an account of the monasteries of Mount Athos. The *Journal des Savants* for April last, in reviewing this work, gave a very interesting narrative of past efforts to establish a similar publication. The French School at Athens is constantly producing valuable materials for the ecclesiastical historian.\* Mr. Ramsay has contributed to its journal some of his valuable essays on ancient Phrygia and its Christian remains, to which the Bishop of Durham referred the other day in his Congress address at Carlisle. The April number contains an interesting paper on the Byzantine paintings of Southern Italy, specially those in St. Stephen's Chapel at Soletto. It discusses the prevalence of Greek doctrines and practices in Southern Italy between the eighth and the thirteenth century, and notes, in passing, that the Greek language was spoken at Soletto till the beginning of this century. The excavations at Rome under the direction of De Rossi and his pupil, Lanciani, are ever yielding fresh and important results. Some time ago Armellini published a learned treatise on the Cemetery of St. Agnes.† Lanciani has now published a work on the Atrium of Vesta, putting us *en rapport* with the latest discoveries.‡ This treatise is equally interesting for the student of the Pagan Empire, and of the Christian Church. It gives us a glimpse of the last great struggle between Christianity and Paganism at Rome, of which very little is known. I do not refer to the struggle under Julian, which has been thoroughly investigated, but to that under Eugenius, Flavianus, and Symmachus in the reign of Theodosius, to which interesting subject De Rossi devoted attention in his *Bullet. Crist.* 1868. Lanciani gives us an Appendix, of special interest for ourselves, in which De Rossi discusses an immense find of early Anglo-Saxon coins discovered in the course of the excavation in the Atrium Vestæ. They constitute the earliest specimen of Peter's Pence sent from England. They number several hundreds, and embrace coins of Alfred, Athelstan, and Sitric, the famous Danish King of Dublin who fought the battle of Clontarf with Brian Boru in 1014.

Among English students some works have been lately produced supplying materials for the student of ecclesiastical history. In the Dublin University Press Series, Professor Abbott has published a Latin MS. of the gospels of the sixth century, with an elaborate and scholarly Preface.§ Visitors to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, have often noticed in a glass case a collection of leaves injured apparently by the action of water. Professor Abbott has, by a careful collation of them, discovered clear proof of the use in Ireland of the Old-Latin version of the New Testament down to the seventh century side by side with the use of St. Jerome's Vulgate. Mr. Abbott's two volumes now offer us an opportunity of studying the Biblical criticism as well as the palæography of the Celtic Church in the time of St. Columba. They are valuable additions to our knowledge of the history of the Latin text of the New Testament. Dr. Stoughton takes us to

\* "Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique." Avril-Mai, 1884. Paris: Thorin.

† "Il Cimitero di S. Agnese sulla via Nomentana." Descritto ed illustrato da Mariano Armellini.

‡ "L'Atrio di Vesta." Con Append. del Comm. Gio. Batt. De Rossi. Roma: Spithöver. 1884.

§ "Evangeliorum versio antehieronymiana ex Codice Usseriano." Ed. T. K. Abbott, S.T.B. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co. 1884.

much more modern times.\* He is a veteran in the study of modern ecclesiastical history. His studies in the seventeenth century are well known and very interesting. But he has now ventured on more dangerous ground. It is difficult to write any kind of history well; it is almost impossible to write the history of our own times well, because one inevitably misses the true perspective of events. Where many have failed we cannot say Dr. Stoughton has succeeded. His prejudices and personal feelings are too much for him. His view of the Oxford movement is very different from that of the philosophic German removed far from the din and strife of warfare to which I called attention in my last record. In Dr. Stoughton's view it was altogether bad, while at the same time he generously recognizes the personal virtues of its authors. His volumes are wanting in breadth, and insight too. From reading them one would imagine that the great Tractarian movement was, like Melchisedec, without any progenitors. A religious history of the first half of this century which omits any mention at all of characters so influential as Alexander Knox and Bishop Jebb, and only mentions Hannah More in the most casual manner, cannot be said to be very profound. Yet it abounds in interesting stories. It is a useful history indeed of Nonconformity during its period. A foreign reader, however, would fairly conclude from its study that Nonconformists formed a much greater element in our religious life than the National Church. Still, it will be very helpful to the future historian of the nineteenth century, who will learn from it that English Nonconformists enjoyed State pay till the year 1851. Scotland has lately furnished us with two liturgical works, manifesting the attention there devoted to such subjects. They come from opposite quarters. Dr. Dowden, of Edinburgh, has produced a useful edition of the Scotch and American Communion offices,† to which he has added much information concerning the Non-jurors and seventeenth-century Eucharistic customs still preserved in Scotland. His book bears all the marks of patient and loving study. The Church Service Society presents us with the fifth edition of the Presbyterian "Book of Common Order."‡ It contains, first, an order of divine service for each Sunday in the month, then an order for the celebration of Holy Communion, and then a collection of offices for various occasions. The book is very catholic in its composition. No source of liturgical knowledge has been neglected, the English Book of Common Prayer being largely laid under contribution. The Sacramental doctrine is decidedly of a higher type than the old popular Scotch view, as the post-baptismal prayers clearly show. The Greek Liturgies too, as the name of the work would suggest, have contributed some valuable elements. The latest additions are materials for daily service, which is a striking departure from former Scottish practice. Our English writers and students have lately confined their attention principally to modern Church history. The latest example of this is Mr. Mahaffy's article on Descartes and theology in the *Princeton [American] Review* for November. Mr. Mahaffy maintains that the Cartesian system of

\* "Religion in England, 1800-1850." By J. Stoughton, D.D. 2 vols. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

† "An Historical Account of the Scotch Communion Office." By John Dowden, D.D., Pantonian Professor of Theology, Edinburgh. 1884.

‡ "Εὐχαριστων: a Book of Common Order." Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1884.

philosophy was "secular and almost heathen," and that "its ethics were purely heathen, and a syncretism of the better points in the chief ancient systems." He has a very interesting discussion of Descartes' views upon Transubstantiation. The last book our space allows us to notice is one of the most useful of the whole to students. It is the "Theologischer Jahresbericht" of B. Pünjer.\* It comprises a most minute and accurate account of everything done during 1883 in the region of theology. From p. 99 to p. 228 the progress of ecclesiastical history is set forth in four distinct sections. It is indispensable for the careful student, embracing notices of all the English as well as foreign contributions to theological study.

GEORGE T. STOKES.

#### IV.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—We are sometimes told that we have no good political memoirs of the kind that abounds in France, but "The Croker Papers"† just published, and admirably edited by Mr. Louis Jennings, may compare with the best of them, whether for variety of interest or for value of illustrations incidentally cast on contemporary political history and the characters of public men. If Mr. Croker were not of the first rank himself, either in literature or in politics, he certainly moved among those who were, which, for a memoir-writer, is just as good. For some forty years he was in constant consultation with the chiefs of the Tory party, and he has much that is fresh to tell us of Wellington and Peel, and the course of the party movements of their time. These volumes will also serve to some extent to repair the reputation of Mr. Croker, who has the misfortune to be known to the present generation only from the writings of his enemies, the attack of Macaulay and the caricature of Disraeli. The story of the early career of the charming actress, Karoline Bauer,‡ introduces us to that brilliant circle of musical and dramatic *virtuosi* in Germany whose name was the wonder of Europe in the opening of this century. We meet with Paganini, Mendelssohn, Boucher, Goethe, Moscheles; with Catalini and the lovely Henriette Sontag; and we peep into the private life of Friedrich Wilhelm III., chief of the theatre "guards," the kindly, laconic and ardent patron of the Berlin stage. But it is chiefly on account of her relations to Prince Leopold that the memoirs of Karoline Bauer have interest for us. First attracting his notice through her resemblance to his dead wife, Princess Charlotte of Wales, she becamemorganatically married to him in England, with the title of Countess Montgomery. Here she passed a period of dreary retirement, till, disgusted by the Prince's indifference and neglect, she returned to Germany, to liberty and the stage. The story of State morals under the Regency is no

\* "Theologischer Jahresbericht." Von B. Pünjer. Leipzig. 1884.

† "The Croker Papers." The Correspondence and Diaries of the late Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S., Secretary to the Admiralty from 1802 to 1833. Edited by Louis T. Jennings. London: John Murray.

‡ "Posthumous Memoirs of Karoline Bauer." From the German. London: Remington & Co.

new one: but quite novel is the light that the authoress throws upon the character of Prince Leopold. This Monsieur *peu-à-peu*, as he was called, the indefatigable "drizzler," the pedantic, ossified egotist, is painted by his victim with a hand that disabuses and spares not. Baron Stockmar, too, cousin of the actress, adviser of the Prince, and promoter of their marriage, does not escape censure. As a *chronique scandaleuse*, these memoirs are marked by a coarseness of realism exceeding even the fashion of an age that demands the most unsparing details in biography. The translation shows here and there the influence of German idiom, but is spirited throughout. "Leaders in Modern Philanthropy,"\* itself a work of philanthropic bookmaking, gives us rough, graphic sketches of the lives of the world's heroes—Howard, Wilberforce, Livingstone; and men of less familiar fame, such as Sturge, William Burns, and Etienne de Grellet. Andrew Keed appears as the champion of the sick and afflicted; Elizabeth Fry and Agnes Jones as labourers in the prison and work-house; Sir Titus Salt and George Moore as types of modern munificence in the commercial world. The book is written in a catholic spirit that pleases better than the style. There is too much use of the stock expression for death, and of technical religious phraseology in general. Dr. Blaikie, too, is not master of the laws of grammar; for example: "The country *runy* with his fame;" "Chalmers *shrunk* not from his task." Again, the sentence, "As a student he was boyish and volatile, *but* of somewhat idle habits," seems an abuse of the antithetical conjunction. The printing of the text is careless; the illustrations are full of life. Mr. Lucien Wolf's "Life of Sir Moses Montefiore"† is as interesting for the glimpses it gives us of the inner world of English Judaism as for the knowledge it supplies of the character and labours of the Jewish patriarch himself. The biography has been compiled from official records, Jewish and British, from the letters and journals of Sir Moses to his wife, and from other data furnished by friends; and the information so obtained has been skilfully put together into an easy and readable narrative of not only a long and honourable, but in many ways a unique career. Mrs. Fenwick Miller writes a fresh and pleasing account of Harriet Martineau,‡ though with perhaps too much of the partiality of the biographer. Miss Martineau had merit enough to stand free treatment. The authoress has enjoyed the advantage of seeing a good deal of Miss Martineau's unpublished correspondence, and for the last twenty-one years, in particular, of her active life there is no systematic record except the present little volume. Mrs. Baldwin Brown publishes, as a memorial of her husband, a brief biographical memoir, together with a portrait and some of the funeral sermons delivered on the occasion of his death.§ It is written with simplicity and good taste, and will be welcomed by the numerous admirers of this refined and thoughtful minister, by whose death the readers of this REVIEW have been also sufferers, for he was a frequent and valued contributor to our pages.

\* "Leaders in Modern Philanthropy." By William Gordon Blaikie, LL.D. The Religious Tract Society.

† London: John Murray.

‡ "Harriet Martineau." By Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

§ "In Memoriam. James Baldwin Brown, B.A." Edited by his Widow, Elizabeth Baldwin Brown. London: James Clarke & Co.



"The Letters of Jane Austen," just published by her nephew, Lord Brabourne,\* are certainly disappointing; but Lord Brabourne seems to think they ought not on that account to be any the less interesting, because, besides having a natural partiality for his aunt, he cherishes the curious theory that nothing can be too trivial for publication that was written by a person of genius. This, however, is more than either genius or public can bear. Miss Austen's letters are addressed exclusively to a small circle of relatives and family friends, and are occupied entirely with the most ordinary interests of life, and their chief value, perhaps, is in showing how thoroughly wholesome and domestic a nature Miss Austen's was, how unspoiled by fame, how far from irritabilities such as the literary world has been lately mourning over. But for this purpose, of course, a smaller selection would be amply sufficient, and Lord Brabourne's own dissertations on novels in general, and his aunt's in particular, might be spared altogether.

TRAVELS.—Colonel the Hon. J. Colborne describes the expedition of Hicks Pasha in the Soudan,† which he accompanied as one of the officers, though he escaped the final catastrophe through having been previously despatched on duty elsewhere. He writes in an agreeable and straightforward manner, and his descriptions of Berber and Khartoum, and the country and people generally, will have a special interest at the present time. It may be noticed that on the point of the military qualities of the Egyptians, of which such a poor opinion is now abroad, his experience leads him to think that, while they make very bad officers, they make good soldiers when officered by Turks or Englishmen. Colonel Colville's description of his travels‡ offers an unpleasant contrast to Colonel Colborne's. The author deals largely—one might even say wearily—with trivialities of purely personal interest, and, from fear of being dull, affects a rollicking style of narrative which becomes worse than dullness itself. His topographical or other serious information is very scanty, considering that he was sent out on so important a mission as to reconnoitre for a new canal. Miss Cumming was among the first—perhaps she was the very first—to go to India for a lengthened spell of sight-seeing, and none of the many who have followed her example since can have done so to better purpose, as her latest book abundantly shows.§ For she has a quite special faculty for sight-seeing. Nothing that is interesting escapes her, and she never occupies herself or her readers with what is merely trivial. Some chapters of her present work are re-published from her first book, but most of the work is new; and it is a delightful and instructive volume, packed with information on the most various aspects of India and things Indian. Her descriptions are fresh and exact, with a frequent touch of humour, and, where necessary, of pathos too, and always pervaded by a controlling common sense.

\* London: R. Bentley & Son.

† "With Hicks Pasha in the Soudan." By Colonel the Hon. J. Colborne. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

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